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For Blush of the Bounty
see page 363.

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VIEW OF THE SETTLEMENT ON SYDNEY COVE: PORT JACKSON 20TH AUG 1788 (From sketch by J. Hunter)

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THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF SYDNEY

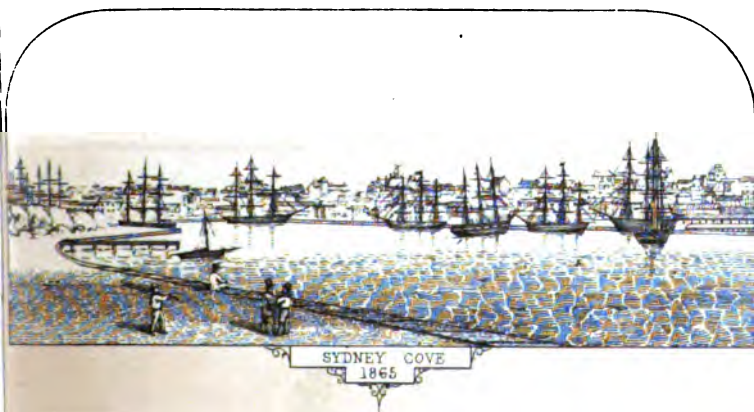
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
IN 1788 TO THE PRESENT
TIME

BY

JOHN HARRIS, ESQ.

1865

THE HISTORY
OF
AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY
AND COLONISATION



S Y D N E Y

HANSON & BENNETT NEW PITT STREET.

1865.

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THE HISTORY OF
AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY
AND COLONISATION.

BY SAMUEL BENNETT.

Sydney :
HANSON AND BENNETT, PITT STREET,

1867.



These chapters, which bring the history of Australian Discovery and Colonisation down to the year 1831, were originally published in the columns of the Empire newspaper. At the request of many readers they are now republished in a more compact and convenient form. It is intended by the writer, so soon as he can command sufficient time for the purpose, to continue the work, in a second or supplementary volume, down to a much later period.

PREFACE.

THE records of maritime discovery and adventure contain no more interesting narratives than those which relate to Australia; and the history of colonisation has nothing half so wonderful as the annals of Australian settlement and progress. America was discovered by a lucky accident; the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope was revealed step by step to patient perseverance; but Australia was made known to the world through an enthusiastic devotion to the cause of discovery, prompting the old navigators to follow the course faintly indicated by a dim tradition. The annals of Australian colonisation and progress are as remarkable as the story of its discovery. The rise of great commercial communities in the course of little more than half a century, from the most unpromising beginnings, and at the furthest verge of the earth, affords a significant evidence of modern advancement, and presents one of the most striking features in the history of mankind. Yet, notwithstanding the interest which attaches to the discovery of their country, and the extraordinary facts connected with its colonisation, most of the inhabitants of Australia know more of the history of other lands than of their own. This doubtless arises from the fact, that much of the geographical and historical literature in common use was written when

this country was almost unknown. Australian boys can hardly fail to acquire, in the ordinary course of school routine, some knowledge of Grecian and Roman, as well as of British, history; but they have small chance of becoming acquainted with anything relating to their own country. The colonial reader of current literature, however well informed on ordinary topics, knows little respecting the discovery and settlement of Australia. Much has certainly been published on the subject, some of it characterised by considerable research and ability, but each writer has confined himself to some particular colony or district, and no work embracing a comprehensive view of the whole of the Australian group has ever been published. Many of the authors, too, have not been free from the class or party feelings almost always pervading small communities, and hence their productions have not met with general approval or a wide circulation. In addition to this, most works on the colonies have been published at a high price, and in a not very convenient or attractive form. It was with the view of supplying a defect which is almost daily acknowledged, that the following series of papers, on the Discovery and Colonisation of Australia, was written.

The Right Hon. Robert Lowe, late Vice-President of the Privy Council Board of Education, in an address recently delivered, spoke as follows of the importance of making the history of their own country a principal feature in the instruction of youth: "It appears to me that the object of education is to teach a person that which it is most important he should know. Now, what is it of the most importance a man should know? Setting aside religion, of which I am not speaking, is it not more important that he should know the actual state and condition of things around him, than the mere names of things? It is more important for a man to know the history of his own country than that

of any other country in the world, past or present. Is it not better that a boy should learn the history of his native land, rather than spend his time in reading the wars of Greece or the bloody quarrels of democracy and aristocracy in Rome? Is it not more important that a boy should learn modern than ancient history; that he should know the geography of his own country, instead of being carried back into remote antiquity?"

The intention of the writer of these outlines of the history of Australian discovery, settlement, and progress, is not to give a history of every voyage for Australian discovery, or a detail of every thing which has taken place in the progress of Australian colonisation, but to convey in a popular form such a general knowledge of the discovery and settlement of his country as every Australian youth ought to possess; and to enable teachers to place before their pupils interesting and instructive lessons in a branch of education which has been hitherto almost, if not entirely, neglected. In order to simplify and condense as much as possible the matter contained in the following chapters, the writer has thought it best not to encumber the text with authorities, references, and notes. Personal anecdotes, and matters of merely individual or private interest, have been introduced or alluded to very sparingly, and only in cases where they were considered necessary to illustrate or explain the condition of society, or to afford an insight into the characters of public men, public movements, or political changes.

With a large number of the teachers of youth in the present day, ancient history, and the literature of classic times alone, are looked upon with favour. The author would remind these idolaters of the past, that Australia is, in all probability, not so utterly devoid of claims to some connexion with the ancients as is generally believed. This will be seen from a perusal of the first chapter. The opinion entertained by

the writer, that the existence of Australia was known to ancient geographers and mariners, although that knowledge was lost during the dark ages, is not put forward without some hesitation. The writer is willing to acknowledge that a desire to propitiate the devotees of the fetish of antiquity, and to prevent those whom he wished to acquire a knowledge of the land they live in from being taught to turn with indifference from the history of a country so new as Australia, first led him into considerations and investigations as to whether the ancients had any knowledge of the Great South Land. It will be seen that his opinion leans strongly to the affirmative on this question: and without venturing to say that the theory is capable of demonstration, or without serious difficulties, he has no hesitation in expressing his belief that the evidences on which it rests are such as will ultimately ensure its general adoption. The matter, although of no practical importance, is of considerable literary and historical interest, and it is hoped will ere long receive full investigation and elucidation at the hands of some one qualified for the task.

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AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DISCOVERY OF NEW HOLLAND
BY THE DUTCH.

THE continent and islands generally included under the name of Australia lie between the tenth and forty-fifth degrees of south latitude, and the one hundred and thirteenth and one hundred and fifty-fourth degrees of east longitude.

The mainland of Australia extends in its greatest breadth, between Shark's Bay on the west, and Sandy Cape, the extreme point of the eastern coast, 2400 miles; and from north to south, from Cape York to Cape Otway, 1700 miles.

The Dutch gave the name of New Holland to that portion of the country which they discovered. The English adopted the term Australasia, including under that designation the continent and the numerous islands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans which are considered by modern geographers as forming the fifth great division of the globe. The French applied the word Oceanica, and gave it a still wider range. The Germans changed Terra Australis, the Latin term used by the old geographers, to Australia; and this name is now almost universally used as the designation of the mainland and its adjacent islands.

A belief in the existence, far to the south-east of India, of a great country whose precise position, boundaries, and extent were unknown, was general among the Western nations in times of very remote antiquity. The islands which dot like stepping stones the ocean between India and Australia were the chief source, if not the seat, of a very extensive commerce at a time when the European nations had hardly

emerged from barbarism. With rumours of the traffic and the riches of these islands, it is probable that accounts of the existence of the great unknown country beyond them reached the Western world, and were handed down from age to age as part of the traditional knowledge of mankind. It is impossible to fix the date at which this knowledge found its way to Europe; but there are good reasons for believing that the northern coasts of the continent of Australia were not wholly unknown to Strabo and other ancient geographers previous to the Christian era.

Strabo (b.c. 50,) mentions a great island which lay about twenty days' sail south-east from India, and which stretched far towards the west. Pomponius Mela also mentions a Great South Land, but is uncertain whether it is an island or the beginning of another continent. Pliny (A.D. 77,) refers to a great island to the south of the equator, the central parts of which were said to be occupied by an inland sea. Ptolemy, (A.D. 150,) after describing the Malay Peninsula under the name of the Golden Chersonesus, states that beyond it to the south-east lay a great bay. At the utmost extremity of this bay, in latitude eight and a half degrees south, he places Catigara, the most remote place to which the navigators of his time had penetrated. From this bay he says the land turned to the west, and stretched in that direction to an unknown distance. The latitude given by Ptolemy would indicate a position in the bay, or apparent bay, formed by the south-western shores of New Guinea and the northernmost parts of Australia. The narrow channel dividing the two countries—discovered by Torres, a Spanish navigator, so recently as the early part of the seventeenth century—was of course unknown in the time of Ptolemy, and consequently that portion of the Indian Ocean would appear to the navigators of his age to be a very deep and extensive bay. From this great bay Ptolemy states that the coast stretched to the west until, as he believed, it reached the eastern extremity of Africa.

This error did not originate with Ptolemy, although the almost universal reception for many ages of his system of geography greatly contributed to maintain and spread it. Hipparchus, who may be considered as his teacher and guide, had taught that the earth was not surrounded by the ocean, but that the sea was separated by isthmuses, which divided it into several large basins. Ptolemy, having adopted this opinion, was the more readily led to the belief that the great unknown country

to the south-east of India extended from thence to Africa—his opinion being that, stretching west from Catigara, it joined the African shores at Prassium, on the south-east coast of that country. M. Gosselin, in his map entitled *Ptolemæi Systema Geographicum*, has exhibited this imaginary tract of land which Ptolemy supposes to have connected Africa with Asia. According to M. Gosselin's system, the ancients never sailed through the Straits of Malacca, had no knowledge that Sumatra was an island, and were altogether unacquainted with the Eastern Ocean.

The belief that the Great South Land stretched from the extreme southern point of India to the south-east coast of Africa became a very general one with ancient geographers; and, in addition to the theory of Ptolemy, was apparently supported by the fact that when the navigators of their times attempted to sail or were driven by stress of weather much to the south or south-east of the Golden Chersonesus, or the Spice Islands of the Indian Archipelago, they were met by the shores of a Great Land, whose limits had never been reached, stretching far to the south-west. In conformity with this opinion of the great extent of the southern continent, the Arabian geographer Edrissi, who wrote in the twelfth century, also taught that a continued tract of land stretched eastward from the African coast, until it united with the southern part of Eastern India: and in maps framed on Ptolemy's system of geography, this Great South Land formed a prominent feature.

The error of Ptolemy, and other writers, in supposing that the remote trading stations to the south-east of India, which had been described by navigators, were situated on the shores of a great bay, was a very natural one. The narrow and intricate straits separating the larger islands of the Indian Archipelago from each other, and from India and Australia, were then unknown, and consequently that portion of the Indian Ocean lying between Sumatra and Java and the Great South Land, which Ptolemy describes as the utmost limit of navigation, might well have been supposed to be a great bay.

The old geographers place the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, or, as they call it, the Golden Chersonesus, considerably to the south of its true position. They believed that Sumatra and Java formed part of that peninsula, and must therefore have been unacquainted with the Straits, now known as the Straits of Malacca, and of Lombok, which separate them from the mainland and from each other.

More than three centuries before the time of the earliest of these writers, Alexander the Great had sent his famous expedition down the Indus to that then almost unknown ocean which washed the shores alike of the African and the Asiatic continents. A principal branch of the most lucrative commerce of the world had, even at that early period, its chief source in the Spice Islands of the Indian Ocean, afterwards known as the Moluccas, which lay at the south-eastern extremity of the Golden Chersonesus, and in close proximity to the shores of the Great South Land.

The importance to Greece, to Carthage, and to Rome, of the trade in spices and aromatics can hardly be estimated in the present day. In their religious worship, and in their funeral ceremonies, as well as in their social observances, immense quantities of these precious articles were consumed. In all accounts of ancient Eastern commerce spices and aromatics occupy the most important place; and it is certain that large quantities of the most costly kinds which found their way to the Western World were the produce of the islands of the Indian Ocean. Silk, the commodity next in importance to spices in Phœnician and Roman foreign commerce, was, before the Christian era, produced only in China; and, with the exception perhaps of a small portion carried overland by way of Central Asia, the whole of this costly commodity brought to the West must have come through the straits which divide the Indian Islands from each other and from the Australian continent. Tin, another article of great importance in the economy and commerce of the Old World, was found in abundance in several islands of the Indian Archipelago in very ancient times. It is therefore almost certain that a traffic so extensive and so rich as was carried on in these articles could not have existed for centuries without some knowledge having reached the Western nations of the Great Land which lay so near the scene of their production, or the route by which they were brought.

It is probable that in no age of the world has maritime enterprise in the Indian Seas been more active or more successful than during the three or four centuries which followed the period when the navigators of Alexander's fleet brought to the West a knowledge of the commerce of the Eastern seas. The scientific and learned men who accompanied the great expedition which he despatched

down the Indus gathered from native merchants and navigators accounts of islands and countries lying far beyond what had before been thought by the Western nations the utmost limits of the earth. And from the period of Alexander's Indian expedition allusions and references to a Great South Land begin to be met with in the works of geographers and other writers. Agathemerus, who wrote later than Ptolemy, and five or six centuries after Alexander's naval expedition, considered the Great South Land, of which so much had been said, and of which so little was known, to be the largest island in the world. It seems clear, then, that the existence of Australia was known to the Greeks and Romans, although its precise position and extent remained uncertain long after their times.

After the decline of the ancient Western powers, the commerce of the Indian and China Seas fell first into the hands of the Persians, who had just then become Christians. They were zealous promulgators of their new faith, and spread it in the remote East with a zeal and success which have seldom been equalled, and never surpassed. From the Persian Gulf to Canton there was scarcely an island or a trading station where the followers of the Cross were not found. But although we learn from many sources that their commercial and proselytising efforts were attended with the most extensive and remarkable results, yet, owing to the obscurity in which Persian annals are shrouded, the names of the particular places which they visited, or the conquests which they made, have not come down to our times. Their command of the trade of the Indian Ocean occupied the darkest part of what in European history is usually called the Dark Ages—a period during which both the literature and the commerce of the West suffered an almost total eclipse.

The control of Eastern maritime trade at length passed from the hands of the Persians into those of the Arabians, whose navigators, as early as the ninth century, if not previously, had penetrated beyond the Golden Chersonesus, through the Straits of the Archipelago, as far as China. In two or three centuries after their advent in the East, the language and religion of the followers of Mahomet became general in the Indian Islands, and quickly spread even to the frontiers of Cathay, as China was anciently called. Strong traces of the Arabic tongue still exist in most of the islands

of the Indian Seas, and may be detected in almost every dialect spoken by the Australian aborigines.

It scarcely admits of a doubt, that in the seven or eight centuries during which the Mahomedan powers were dominant in the Malay Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago, the northern coasts of Australia were often visited by their navigators. But notwithstanding that the results of these visits can be plainly traced, as has been before intimated, both in the persons and the language of the aboriginal inhabitants, no written records of them have been preserved. The Christian faith in the remote East was almost blotted out during the Mahomedan supremacy, and the extensive commerce which for centuries had been carried on between the Western World and China, by way of the Indian Ocean, fell entirely under Arab control.

The first faint glimpse which we catch of the shadowy shores of Australia after the long night of the Dark Ages occurs during the reign of the Great Mogul Emperor, Kublai Khan, near the end of the thirteenth century. The Great Khan, in the year 1293, despatched a fleet of fourteen ships, carrying several thousand men, from China to the Persian Gulf. On board one of these ships, in a position of command, was the celebrated Venetian traveller Marco Polo. He had penetrated by land to China many years before, and joined the fleet of the Great Khan in hopes of being able to return to Europe by an easier and more expeditious route than that by which he had come. During his residence in the East he had made a voyage to the Indian Archipelago in the service of Kublai Khan, and it was in accordance with his representations and by his persuasion that the mission or expedition to Persia was sent by sea instead of overland. On this voyage the ships refitted, and the expedition remained for a period of five months, at the island of Sambawa or Lesser Java, lying about five hundred miles north-west of the northern coast of Australia.

With Java and Sumatra the Chinese had carried on a traffic for many centuries; and their extensive mercantile relations with the Malay Archipelago at that period accounts, perhaps, for the long stay the expedition of Kublai Khan made at Sambawa. The Chinese trepang fishery on the northern shores of Australia, and in the shallow seas between Australia and Java, dates from very remote times; and traces of Chinese intercourse with the aborigines of the northern

coasts of this continent are said to be yet perceptible in the Mongolian features occasionally met with in some of the tribes about Cape York and the Gulf of Carpentaria. In the eastern islands of the Archipelago numerous communities of Chinese have existed for many ages, and most of the traffic is in their hands.

Marco Polo, in his narrative, describes many of the islands and countries around Sambawa. He is more particular in giving distances and bearings in this part of his story than in any other. Writing probably from the hearsay statements of ignorant and superstitious sailors, he often makes absurd and loose assertions, and not unfrequently falls into such very grave errors that it is difficult to identify the places to which he refers. But in this instance it happens that he is remarkably precise and clear. At a distance of seven hundred miles in a direction between south and south-west from Lesser Java, he places two uninhabited islands; and fifty miles south-east from these islands he states that there existed a country called Lochac, which formed part of a great mainland of a wild and mountainous character, little frequented by strangers, where gold was abundant to a degree scarcely credible, and whose inhabitants were idolaters, having a language peculiar to themselves. They paid no tribute to any power—the situation of their country protecting them from attack. Were it assailable, he says, the Grand Khan (whose power was then dominant from China almost to the Persian Gulf,) would not have delayed to bring it under his dominion.

The position assigned by Marco Polo to the two uninhabited islands agrees with that of Barrow's Islands, Dampier's Archipelago, and with their distance from the coast of the mainland of North-western Australia. If it is argued that his distances and bearings are so often erroneous that the precise situation of Lochac, and its identity with that particular part of the north-western coast, is open to doubt, yet it is impossible, after making all allowances, to come to any other conclusion than that the country he calls Lochac was some part of North-western Australia. Whether he himself landed on its shores, or whether he derived his knowledge from the accounts of others, is uncertain, as he is silent on that point; but from whatever source his information was obtained, it is clear that the existence of the Great South Land was not unknown to him.

After the slight glimpse of its shores which, at the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo's narrative reveals, Australia is again enveloped in comparative darkness for more than two hundred years. During that period, the only trace of its existence which is to be found in the writings of the old travellers occurs in those of a Christian missionary who visited Java in the fourteenth century. He mentions some wonderful accounts which he had heard there about a great country which stretched so far to the South that its extreme regions were said to be enveloped in darkness every year for several months at a time. His account, although it contains many absurd and fabulous statements, shows that the people of Java had not only some knowledge of Australia, but that the navigators of that or some previous age must have penetrated even so far south as the Antarctic continent.

In 1486, the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, and in less than fifty years afterwards the Portuguese had become masters of the principal islands of the Indian Archipelago. The traffic with Europe in the rich products of those islands was then quickly diverted from its ancient channel by way of the Red Sea, and transferred to the newly discovered one by way of the Cape. It is from this date only that anything like reliable information about the Great South Land is to be expected.

The Portuguese were soon followed in their eastern conquests by jealous rivals. The Spaniards, the Dutch, and afterwards the English, all made strenuous and successful efforts to obtain a share of the rich commerce of the East. One object which the navigators of Portugal, Spain, and Holland kept steadily in view, amid all the excitement arising from their suddenly acquired possessions and brilliant prospects in India and China, was the solution of the mystery which surrounded the Great South Land. The theory of its existence was universally believed in, although its extent and position were probably more uncertain to the navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth than they were to those of the first and second centuries of the Christian era. The discovery of America, almost contemporaneously with the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, diverted from the East for a time the attention and the energies of navigators ; but when the interest in

Columbus's New World began to slacken, the riches of the Indian Archipelago and the mystery which still surrounded the Terra Australis Incognita again claimed prominent notice.

The Dutch, after a short time, succeeded in wresting from the Portuguese some of their richest possessions in the Indian seas; and during the contest for supremacy carried on by those nations, many attempts were made by their navigators to solve the riddle of the Great South Land. The difficulties surrounding its solution were, however, so many and so great, that for another century they continued to set the utmost efforts of the most daring and skilful navigators at defiance, although the brilliant successes achieved by Columbus, Bartholomew Diaz, and De Gama, had infused into many of their followers a desire, amounting almost to a passion, to earn the distinction of discovering that other great continent which was believed to exist in the Indian Ocean or the South Pacific.

The attempts of the Spanish navigators to discover the Great South Land were, for the most part, made from settlements on the western coast of South America. One of the most noteworthy was that of Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, in 1568. He sailed from Callao in Peru, and held a course due west for nearly four thousand five hundred miles, when he discovered the cluster of islands called the Solomon Isles. Subsequently he sailed round San Christoval and others. This group is in the latitude of Torres Straits, and not far beyond the longitude of the most easterly part, and within a few days' sail of the Australian continent. Mendana carried back to old Spain glowing accounts of his discoveries, and urged the government to allow him to proceed on another voyage in the same direction. Such was the ardency of his enthusiasm, that, notwithstanding the neglect with which he was treated, he continued to press his request for nearly thirty years. He succeeded at last, and sailed on another voyage in 1595. In this voyage he fell in with the Marquesas Islands, but owing to the then defective state of the art of navigation, he failed to find his way to the islands he had discovered many years before; and after enduring great hardships in the attempt to achieve the purpose of his life, he died from anxiety and disappointment. His pilot, a Portuguese, named Fernandes de Quiros, who succeeded to the control of the expedition,

was, if possible, more enthusiastic than his chief in his passion for the discovery of the Great South Land. On returning to Lima renewed applications were made on his behalf to the Spanish government for means of prosecuting the search. Quiros, who expressed his determination to devote the remainder of his life to that object, brought forward very abstruse scientific arguments to prove the truth of the popular belief in the existence of a Great South Land. He expounded his theories so forcibly, that Philip the Third supplied funds to build three ships for another expedition, of which the chief command was entrusted to Quiros, while Luis Vaez de Torres, a Spanish navigator of great ability, was appointed to the second place. Quiros sailed from Lima on the 20th December, 1605, and steered a course west by south. On the 10th of February, 1606, he discovered the island now known as Tahiti; and on the 26th April, having kept on in the same course, sighted land, which he believed to be part of the new continent of which he was in search. He gave it the name of Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo, (the South Land of the Holy Spirit.) It is generally believed, however, that the land so named by Quiros was not in reality part of the Australian continent, but one of the islands of the group afterwards named the New Hebrides.

The separation of the vessels forming the expedition, disputes with his officers, and the loss by sickness and accidents of many of his companions, prevented Quiros from ascertaining the extent and character of the land he had found; and soon after the officers and crew of his vessel determined to proceed no further. But two of the ships of the expedition, under the command of Torres, after being separated from their consort, and not knowing of Quiros's determination to return, continued their course to the westward, and in a few days passed safely through the straits dividing the continent of Australia from New Guinea. Torres sighted the mainland at its most northern point, but took it for a group of small islands. Quiros finally returned to Acapulco nine months after his departure; and soon afterwards presented a memorial to the King of Spain, in which he enumerated twenty-three islands he had discovered, besides certain parts of a country which he believed was portion of the Australian mainland. He attempted, with the most extraordinary perseverance, to induce the imbecile successor of Charles the Fifth,

his former patron, to grant funds for another expedition, but failing in all his efforts to procure sufficient means to achieve the object of his life-long desires, he sank, like his old master, Mendana, into his grave, a victim of disappointed hopes and broken fortunes. Although by birth a Portuguese, Quiros was most of his life in the service of Spain, and is generally regarded as the last of the great Spanish navigators—a class of men never surpassed in daring, energy, and seamanship.

Quiros is erroneously stated by Dalrymple and other writers, who contend that the land he discovered was part of Eastern Australia or New South Wales, to have been the first navigator into whose mind the idea of a southern continent ever entered. If it is merely meant that he was the first to advance theories founded upon physical considerations to prove the probability of the existence of such a continent, this statement is probably correct. But the tradition of the existence of a Great South Land was, as before stated, general in Europe in times of very remote antiquity; and the utmost that can be said of what was advanced by Quiros is, that he brought theory to the aid of tradition.

While these efforts were being made by the Spaniards, the Dutch were by no means idle. Repeated and most persevering attempts to discover the Great South Land were made by them at the end of the sixteenth century and the commencement of the seventeenth. These efforts were so successful, that the Dutch are able to produce unimpeachable testimony of having landed on the shores of Australia in March, 1606, a few days before Quiros discovered the land which some contend was part of the Australian continent, but which others believe to have been one of the islands of the New Hebrides group.

The Dutch government at Bantam had, in the latter part of 1605, despatched a small vessel named the *Dufyn*, to explore the coasts of New Guinea. Not knowing of the existence of the Straits shortly afterwards discovered by Torres, this vessel continued her course to the south, along, as her crew considered, the western shores of that country, but in reality along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria. She proceeded as far as Cape Turnagain, in latitude $13\frac{1}{2}$ south. Here, having landed, some of her men were killed by the aborigines. The *Dufyn's* crew were therefore—so far as can now be ascertained, and even

supposing that Quiros did not mistake the New Hebrides for part of the mainland of Australia—the first Europeans to touch Australian ground.

The statements brought to Bantam, and from thence to Holland, by the Dufyn's crew, awakened a greater desire than ever in the adventurous spirits of that age to learn the particulars of that Great South Land which had for so long a period been a riddle to the world. Thevenot, the geographer, says that the Dutch shortly afterwards sent an expedition to found a colony on the eastern coast, but that they met with such a stout resistance from the natives, who advanced into the water to dispute their landing, that after a short time the attempt was abandoned. On their return the men sent on this expedition reported that the land was rich in gold, and were able to show a considerable quantity of that metal in proof of the truth of their assertions; but their story was generally disbelieved, because it was suspected that the gold they produced had been procured from a ship which had been wrecked on the coast. They gave very exaggerated accounts of the size and strength of the natives, reporting that many of them were eight feet high. When, however, it is considered that one small region of the country has within ten years produced gold to the value of more than a hundred millions of pounds sterling, the statements about the riches of the Great South Land will not appear so much exaggerated in the nineteenth century as they did to the Dutchmen of the seventeenth. With respect to the size of the natives, too, it is now generally allowed that some of the tribes on the eastern coast of Australia are amongst the tallest people in the world.

From this date (1606) repeated attempts were made by the Dutch to ascertain the extent and richness of the Great South Land. One of the most successful of these early discoverers was Theodoric Hertoge, generally known as Dirk Hartog, who in 1616 fell in with the north-west coast, and explored it from the 19th to the 25th degree of south latitude, and named it the Land of Concord. In 1618 Zachen discovered the north-western coast about the 14th degree of south latitude, and coasted the land from the Gulf of Carpentaria to Cape Talbot. In 1619 Captain Jan Edels coasted the shore in 29 degrees south, and gave his name to a portion of what is now part of the colony of Swan River, or Western Australia. In 1622 the south-western extremity of the continent was

discovered by the captain of a Dutch ship named the *Leeuwin*, or *Lioness*, from which the country was called Cape *Leeuwin*. After this period discoveries of various parts of the coast followed so quickly upon each other, that to particularise them all would be tedious.

In 1628 a considerable part of the Gulf of Carpentaria was explored by General Peter Carpenter, Governor of the Dutch East India Company. And in 1642 Abel Jansen Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land, which was then thought to form part of the continent of New Holland, the name given by the Dutch to the whole country discovered by them, including nearly two-thirds of the coast line of the Australian mainland.

In reference to the voyage of General Carpenter, in 1628, President De Brosse, in his *History of Navigation*, says: "In this year Carpentaria received its name from one Carpenter, a Dutchman, and governor of the Indian Company. He discovered it during his government, and returned with five ships very richly laden to Europe in June, 1628. It would seem that this whole coast has been carefully examined by the Dutch, as in Thevenot's Dutch charts we have the names, in that language, of a great many bays, capes, and watering places, along it. At last, in the year 1664, this vast region received the name of New Holland."

The excitement created in Holland by the report of the riches of that part of the Great South Land which General Carpenter had explored, was so strong that immediately on his return preparations were made for sending out a powerful expedition to take possession of the country. The fleet carrying this expedition, consisting of eleven ships, sailed out of the *Texel* on the 28th October, 1628. One of the vessels was the *Batavia* frigate, commanded by Captain Francis Pelsart. After touching at the Cape of Good Hope, the ships were scattered by a violent storm, some were lost, and little is now known of what became of the others. The *Batavia* missed her reckoning, and was driven upon a shoal off the western coast of New Holland, about 200 miles to the north of Swan River. She had a crew of about two hundred men, and soon after the wreck a mutiny broke out, and desperate conflicts ensued, in which numbers of lives were sacrificed. The captain's party ultimately overcame the mutineers, and executed them all on the spot. The remainder of the crew reached Java in a most deplorable condition; and their unfavourable report of the Great South

Land contributed to allay for a time the intense interest with which it had before been regarded.

Thevenot, who translated the narrative of Pelsart's voyage, in accounting for the failure of the Dutch in colonising New Holland, says: "I shall confine myself to the reasons that have induced the Dutch East Indian Company to leave all these countries unsettled after having first shown so strong an inclination to discover them, which will oblige me to lay before the reader some secrets in commerce that have hitherto escaped common observation, and which, whenever they are thoroughly considered as they deserve, will undoubtedly lead us to as great discoveries as those of Columbus or Magellan. In order to make myself perfectly understood, I must observe that it was this finding out of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, by the Portuguese, that raised the spirit of discovery which produced Columbus's voyage, which ended in finding America. The assertion is bold, and at first sight may appear improbable, but a little attention will make it so plain that the reader must be convinced of the truth of what I say. The proposition made by Columbus to the State of Genoa, the Kings of Portugal, Spain, England, and France, was this, that he could discover a new route to the East Indies; that is to say, without going round the Cape of Good Hope. He grounded this proposition on the spherical figure of the earth, from whence he thought it self-evident that any given point might be sailed to through the great Ocean either by steering east or west. In his attempt to go to the East Indies by the west course he met with the islands and continent of America, and finding gold and other commodities which till then had only been brought from the Indies, he really thought that this was the coast of that country to which the Portuguese sailed by the Cape of Good Hope, and hence came the name of the West Indies. Magellan, who followed his steps, and was the only discoverer who reasoned systematically and knew what he was doing, proposed to the Emperor Charles the Fifth to complete what Columbus had begun, and to find a passage to the Moluccas by the west, which to his immortal honour he accomplished. When the Dutch made their first voyage to the East Indies, which was not many years before Captain Pelsart's shipwreck on the coast of New Holland (for the first fleet arrived in the East Indies in 1596, and Pelsart lost his ship in 1629), I say when the Dutch first undertook the East Indies' trade they had the Spice Islands in view, and as they are a nation

justly famous for the steady pursuit of whatever they take in hand, it is notorious that they never lost sight of their design till they had accomplished it, and made themselves entirely masters of these islands, of which they still continue in possession. When this was done, and they had effectually driven out the English who were likewise settled in them, they fixed the seat of their government in the island of Amboyna, which lay very convenient for the discovery of the southern continent, which therefore they prosecuted with great diligence from the year 1609 to the time of Captain Pelsart's shipwreck—that is, for the space of twenty years. The Dutch have taken all imaginable pains to prevent any relations from being published, which might invite or encourage any other nation to make attempts this way, and I am thoroughly persuaded that this very account of Captain Pelsart's shipwreck would never have come into the world if it had not been thought it would contribute to this end; or, in their words, would serve to frighten other nations from approaching such an inhospitable coast, everywhere beset with rocks, absolutely void of water, and inhabited by a race of savages more barbarous, and at the same time more miserable, than any other creatures in the world."

One of the most successful efforts ever made by the Dutch in the cause of Australian discovery was the voyage undertaken from Batavia by Captain Abel Tasman, with two vessels called the *Heemskirk* and the *Zee-Han*. They sailed on the 14th August, 1642. The Dutch colonies in Batavia and the Indian Archipelago had been some years before consolidated under Governor Van Diemen, who, himself an enthusiast in the cause of Australian discovery, had become the friend and patron of Tasman, one of the most talented and ambitious of the young Dutch navigators of that day. Tasman, in addition to his enthusiasm as a discoverer, and his ambition as a man, had another and a still stronger motive for the exertion of all his energies in attaining the object of his voyage. He was desperately in love with Maria Van Diemen—the daughter of his friend and patron, the late governor—and he hoped, if successful, to be allowed by her father to aspire to her hand. The earlier part of Tasman's voyage was neither very successful nor very safe. He was baffled by extraordinary variations of the compass, by violent storms, and dense fogs. On the 24th November, however, the weather having cleared, land

was seen. The following extract from his journal gives, in his own words, what he says about the discovery of Van Diemen's Land :—

"On the 24th of November, (1642,) being in the latitude of 42 degrees 25 minutes south, and in the longitude of 163 degrees 50 minutes, I discovered land, which lay east-south-east, at the distance of ten miles, which I called Van Diemen's Land. The compass pointed right towards this land. The weather being bad, I steered south and by east along the coast, to the height of 44 degrees south, where the land runs away east, and afterwards north-east and by north. In the latitude of 43 degrees 10 minutes south, and in the longitude of 167 degrees 55 minutes, I anchored on the 1st of December in a bay, which I called the bay of Frederic Henry. I heard, or at least fancied I heard, the sound of people upon the shore ; but I saw nobody. All I met with worth observing were two trees, which were two fathoms or two fathoms and a half in girth, and sixty or sixty-five feet high from the root to the branches ; they had cut with a flint a kind of steps in the bark, in order to climb up to the birds-nests : these steps were the distance of five feet from each other ; so that we must conclude, that either these people are of a prodigious size, or that they have some way of climbing trees that we are not used to ; in one of the trees the steps were so fresh, that we judged they could not have been cut above four days.

"The noise we heard resembled the noise of some sort of trumpet ; it seemed to be at no great distance, but we saw no living creature notwithstanding. I perceived also in the sand, the marks of wild beasts' feet, resembling those of a tiger, or some such creature ; I gathered also some gum from the trees, and likewise some lack. The tide ebbs and flows there about three feet. The trees in this country do not grow very close, nor are they encumbered with bushes or under-wood. I observed smoke in several places ; however, we did nothing more than set up a post, on which every one cut his name, or his mark, and upon which I hoisted a flag. I observed that, in this place, the variation was changed to 3 degrees eastward. On December 5th, being then, by observation, in the latitude of 41 degrees 34 seconds, and in the longitude 169 degrees, I quitted Van Diemen's Land, and resolved to steer east to the longitude of 195 degrees, in hopes of discovering the islands of Solomon."

The voyage of Tasman, which took place fourteen years

after General Carpenter's return, was one of the most interesting in its character and important in its results of any ever undertaken by the old Dutch navigators. After discovering Van Diemen's Land, so named, as may be gathered from the preceding extracts, in honour of Anthony Van Diemen, Governor of Batavia, to whose influence, munificent patronage, and zeal for Australian discovery, the Dutch navigators of that day were greatly indebted, Tasman steered east, and on December 9th, 1642, discovered New Zealand. There he was attacked by the natives before he could bring his ship to an anchor, and part of his crew murdered. Consequently he did not land, but continued his voyage until he had circumnavigated the whole of the Australian continent. To the place where part of his crew were killed he gave the name of Murderers' Bay, but it was afterwards changed by English navigators to Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Tasman, in gratitude to his patron, and in admiration of his daughter, conferred their names on whatever discoveries he thought most remarkable and most worthy of such a mark of his regard. Thus, on old maps, not only the name Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) appears, but more than one district on the north-western coast of the mainland bears the same appellation. The name of Maria Van Diemen was conferred on the north-western cape of New Zealand; the name of Maria on the island of that name on the south-eastern coast of Tasmania; and in several other instances both the mistress and the patron had their names immortalised by the grateful and devoted seaman.

The utmost importance was attached by the Dutch to the possession of the Great Land which they had discovered, and the most stringent measures were taken to prevent other nations from gaining a knowledge of its character and resources, or forming settlements on its shores. Amongst the methods adopted to assert and assure their title to the whole country, an immense chart of its coasts was engraved or cut in the pavement of the new Stadt House, or Town Hall, of Amsterdam; and metal plates containing suitable inscriptions were ordered to be fixed on trees or rocks by the Dutch navigators wherever they landed upon its shores. Some of these engraved plates have been discovered within the present century, nearly two hundred years after they had been left by the careful and painstaking Dutchmen.

The following is a translation of the inscription on one which was found on Dirk Hartog's Island, on the western coast, in latitude 25 degrees, as recorded in Monsieur Peron's narrative of a French expedition for Australian discovery, which was despatched by Bonaparte in 1801, under command of M. Hamelin :

"The 25th of October, the ship Endraght, of Amsterdam, touched here ; the chief owner Gilles Miebaïs Van Luck, the Captain Dirk Hartighs of Amsterdam. He sailed the 27th of same month for Bantam. The supercargo was Janstins ; the master, Peiter Ecoores Van Bu. The year 1616."

The extraordinary pains taken by the Dutch to secure undisputed possession of New Holland had an effect the reverse of what was intended. The attention of the world, and of English navigators in particular, was thereby attracted towards a land which was believed to be rich in proportion to the jealousy with which it was guarded.

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPT OF THE DUTCH, IN 1628, TO COLONISE NEW HOLLAND—DISASTROUS RESULT OF THE EXPEDITION—MUTINY OF THE SUPERCARGO, AND TRAGICAL FATE OF MANY OF THE CREW AND PASSENGERS OF THE BATAVIA FRIGATE.

THE great expedition referred to in the preceding chapter as having been sent out by the Dutch Government in 1628 for the purpose of taking possession of New Holland, was one of the most disastrous projects ever entered upon. The fate of the unfortunate crews and people on board several of the vessels of the fleet has never been ascertained, but the circumstances attending the wreck of Captain Pelsart's ship, the Batavia frigate, and the mutiny which followed, form one of the most tragical and remarkable stories in the annals of maritime adventure ; and demand, in a history of Australian Colonisation, a more lengthened notice than they received in the preceding chapter. The narrative contains more particulars of occurrences which took place on the New Holland coast than are to be found in all the other relations which we have of the old Dutch navigators put together. The Batavia, as has been before mentioned, left Holland on

the 28th October, 1628, as convoy of one of the greatest fleets ever despatched to the Southern hemisphere. This fleet comprised ten ships, besides the frigate acting as convoy. It was generally believed in Europe, at that time, that the expedition was sent to occupy and colonise the country in consequence of the vast riches and the exciting accounts brought home by the ships of General Carpenter's fleet, concerning which the most mysterious and contradictory statements were circulated. In Callander's translation of De Brosse's History of Navigation it is stated that "this mystery was a good deal heightened by the statement that the gold, spices, and other rich goods brought home by one of the ships were not the product of the country, but were fished out of the wreck of a large ship that had been lost upon the coast. But this story did not satisfy the inquisitive, because not attended with circumstances necessary to establish its credit, and therefore it was suggested that instead of taking away the obscurity by relating the truth, this tale was invented in order to hide it the more effectually. This suspicion gained ground the more when it was known that the Dutch East India Company had made some attempts, from Batavia, to conquer a part of the southern continent, and had been repulsed with loss."

The fitting out of so great an expedition as that under the command of Captain Pelsart, provided as it was with all the appliances necessary for taking possession and colonising the Great South Land, served to confirm, in the opinion of other nations, the extravagant rumours which had been spread as to the riches of the country which the Dutch had discovered. The energy infused into the usually phlegmatic Dutchmen, by the news brought home by the crews of General Carpenter's ships, may be judged of from the fact, that although they only arrived in Holland in June, 1628, in four months afterwards—that is, in October of the same year—the great expedition of eleven ships was ready for sea. The whole fleet reached the Cape of Good Hope in safety, but after leaving that place the Batavia was separated from her consorts in a terrible storm, lost her reckoning, and ultimately struck on the shoals, off the coast of Western Australia, known as Houtman's Abrolhos, in latitude 28 degrees south. This took place on the night of the 4th of June, 1629. Captain Pelsart was ill in bed when the ship struck, and when he came on deck he found her surrounded with breakers, and continually striking. The sailing master and steersman

said they had mistaken the white froth of the breakers for the reflection of the rays of the moon on the water. They had been so long out of their reckoning, that they scarcely knew in what part of the world they were. An attempt was made to let go an anchor, but before this could be done another dreadful storm arose, and they had to cut away the mainmast, which in falling became entangled with the rigging, and rendered their position a most perilous one. A number of women and children, the wives and families of the intending colonists, were on board the *Batavia*, and the coast was so rocky and the weather so stormy, that it was found very difficult to land them. The captain, however, resolved to make the attempt.

The Dutch account of this, the first and the most disastrous effort at Australian colonisation, is full of interest, and is best told in the words of the original narrative :

"They then resolved to cut away the mainmast, which they did, and this augmented the shock, neither could they get clear of it, though they cut it close by the board, because it was much entangled with the rigging; they could see no land, except an island, which was about the distance of three leagues, and two smaller islands, or rather rocks, which lay nearer. They immediately sent the master to examine them, who returned about nine in the morning, and reported that the sea at high water did not cover them, but that the coast was so rocky and full of shoals that it would be very difficult to land upon them; they resolved, however, to run the risk, and to send most of their company on shore to pacify the women, children, sick people, and such as were out of their wits with fear, whose cries and noise served only to disturb them. About ten o'clock they embarked these in their shallop and skiff, and, perceiving their vessel began to break, they doubled their diligence; they likewise endeavoured to get their bread up, but they did not take the same care of the water, not reflecting in their fright that they might be much distressed for want of it on shore, and what hindered them most of all was the brutal behaviour of some of the crew that made themselves drunk with wine, of which no care was taken. In short, such was their confusion, that they made but three trips that day, carrying over to the island 180 persons, 20 barrels of bread, and some small casks of water. The master returned on board towards evening, and told the captain that it was to no

purpose to send more provisions on shore, since the people only wasted those they had already. Upon this the captain went in the shallop to put things in better order, and was then informed that there was no water to be found upon the island; he endeavoured to return to the ship in order to bring off a supply, together with the most valuable part of the cargo, but a storm suddenly arising, he was forced to return.

"The next day was spent in removing their water and most valuable goods on shore; and afterwards the captain in the skiff, and the master in the shallop, endeavoured to return to the vessel, but found the sea run so high that it was impossible to get on board. In this extremity the carpenter threw himself out of the ship, and swam to them, in order to inform them to what hardships those left in the vessel were reduced, and they sent him back with orders for them to make rafts, by tying the planks together, and endeavour on these to reach the shallop and skiff; but before this could be done, the weather became so rough, that the captain was obliged to return, leaving, with the utmost grief, his lieutenant and seventy men on the point of perishing on board the vessel. Those who were got on the little island were not in a much better condition, for, upon taking an account of their water, they found they had not above forty gallons for forty people, and on the larger island, where there were 120, their stock was still less. Those on the little island began to murmur, and to complain of their officers, because they did not go in search of water in the islands that were within sight of them, and they represented the necessity of this to Captain Pelsart, who agreed to their request, but insisted before he went to communicate his design to the rest of the people; they consented to this, but not till the captain had declared that, without the consent of the company on the large island, he would, rather than leave them, go and perish on board the ship. When they were got pretty near the shore, he who commanded the boat told the captain that if he had anything to say he must cry out to the people, for that they would not suffer him to go out of the boat. The captain immediately attempted to throw himself overboard, in order to swim to the island. Those who were in the boat prevented him; and all that he could obtain from them was, to throw on shore his table-book, in which he wrote a line or two to inform them that he was gone in the skiff to look for water in the adjacent islands."

The captain, however, the narrative proceeds to relate, instead of returning with water to the assistance of the unfortunate people he had left, resolved, with the aid of a portion of the crew who had secretly joined him, to attempt to deck the skiff, the better to fit her for the voyage, and thus to endeavour to reach Batavia. This design he succeeded, with much difficulty, in accomplishing. On the voyage to Batavia they fell in with three Dutch vessels, one of them having on board Mr. Ramburg, Councillor of the Indies; who thereupon agreed to accompany them to solicit aid from the Governor-General. That officer immediately granted their request, and the *Sardam* frigate was at once ordered to proceed to the rescue of the intending colonists and the remainder of the crew of the *Batavia*. The occurrences which took place among the shipwrecked people after Captain Pelsart's departure were of the most dreadful and ferocious description, and afford materials for one of the darkest chapters of Australian history. The accounts of some of the deeds which darken the early annals of New South Wales and Tasmania are sufficiently revolting, but none of them—not all of them together—afford such a frightful picture of violence and crime as the narrative of the doings of these shipwrecked Dutch settlers, soldiers, and sailors. The account of what followed, when it was known that the captain had left them, is from Thevenot's translation of the narrative of Pelsart's voyage:—

“We will now leave the captain soliciting succours from the Governor-General, in order to return to the crew who were left upon the islands; among whom there happened such transactions, as, in their condition, the reader would little expect, and perhaps will hardly credit. In order to their being thoroughly understood, it is necessary to observe, that they had for supercargo one Jerom Cornelis, who had been formerly an apothecary at Harlem. This man, when they were on the coast of Africa, had plotted with the pilot and some others to run away with the vessel, and either to carry her into Dunkirk or to turn pirates in her on their own account. This supercargo had remained ten days on board the wreck, not being able in all that time to get on shore. Two whole days he spent on the mainmast, floating to and fro, till at last, by the help of one of the yards, he got to land. When he was once on shore, the command, in the absence of Captain Pelsart, devolved of course upon him, which immediately revived in his mind his old design, insomuch that he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to make himself master

of all that could be saved out of the wreck, conceiving that it would be easy to surprise the captain on his return, and determining to 'go on the account,' that is to say, to turn pirate in the captain's vessel. In order to carry this design into execution, he thought it necessary to rid themselves of such of the crew as were not likely to come into their scheme; but before he proceeded to dip his hands in blood, he obliged all the conspirators to sign an instrument by which they engaged to stand by each other.

"The whole ship's company were on shore in three islands, the greatest part of them in that where Cornelis was, which island they thought fit to call the burying-place of Batavia. One Mr. Weybhays was sent with another body into an adjacent island to look for water, which, after twenty days' search, he found, and made the appointed signal, by lighting three fires, which, however, were not seen, nor taken notice of by those under the command of Cornelis, because they were busy in butchering their companions, of whom they had murdered between thirty and forty; but some few, however, got off upon a raft of planks tied together, and went to the island where Mr. Weybhays was, in order to acquaint him with the dreadful circumstances that had happened. Mr. Weybhays having with him forty-five men, they all resolved to stand upon their guard, and to defend themselves to the last man, in case these villains should attack them. This indeed was their design, for they were apprehensive both of this body, and of those who were on the third island, giving notice to the captain on his return, and thereby preventing their intention of running away with his vessel. But as this third company was by much the weakest, they began with them first, and cut them all off, except five women and seven children, not in the least doubting that they should be able to do as much by Weybhays and his company; in the meantime, having broke open the merchants' chests, which had been saved out of the wreck, they converted them to their own use, without ceremony.

"The traitor, Jerom Cornelis, was so much elevated with the success that had hitherto attended his villainy, that he immediately began to fancy all difficulties were over, and gave a loose to his vicious inclinations in every respect; he ordered clothes to be made of rich stuffs that had been saved, for himself and his troop, and having chosen out of them a company of guards, he ordered them to have scarlet coats, with a double lace of gold or silver. There were two

minister's daughters among the women, one of whom he took for his own mistress. gave the second to a favourite of his, and ordered that the other three women should be common to the whole troop ; he afterwards drew up a set of regulations, which were to be the laws of his new principality, taking to himself the style and title of Captain-general, and obliging his party to sign an act or instrument, by which they acknowledged him as such. These points once settled, he resolved to carry on the war. He first of all embarked on board two shallops twenty-two men, well armed, with orders to destroy Mr. Weybhays and his company ; and on their miscarrying, he undertook a like expedition with thirty-seven men, in which, however, he had no better success ; for Mr. Weybhays, with his people, though armed only with staves with nails drove into their heads, advanced even into the water to meet them, and, after a brisk engagement, compelled these murderers to retire.

"Cornelis then thought fit to enter into a negotiation, which was managed by the chaplain, who remained with Mr. Weybhays ; and after several comings and goings from one party to the other, a treaty was concluded upon the following terms : viz. That Mr. Weybhays and his company should for the future remain undisturbed, provided they delivered up a little boat, in which one of the sailors had made his escape from the island in which Cornelis was with his gang, in order to take shelter on that where Weybhays was with his company. It was also agreed that the latter should have a part of the stuffs and silks given them for clothes, of which they stood in great want. But, while this affair was in agitation, Cornelis took the opportunity of the correspondence between them being restored, to write letters to some French soldiers that were in Weybhays' company, promising them six thousand livres a-piece if they would comply with his demands ; not doubting but by this artifice he should be able to accomplish his end.

"His letters, however, had no effect ; on the contrary, the soldiers to whom they were directed, carried them immediately to Mr. Weybhays. Cornelis, not knowing that this piece of treachery was discovered, went over the next morning, with three or four of his people, to carry to Mr. Weybhays the clothes that had been promised him. As soon as they landed, Weybhays attacked them, killed two or three, and made Cornelis himself prisoner. One Wouterloss, who was the only man that made his escape, went immediately

back to the conspirators, put himself at their head, and came the next day to attack Weybhays, but met with the same fate as before; that is to say, he and the villains that were with him were soundly beaten.

"Things were in this situation when Captain Pelsart arrived in the Sardam frigate. He sailed up to the wreck, and saw with great joy a cloud of smoke ascending from one of the islands, by which he knew that all his people were not dead. He came immediately to an anchor; and having ordered some wine and provisions to be put into the skiff, resolved to go in person with these refreshments to one of the islands. He had hardly quitted the ship before he was boarded by a boat from the island to which he was going; there were four men in the boat, of whom Weybhays was one, who immediately ran to the captain, told him what had happened, and begged him to return to his ship immediately, for that the conspirators intended to surprise her; that they had already murdered 125 persons, and that they had attacked him and his company that very morning, with two shallops.

"While they were talking, the two shallops appeared; upon which the captain rowed to his ship as fast as he could, and had hardly got on board before they arrived at the ship's side. The captain was surprised to see men in red coats, laced with gold and silver, with arms in their hands. He demanded what they meant by coming on board armed. They told him he should know when they were on board the ship. The captain replied that they should come on board, but that they must first throw their arms into the sea, which if they did not do immediately, he would sink them as they lay. As they saw that disputes were to no purpose, and that they were entirely in the captain's power, they were obliged to obey. They accordingly threw their arms overboard, and were then taken into the vessel, where they were instantly put in irons. One of them, whose name was John Bremen, and who was first examined, owned that he had murdered with his own hands, or had assisted in murdering, no less than twenty-seven persons. The same evening Weybhays brought his prisoner Cornelis on board, where he was put in irons, and strictly guarded.

"On the 18th of September, Captain Pelsart, with the master, went to take the rest of the conspirators in Cornelis's island. They went in two boats. The villains, as soon as they saw them land, lost all their courage, and fled from them.

They surrendered without a blow, and were put in irons with the rest. The captain's first care was to recover the jewels which Cornelis had dispersed among his accomplices ; they were, however, all of them soon found, except a gold chain and a diamond ring ; the latter was also found at last, but the former could not be recovered. They went next to examine the wreck, which they found staved into a hundred pieces ; the keel lay on a bank of sand on one side, the fore part of the vessel stuck fast on a rock, and the rest of her lay here and there as the pieces had been driven by the waves, so that Captain Pelsart had very little hope of saving any of the merchandise. One of the people belonging to Weybhay's company told him, that one fair day, which was the only one they had in a month, as he was fishing near the wreck, he had struck the pole in his hand against one of the chests of silver, which revived the captain a little, as it gave him reason to expect that something might still be saved. They spent all the 19th in examining the rest of the prisoners, and in confronting them with those who escaped from the massacre.

"On the 20th they sent several kinds of refreshment to Weybhay's company, and carried a good quantity of water from the isle. There was something very singular in finding this water ; the people who were on shore there had subsisted near three weeks on rain-water, and what lodged in the clefts of the rocks, without thinking that the water of two wells which were on the island could be of any use, because they saw them constantly rise and fall with the tide, from whence they fancied they had a communication with the sea, and consequently that the water must be brackish ; but upon trial they found it to be very good : and so did the ship's company, who filled their casks with it.

"On the 21st the tide was so low, and an east-south-east wind blew so hard, that during the whole day the boat could not get out. On the 22nd they attempted to fish upon the wreck, but the weather was so bad, that even those who could swim very well durst not approach it. On the 25th the master and the pilot, the weather being fair, went off again to the wreck, and those who were left on shore, observing that they wanted hands to get any thing out of her, sent off some to assist them. The captain himself also went to encourage the men, who soon weighed one chest of silver, and some time after another. As soon as these were safe ashore they returned to their work, but the weather grew so bad that

they were quickly obliged to desist, though some of their divers from Guzarat assured them they had found six more, which might easily be weighed. On the 26th, in the afternoon, the weather being fair, and the tide low, the master returned to the place where the chests lay, and weighed three of them, leaving an anchor with a gun tied to it, and a buoy to mark the place where a fourth lay, which, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they were not able to recover.

"On the 27th the south wind blew very cold. On the 28th the same wind blew stronger than the day before; and as there was no possibility of fishing in the wreck for the present, Captain Pelsart held a council to consider what they should do with the prisoners; that is to say, whether it would be best to try them there upon the spot, or to carry them to Batavia, in order to their being tried by the Company's officers. After mature deliberation, reflecting on the number of prisoners, and the temptation that might arise from the vast quantity of silver on board the frigate, they at last came to a resolution to try and execute them there, which was accordingly done; and they embarked immediately afterwards for Batavia."

It will be seen from the above account that from the date of the wreck to the time of their rescue nearly four months elapsed—that is, from the 4th June to the end of September. The total number of persons on board the Batavia when she was lost is not stated, but it was probably over three hundred. The crew alone comprised two hundred men. How many met their deaths by the violence of their fellows in misfortune is uncertain. The mutineers', it is stated, murdered 125; and as several of Cornelis's gang were killed in conflict with those who opposed their designs, and the whole of the remainder executed, the total number of lives sacrificed could hardly have been less than two hundred. The whole story belongs to that class of exciting, and at first sight almost incredible, narratives of which what has been called the romance of history is comprised. The quiet, matter-of-fact way in which the dreadful circumstances are related in the original account is highly characteristic of Dutch nature and habits. If the common saying, that truth is stranger than fiction, does not hold good in respect of the affairs of every-day life, it certainly does to this extent—that the facts of history are often stranger than the fictions of historians. No romance ever written contains a more

grotesquely horrible story than that which relates the conduct of Jerom Cornelis. In this remarkable case we have a man who had been pursuing the quiet calling of an apothecary in a sleepy Dutch town, suddenly elevated into a position of irresponsible command over a number of order-loving and law-abiding fellow-countrymen thrown by misfortune on the shores of an unknown land. The hitherto decorous and respectable citizen no sooner finds himself possessed of power than he gives way to the most bloodthirsty passions, seeks the gratification of the most abominable lust, and the indulgence of the most unbounded vanity. His conduct to his unfortunate victims, the minister's daughters and the other women—his murder of numbers of his countrymen—his assumption of the title of Captain-General—his choosing a body-guard, and dressing them up in scarlet and gold—his declared intention of founding a principality;—and the speedy retribution which overtook him and his gang, afford materials for a story which would require the pen of a De Foe to do it justice. It would have been thought, in the absence of so terrible a proof to the contrary, that Dutchmen, above all the people in the world, would have been the least likely to give way to crime and violence under such circumstances. But those whose lives have run in grooves, whose conduct in all common affairs has been guided by stringent conventionalities, whose experience has been confined to the quiet, dull routine which prevails in countries like Holland, are probably less able to command their passions, and to regulate their conduct under novel and exciting circumstances, than men whose experience has been wider, whose lives have been less regular, and whose will and instincts have had freer scope.

The Dutch writer of the above account is provokingly silent as to the number of the mutineers and the manner of their execution. All the insight permitted into the last dreadful act of this terrible drama is revealed in a few words, as if the writer, who was probably one of the survivors—perhaps Weybhays himself—desired to draw a veil over so painful a transaction. All that he says is that “they came to the resolution to try and execute them there, which was accordingly done.” The trial, probably, was a very short one, and the interval between its close and the carrying out of the sentence not very long.

The “vast quantity of silver,” lost in the *Batavia*, has perhaps been the subject of more efforts for its recovery than

were ever applied to any other treasure which the sea has swallowed up. Projectors and enthusiasts in almost every generation since the time of the wreck—two hundred and thirty-seven years ago—have formed plans and concocted schemes almost without number for its recovery. Even at the present time the idea is not wholly abandoned, for during the last twenty or thirty years several efforts are said to have been made, and, if all accounts are to be credited, not entirely without success, to discover the site of the wreck and rescue from the grasp of the sea a portion of the long lost dollars.

The tragically-disastrous result of this first attempt to form a settlement on the shores of the Great South Land seems to have put an end at once and for ever to any desire on the part of the Dutch to colonise the country. The particular part of New Holland where it was intended that Pelsart's expedition should land, if the fleet had reached its destination, is not mentioned; but it was doubtless in some part of the Gulf of Carpentaria, as that was the country whose shores General Carpenter had explored, and where rumour said he had obtained the gold, spices, and other valuable products which his fleet had brought to Europe.

It is singular that up to the present time—nearly two centuries and a half after this great but futile effort on the part of Holland to form a settlement on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria—no further attempt has been made to colonise what is undoubtedly one of the most fertile regions of the globe. The herds and flocks of the Queensland squatters are, however, now fast approaching the shores of the Great Gulf from the south-east, and arrangements are already talked of for shipping the golden fleece direct from the Albert or some other river which flows into it.

The jealous and selfish conduct of the Dutch Government and the Dutch East India Company, in enforcing silence concerning their discoveries in the Great South Land, deprived the world of much valuable and interesting information. The publication of the accounts of the voyages of Pelsart and Tasman was sanctioned because nothing was revealed in them which showed the country in a favourable light, or which could possibly serve to attract the navigators of rival nations to its shores. Almost all the particulars of the other voyages were suppressed, and have never been published even to this day. Paulmier says that Dutch vessels often wintered on the coasts of New Holland, and

spent time enough among the natives to enable them to give very particular accounts both of the people and their country, if the East India Company, for interested reasons, had not hindered them. He says also that the natives always readily furnished refreshments to their ships when wanted.

In addition to the visits of the early Dutch navigators to the western and northern coasts of New Holland, it was generally believed in the seventeenth century that they had also made important discoveries on the Eastern, or, as it was often called, the Unknown Coast, of that country. The author of an old work on southern voyages, in his preliminary discourse, says:—"It is certain that the Dutch have made great discoveries on the unknown side of Australia, whereof they have not nearly given information or made public their doings up to this time. This mysterious silence, and that which has been said of the riches of the country, make us believe that the Dutch are not to be relied upon in their accounts of researches in the land of Australia; perhaps believing that candid disclosures will create the envy of strangers, and lead them to make attempts to establish themselves there to the prejudice of the designs of their own country."

The first navigator to visit Australia, after the period of the disastrous expedition above mentioned, was Captain Abel Tasman. The results of his voyage have been given in the preceding chapter. The date was 1642. From this period nearly half a century elapsed, during which, if any attempts at Australian discovery were made, no records have been preserved. Some writers say that the celebrated Dampier visited New Holland for the first time in 1669, and some passages in his account of his visit in 1688 appear to confirm this opinion. It is certain that he made a voyage to the Indian seas when he was a boy; and it is not improbable that his ship touched somewhere on the Western coast; but, if such was the case, no relation of what he saw there on that occasion has been published. His subsequent visits in 1688 and 1699 will be found recorded in the following chapter.

Memorials of the visits of Dutch navigators to the western coast about the end of the seventeenth century have been found at various periods. One of these, a pewter plate, about six inches in diameter, which was discovered at Inscription Cape,

lying near a decayed oaken post, to which it appeared to have been nailed, bore the following words, rudely engraved, in the Dutch language:—"The 4th of February, 1697, the ship *Het Gleevink* of Amsterdam, touched here: the captain *Wilhelm de Vlaming* of *Vlielandt*; *Joannes Bremer* of *Copenhagen*, mate; the chief pilot *Michel Bloem Van Estigt* of *Bremen*; also, the dogger *Nyptaug*, *Gerrit Colaart* of *Amsterdam*, captain; *Theodorus Hermans* of the same place, mate; *Gerrit Gerritzen* of *Bremen*, chief pilot; also the galliot *Het Weseltve*, *Cornelis de Vlaming* of *Vlielandt*, commander; *Coert Gerritzen* of *Bremen*, master. Sailed hence with our flotilla from the Austral lands under destination for *Batavia*."

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE TIME OF THE VISITS OF DAMPIER AND THE BUCCANEERS TO COOK'S
DISCOVERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES—1687 to 1770.

DURING the latter half of the seventeenth century the daring adventurers and pirates known as the *Buccaneers*, spread the terror of the English name not only throughout the Spanish Main and the Spanish American colonies, but from one shore of the Pacific to the other—wherever the Spaniards or the Dutch had planted a colony or plunder was to be procured. The fame of the Great South Land, which the Dutch had discovered and had attempted to take possession of, soon attracted the attention of these piratical adventurers, and particularly of the celebrated *Dampier*, one of the most famous of the sea rovers. He and his companions left England in August 1683, and after plundering the Spanish settlements for several years, on both sides of the Pacific, turned their course, in the latter part of 1687, first to the Indian Archipelago and afterwards towards the shores of New Holland. Before taking the latter step they had got rid of *Swan*, their captain, because, as they said, he was too squeamish for a buccaneer, and hesitated to plunder any but Spaniards. Captain *Swan*, while he was with them, had kept them under some sort of discipline, but when he was no longer present, they soon quarrelled among themselves. They reached the western coast of Australia on the 4th January, 1688, where their ship, the *Cygnat*, refitted.

It was almost a recognised principle with commanders of king's ships, as well as with the more reckless private adventurers of those days, that "there was no peace beyond the line;" and whether they were at war or not in Europe, the ships of the various nations often pillaged and plundered each other whenever and wherever they had an opportunity in the southern hemisphere. This state of things, when they wanted to refit or refresh, necessitated the resort of the buccaneers to some uninhabited or remote land; and very probably it was this necessity quite as much as expectations of finding treasure or plunder which induced Dampier's companions to consent to join in the visit to the Australian coast. But whatever their object may have been, they were, so far as can now be discovered, the first Englishmen who left any written record of their visit to the Great South Land.

The following is Dampier's account of his visit with the buccaneers in the *Cygnets* in 1688. It will be seen that his opinion of New Holland is by no means flattering, either as regards the place or people:—

"The 27th December, 1687, being clear of all the islands [of the Indian Archipelago,] we stood off south, intending to touch at New Holland, to see what that country would afford us. On the 4th of January, 1688, we fell in with the land in the latitude of 16 degrees 50 minutes, having, as I said before, made our course due south from the shoal that we past by the 31st day of December. We ran in close by it, and finding no convenient anchoring, because it lies open to the north-west, we ran along shore to the eastward, steering north-east by east, for so the land lies. We steered thus about twelve leagues; and then came to a point of land from whence the land trends east and southerly for ten or twelve leagues, but how afterwards I know not. About three leagues to the eastward of this point there is a pretty deep bay with abundance of islands in it, and a very good place to anchor in, or to hale ashore. About a league to the eastward of that point we anchored January the 5th, 1688, two miles from the shore, in twenty-nine fathoms, good hard sand and clean ground.

"New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea, only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay.

"The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water, except

you make wells, yet producing divers sorts of trees ; but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big. Most of the trees that we saw are dragon-trees as we supposed ; and these too are the largest trees of any there. They are about the bigness of our large apple-trees, and about the same height, and the rind is blackish and somewhat rough ; the leaves are of a dark colour ; the gum distils out of the knots or cracks that are in the bodies of the trees. We compared it with some gum-dragon, or dragon's blood, that was aboard, and it was of the same colour and taste. The other sort of trees were not known by any of us. There was pretty long grass growing under the trees, but it was very thin. We saw no trees that bore fruit or berries.

"We saw no sort of animal nor any track of beast, but once ; and that seemed to be the tread of a beast as big as a great mastiff dog. Here are a few small land birds, but none bigger than a black-bird, and but few sea fowls. Neither is the sea very plentifully stored with fish, unless you reckon the manatee and turtle as such ; of these creatures there is plenty, but they are extraordinary shy, though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much, having neither boats nor iron.

"The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these ; who have no houses and skin-garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, &c., as the Hodmadods have : and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, strait-bodied and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes : they being so troublesome here, that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face, and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off they will creep into one's nostrils and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close ; so that from their infancy being thus annoyed with these insects they do never open their eyes as other people : and therefore they cannot see far unless they hold up their heads as if they were looking at somewhat over them.

"They have great bottle-noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths ; the two fore-teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young ; whether they draw them out I know not ; neither have they any beards. They are long visaged, and of a very displeasing

aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short and curled, like that of the negroes, and not long and lank like the common Indians. The colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal-black, like that of the negroes of Guinea.

"They have no sort of clothes but a piece of the rind of a tree, tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs full of leaves, thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness.

"They have no houses, but lie in the open air without any covering: the earth being their bed and the heaven their canopy. Whether they cohabit one man to one woman, or promiscuously, I know not; but they do live in companies, twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish, which they get by making wares of stone across little coves or branches of the sea; every tide bringing in the small fish, and there leaving them for a prey to these people, who constantly attend there to search for them at low water. This small fry I take to be the top of their fishery. They have no instruments to catch great fish should they come, and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water; nor could we catch any fish with our hooks and lines all the while we lay there. In other places at low water they seek for cockles, muscles, and periwinkles: of these shell-fish there are fewer still, so that their chiefest dependence is upon what the sea leaves in their wares; which be it much or little they gather up, and march to the places of their abode. There the old people that are not able to stir abroad by reason of their age, and the tender infants, wait their return; and what Providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals, and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as makes them a plentiful banquet, and at other times they scarce get every one a taste; but be it little or much that they get, every one has his part, as well the young and tender, the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, as the strong and lusty. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, it is all one, they must attend the wares or else they must fast, for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain for them to eat, that we saw; nor any sort of bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewithal to do so.

"I did not perceive that they did worship anything. These

poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their ware, or fight with their enemies, if they have any that will interfere with their poor fishery. They did at first endeavour with their weapons to frighten us, who lying ashore deterred them from one of their fishing places. Some of them had wooden swords, others had a sort of lances. The sword is a piece of wood shaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long straight pole, sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron nor any other sort of metal; therefore it is probable they use stone hatchets, as some Indians in America do."

The foregoing account of the natives appears in Dampier's journal under date 4th January, although the ship did not anchor until the day after. This fact appears to corroborate the supposition that he had been there on a previous voyage. What follows relates his first interview with the natives on this occasion :—

"We anchored on January 5th, 1688, and seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoe to get some acquaintance with them, for we were in hopes to get some provision among them, but the inhabitants seeing our boat coming ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards three days in hopes to find their houses, but found none; yet we saw many places where they had made fire. At last, being out of hopes to find their habitations, we searched no further, but left a great many toys ashore in such places where we thought that they would come. In all our search we found no water, but old wells on the sandy bays. At last we went over to the islands, and there we found a great many of the natives, I do believe there were forty on one island, men, women, and children. The men at our first coming ashore threatened us with their lances and swords, but they were frightened by firing one gun, which we fired purposely to scare them. The island was so small that they could not hide themselves, but they were much disordered at our landing, especially the women and children, for we went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women, snatching up their infants, ran away howling, and the little children ran after, squeaking and bawling, but the men stood still. Some of the women and such people as could not go from us, lay still by a fire, making a doleful noise as if we had been coming to devour them, but when they saw we did not intend to harm them they were pretty quiet, and the rest that fled from us at our first coming returned

again. This, their place of dwelling, was only a fire with a few boughs before it, set up on that side the wind was of. After we had been here a little while, the men began to be familiar, and we clothed some of them, designing to have had some service of them for it, for we found some wells of water here, and intended to carry two or three barrels of it aboard ; but it being somewhat troublesome to carry to the canoes, we thought to have made these men to have carried it for us, and therefore we gave them some old clothes ; to one an old pair of breeches, to another a ragged shirt, to the third a jacket that was scarce worth owning ; which yet would have been very acceptable at some places where we had been, and so we thought they might have been with these people. We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us, and our water being filled in small long barrels, about six gallons in each, which were made purposely to carry water in, we brought these our new servants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their shoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, without motion, but grinned like so many monkees, staring one upon another ; for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burthens, and I believe that one of our ship-boys of ten years old would carry as much as one of them. So we were forced to carry our water ourselves, and they very fairly put the clothes off again, and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in. I did not perceive that they had any great liking to them at first, neither did they seem to admire any thing that we had.

“ At another time our canoe being among these islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another ; for they have no boats, canoes, or bark-logs. They took up four of them, and brought them on board ; two of them were middle-aged, the other two were young men about eighteen or twenty years old. To these we gave boiled rice, and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They did greedily devour what we gave them, but took no notice of the ship, or any thing in it, and when they were set on land again, they ran away as fast as they could. At our first coming, before we were acquainted with them, or they with us, a company of them who lived on the main, came just against our ship, and standing on a pretty high bank, threatened us with their swords and lances, by shaking them at us. At last the captain ordered the drum to be beaten,

which was done of a sudden with much vigour, purposely to scare the poor creatures. They hearing the noise, ran away as fast as they could drive; and when they ran away in haste, they would cry 'gurry, gurru,' speaking deep in the throat. Those inhabitants also that live on the main, would always run away from us; yet we took several of them. For, as I have already observed, they had such bad eyes, that they could not see us till we came close to them. We did always give them victuals, and let them go again, but the islanders, after our first time of being among them, did not stir for us.

"When we had been here about a week, we haled our ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring-tide, as far as she would float; and at low water she was left dry, and the sand dry without us near half a mile; for the sea riseth and falleth here about five fathom. The flood runs north by east, and the ebb south by west. All the neaptides we lay wholly aground, for the sea did not come near us by about a hundred yards. We had therefore time enough to clean our ship's bottom, which we did very well. Most of our men lay ashore in a tent, where our sails were mending; and our strikers brought home turtle and manatee every day, which was our constant food.

"While we lay here, I did endeavour to persuade our men to go to some English factory; but was threatened to be turned ashore, and left here for it. This made me desist, and patiently wait for some more convenient place and opportunity to leave them than here, which I did hope I should accomplish in a short time; because they did intend, when they went from hence, to bear down towards Cape Comorin. In their way thither they designed also to visit the island Cocos, which lieth in latitude twelve degrees twelve minutes north, by our drafts; hoping there to find of that fruit; the island having its name from thence."

What Dampier wrote of the aborigines of that part of Australia, nearly two hundred years since, is as true now as it was then. Unfortunately for their general character, and for the character of their country, he happened to land on one of the most barren and uninviting portions of the whole continent. And it is, perhaps, due in a great measure to his unfavourable accounts of both country and people that no attempt to form a settlement on the coasts of the Great South Land was made for a century afterwards.

Dissatisfied with the conduct of the crew, Dampier deter-

mined to leave them on the first opportunity; and shortly after quitting the part of the north-west coast where they had refitted, he put his project into execution. He succeeded in reaching England after a series of most extraordinary adventures.

By no means satisfied with the slight view he had thus obtained of the Great South Land, Dampier determined to repeat his visit at the earliest opportunity. It was not however until several years afterwards that he was able to carry out his intention. In 1699 he had the good fortune, through the influence of his patron, Lord Orford, to be made, by King William III., commander of an old sloop of war, the *Roebuck*, and shortly afterwards left England on an exploring expedition to the coasts of New Holland. He reached the western coast, at Sharks' Bay, in latitude 25 south, on the 6th August in that year. He says:—"As soon as I came to anchor in this bay, I sent my boat ashore to seek for fresh water; but in the evening my men returned, having found none. The next morning I went ashore myself, carrying pick-axes and shovels with me, to dig for water, and axes to cut wood. We tried in several places for water, but finding none after several trials, nor in several miles compass, we left any farther search for it, and spending the rest of the day in cutting wood, we went aboard at night."

The first notice of the kangaroo by any navigator occurs in Dampier's journal, under the above date, in the following terms:—"The land animals that we saw here were only a sort of racoons, different from those of the West Indies, chiefly as to their legs, for these have very short fore legs, but go jumping upon them as the others do, and like them are very good meat." After enumerating lizards and other reptiles, which he also pronounced "very good meat," he continues:—"Of the sharks we caught a great many, which our men eat very savourily. Among them we caught one which was eleven feet long. The space between its two eyes was twenty inches, and eighteen inches from one corner of his mouth to the other. Its maw was like a leather sack, very thick, and so tough that a sharp knife could scarce cut it, in which we found the head and bones of a hippopotamus, the hairy lips of which were still sound and not putrified, and the jaw was also firm, out of which we plucked a great many teeth, two of them eight inches long, and as big as a man's thumb, small at one end, and a little crooked, the rest not above half so long. The maw was full of jelly, which

stank extremely ; however, I saved for a while the teeth and the shark's jaw ; the flesh of it was divided among my men, and they took care that no waste should be made of it."

Dampier remained at Sharks' Bay only a few days. On the 18th, he says :—" We got up our anchor, and that afternoon came to an anchor near two islands and a shoal of coral rocks that face the bay. Here I scrubbed my ship, and finding it very improbable I should get any further here, I made the best of my way out to sea again."

On this visit his first interview with the natives of the country was, to his deep regret, marked by bloodshed. He gives in his journal the following account of the occurrence, which took place almost immediately after they had landed :—

" While we were at work there came nine or ten of the natives to a small hill a little way from us, and stood there menacing and threatening of us, and making a great noise. At last one of them came towards us, and the rest followed at a distance. I went out to meet him, and came within fifty yards of him, making to him all signs of peace and friendship I could ; but then he ran away, neither would they any of them stay for us to come nigh them, for we tried two or three times. At last I took two men with me and went in the afternoon along by the sea-side purposely to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their fresh water. There were ten or twelve of the natives a little way off, who seeing us three going away from the rest of our men, followed us at a distance. I thought they would follow us : but there being for a while a sand-bank between us and them, that they could not then see us, we made a halt, and hid ourselves in a bending of the sand-bank. They knew we must be thereabouts, and being three or four times our numbers, thought to seize us. So they dispersed themselves, some going to the sea-shore, and others beating about the sand-hills. We knew by what rencounter we had had with them in the morning that we could easily out-run them ; so a nimble young man that was with me seeing some of them near, ran towards them ; and they for some time ran away before him ; but he soon overtaking them, they faced about and fought him. He had a cutlass, and they had wooden lances ; with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him. When he first ran towards them I chased two more that were by the shore ; but fearing how it might be with my young man, I turned back quickly, and went up to the

top of a sand-hill, whence I saw him near me, closely engaged with them. Upon their seeing me, one of them threw a lance at me, that narrowly missed me. I discharged my gun to scare them, but avoided shooting any of them; till finding the young man in great danger from them, and myself in some; and that though the gun had a little frightened them at first, yet they had soon learnt to despise it, tossing up their hands, and crying, 'pooh, pooh, pooh;' and coming on afresh with a great noise. I thought it time to charge again, and shoot one of them, which I did. The rest seeing him fall, made a stand again; and my young man took the opportunity to disengage himself, and come off to me; my other man also was with me, who had done nothing all this while, having come out unarmed; and I returned back with my men, designing to attempt the natives no farther, being very sorry for what had happened already. They took up their wounded companion; and my young man, who had been struck through the cheek by one of their lances, was afraid it had been poisoned: but I did not think that likely. His wound was very painful to him, being made with a blunt weapon; but he soon recovered of it.

"Among the New Hollanders, whom we were thus engaged with, there was one who by his appearance and carriage, as well in the morning as this afternoon, seemed to be the chief of them, and a kind of prince or captain among them. He was a young brisk man, not very tall, nor so personal as some of the rest, though more active and courageous; he was painted (which none of the rest were at all) with a circle of white paste or pigment (a sort of lime, as we thought) about his eyes, and a white streak down his nose, from his forehead to the tip of it; and his breast and some part of his arms were also made white with the same paint; not for beauty or ornament, one would think, but as some wild Indian warriors are said to do, he seemed thereby to design the looking more terrible; this his painting adding very much to his natural deformity; for they all of them have the most unpleasant looks and the worst features of any people that ever I saw, though I have seen great variety of savages."

Dampier and his companions were much more tender of the lives of the aborigines than his former friends, the buccaneers, were of those of the Spaniards or their own. Dampier himself expressed the greatest sorrow at the necessity which had driven him to shoot the poor savage in the encounter above

described. Ever afterwards, in his intercourse with these people, whenever there appeared the slightest danger of a collision, he drew off his men, and refused to allow fire-arms to be used against them. Dampier's humanity on all occasions was remarkable. Like many other young men of good education in that age, he probably joined the buccaneers more from that love of wild adventure which was so general in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than from a thirst for plunder, or a partiality for deeds of violence and rapine. He remained for some weeks on the north-western coast, touching at various points between Shark's Bay and Cape Bougainville; but the places where they landed on this, as on their first visit, appear to have been exceedingly barren and uninviting. In the beginning of September he bore away towards Timor; and on the 12th December left that place for New Guinea. As that great island may without impropriety be considered to belong to Australia, and as the settlements on the Australian Continent have now approached within a short distance of its shores, a few extracts from Dampier's account of his visit will not be out of place in a history of Australian Discovery:—

“On new-year's day, (1700,) we first descried the land of New Guinea, which appeared to be high land; and the next day we saw several high islands on the coast of New Guinea, and ran in with the main land. The shore here lies along east-south-east and west-north-west. It is high even land, very well clothed with tall flourishing trees, which appeared very green, and gave us a very pleasant prospect.

“On the 5th and 6th of January we plied to get in with the land. So soon as we anchored, we sent the pinnace to look for water, and try if they could catch any fish. Afterwards we sent the yawl another way to see for water. Before night the pinnace brought on board several sorts of fruits, that they found in the woods, such as I never saw before. One of my men killed a stately land-fowl, as big as the largest dunghill-cock; it was of a sky-colour, only in the middle of the wings was a white spot, about which were some reddish spots; on the crown it had a large bunch of long feathers, which appeared very pretty; his bill was like a pigeon's; he had strong legs and feet, like dunghill-fowls, only the claws were reddish, his crop was full of small berries. It lays an egg as big as a large hen's egg, for our men climbed the tree where it nested, and brought off one egg. They found water, and reported that the trees were

large, tall, and very thick, and that they saw no sign of people. At night the yawl came aboard, and brought a wooden flassig, very ingeniously made; the matter of it was a small cane; they found it by a small barbecue, where they also saw a shattered canoe.

"The next morning I sent the boatswain ashore a fishing, and at one haul he caught three hundred and fifty-two mackarels, and about twenty other fishes, which I caused to be equally divided among all my company. I sent also the gunner and chief mate, to search about if they could find convenient anchoring near a watering-place; by night they brought word that they had found a fine stream of good water, where the boat could come close to, and it was very easy to be filled, and that the ship might anchor as near to it as I pleased; so I went thither."

Having watered, Dampier left the place without seeing any sign of natives. He continued to cruise among the islands on the coast, without landing on the main island, for several days. On the 14th January he says:—

"A little after noon, on the 14th, we saw smoke on the islands to the west of us, and having a fine gale of wind, I steered away for them; at seven o'clock in the evening we anchored in thirty-five fathom, about two leagues from an island, good soft oozy ground. We lay still all night, and saw fires ashore. In the morning we weighed again, and ran farther in, thinking to have shallower water, but we ran within a mile of the shore, and came to in thirty-eight fathom good soft holding ground; while we were under sail two canoes came off within call of us; they spoke to us, but we did not understand their language nor signs; we waved to them to come aboard, and I called to them in the Malayan language to do the same, but they would not, yet they came so nigh us, that we could show them such things as we had to truck with them, yet neither would this entice them to come on board, but they made signs for us to come ashore, and away they went; then I went after them in my pinnace, carrying with me knives, beads, glasses, hatchets, &c.; when we came near the shore, I called to them in the Malayan language; I saw but two men at first, the rest lying in ambush behind the bushes; but as soon as I threw ashore some knives and other toys, they came out, flung down their weapons, and came into the water by the boat's side, making signs of friendship by pouring water on their heads with one hand, which they dipped into the

sea; the next day, in the afternoon, several other canoes came aboard, and brought many roots and fruits, which we purchased.

"The inhabitants of this island are a sort of very tawny Indians, with long black hair, who in their manners differ but little from the Mindanayans, and others of these eastern islands. These seem to be the chief; for besides them we saw also shock curl-pated New Guinea negroes, many of which are slaves to the others, but I think not all; they are very poor, wear no clothes, but have a clout about their middle, made of the rinds of the tops of palmeto trees; but the women had a sort of callico clothes. Their chief ornaments are blue and yellow beads, worn about their wrists. The men arm themselves with bows and arrows, lances, broad swords, like those of Mindanao; their lances are pointed with bone; they strike fish very ingeniously with wooden fission, and have a very ingenious way of making the fish rise; for they have a piece of wood curiously carved, and painted much like a dolphin (and perhaps other figures); these they let down into the water by a line with a small weight to sink it; when they think it low enough, they haul the line into their boats very fast, and the fish rise up after this figure, and they stand ready to strike them when they are near the surface of the water; but their chief livelihood is from their plantations; yet they have large boats, and go over to New Guinea, where they get slaves, fine parrots, &c., which they carry to Goram and exchange for callicos. One boat came from thence a little before I arrived here, of whom I bought some parrots, and would have bought a slave, but they would not barter for any thing but callicos, which I had not. Their houses on this side were very small, and seemed only to be for necessity; but on the other side of the island we saw good large houses; their proes are narrow, with outriggers on each side, like other Malaysans. I cannot tell of what religion these are; but I think they are not Mahometans, by their drinking brandy out of the same cup with us without any scruple. At this island we continued till the 20th instant, having laid in store of such roots and fruits as the island afforded."

On the 4th February he was off the north-west cape of New Guinea. He landed there and took possession of an island, which he named King William's Island. From thence he bore away to the south-east along the coast of the main-

land; but meeting with contrary winds did not make much progress. On the 28th February he says:—

“The main land at this place is high and mountainous, adorned with tall flourishing trees: the sides of the hills had many large plantations and patches of clear land, which, together with the smoke we saw, were certain signs of its being well inhabited; and I was desirous to have some commerce with the inhabitants. Being nigh shore, we saw first one proe, a little after, two or three more, and at last a great many boats came from all the adjacent bays; when they were forty-six in number they approached so near us, that we could see each others signs, and hear each other speak, though we could not understand them, nor they us; they made signs for us to go in towards the shore, pointing that way; it was squally weather, which at first made me cautious of going too near; but the weather beginning to look pretty well, I endeavoured to get into a bay a head of us, which we could have got into well enough at first; but while we lay by, we were driven so far to leeward, that now it was more difficult to get in. The natives lay in their proes round us; to whom I showed beads, knives, glasses, to allure them to come nearer, but they would not come so nigh as to receive anything from us; therefore I threw out some things to them, viz., a knife fastened to a piece of board, and a glass-bottle corked up with some beads, in it, which they took up and seemed well pleased. They often struck their left breast with their right hands, and as often held up a black truncheon over their heads, which we thought was a token of friendship, wherefore we did the like: and when we stood in towards their shore, they seemed to rejoice, but when we stood off, they frowned, yet kept us company in their proes, still pointing to the shore. About five o'clock we got within the mouth of the bay, and sounded several times, but had no ground, though within a mile of the shore. The basin of this bay was above two miles within us, into which we might have gone; but as I was not assured of anchorage there, so I thought it not prudent to run in at this time, it being near night, and seeing a black tornado rising in the west, which I most feared; besides, we had near two hundred men in proes, close by us: and the bays on the shore were lined with men from one end to the other, where there could not be less than three or four hundred more. What weapons they had we know not, nor yet their design; therefore I had, at their first coming near us, got up all our small

arms, and made several put on cartouche boxes, to prevent treachery. At last I resolved to go out again ; which, when the natives in their proes perceived, they began to fling stones at us as fast as they could, being provided with engines for that purpose, wherefore I named this place Slinger's Bay ; but at the firing of one gun they were all amazed, drew off, and flung no more stones. They got together, as if consulting what to do, for they did not make in towards the shore, but lay still, though some of them were killed or wounded, and many more of them had paid for their boldness but that I was unwilling to cut off any of them ; which if I had done, I could not hope afterwards to bring them to treat with me.

"On the 3rd of March, being about five leagues to leeward of the great island, we saw the main land ahead, and another great high island to leeward of us, distance about seven leagues ; which we bore away for. It is about fourteen or fifteen leagues round : high and mountainous, and very woody ; some trees appeared very large and tall ; and the bays by the sea-side are well stored with cocoa-nut trees ; where we also saw some small houses. The sides of the mountains are thick set with plantations ; and the mould in the new cleared land seemed to be of a brown reddish colour. This island is of no regular figure, but is full of points shooting forth into the sea, between which are many sandy bays, full of cocoa-nut trees. The middle of the isle lies in three degrees ten seconds south latitude. It is very populous ; the natives are very black, strong, and well limbed people ; having great round heads, their hair naturally curled and short, which they shave into several forms and dye it, also of divers colours, viz., red, white, and yellow. They have broad round faces, with great bottle noses, yet agreeable enough, till they disfigure them by painting, and by wearing great things through their noses as big as a man's thumb, and about four inches long ; these are run clear through both nostrils, one end coming out by one cheek-bone, and the other end against the other ; and their noses so stretched, that only a small slip of them appears about the ornament ; they have also great holes in their ears, wherein they wear such stuff as in their noses. They are very dextrous active fellows in their proes, which are very ingeniously built. They are narrow and long, with out-riggers on one side, the head and stern higher than the rest, and carved into many devices, viz., some fowl, fish, or a man's head painted or carved ; and though it is but rudely done, yet the resemblance appears plainly, and shows an

ingenious fancy. But with what instruments they make their proes or carved work, I know not, for they seem to be utterly ignorant of iron. They have very neat paddles, with which they manage their proes dextrously, and make great way through the water. Their weapons are chiefly lances, swords, and slings, and some bows and arrows: they have also wooden flssgigs, for striking fish. Those that came to assault us in Slinger's Bay on the main, are in all respects like these; and I believe these are alike treacherous. Their speech is clear and distinct; the words they used most, when near us, were 'vacousee allamais,' and then they pointed to the shore. Their signs of friendship are either a great truncheon, or bough of a tree full of leaves, put on their heads, often striking their heads with their hands."

Dampier still continued his course, and having at length circumnavigated the two large islands of New Britain and New Ireland, by the end of March again made the shores of New Guinea, near the north-east cape, which he named King William's Cape:—

"The east part of New Guinea is high and mountainous, ending on the north-east with a large promontory, which I named King William's Cape, in honour of his present Majesty. We saw some smokes on it, and leaving it on our larboard side, steered away near the east land, which ends with two remarkable capes or heads, distant from each other about six or seven leagues: within each head were two very remarkable mountains, ascending very gradually from the sea side; which afforded a very pleasant and agreeable prospect. The mountains and lower land were pleasantly mixed with wood-land and savannahs; the trees appeared very green and flourishing; and the savannahs seemed to be very smooth and even; no meadow in England appears more green in the spring than these. We saw smoke, but did not strive to anchor here, but rather chose to get under one of the islands, (where I thought I should find few or no inhabitants,) that I might repair my pinnace, which was so crazy that I could not venture ashore any where with her. As we stood over to the islands, we looked out very well to the north, but could see no land that way; by which I was well assured that we were got through, and that this east land does not join to New Guinea; therefore I named it Nova Britannia. The north-west cape, I called Cape Gloucester, and the south-west-point Cape Anne; and the north-west mountain, which is very remarkable, I called Mount Gloucester."

The ship under Dampier's command proved to be so old and rotten that she never reached England, having foundered on the return voyage off the island of Ascension, when the commander and crew had great difficulty in saving their lives. Dampier, again thrown on the world, joined a Captain Stradling in fitting out a vessel for a buccaneering expedition to the South Seas. No account of that expedition has been published, but it was probably not very successful, for shortly after returning to England, viz., in 1708, he again went on a voyage to the Pacific, in the comparatively humble position of pilot or sailing master to an expedition of two ships, the *Duke* and *Duchess*, which had been fitted out from Bristol, under the command of the well-known adventurer, Woodes Rogers. This expedition was very successful and plundered the Spanish settlements and Spanish ships in the Pacific during the years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711, returning to England by way of the Indian Archipelago, with immense booty, after having circumnavigated the globe. Little is known of Dampier after this, and the place and time of his death are both uncertain. Though strictly speaking not a scientific navigator, Dampier was undoubtedly one of England's greatest seamen. The accounts of his voyages and of the places he visited are noted for scrupulous accuracy and discriminating observation. The extraordinary reverses of fortune he experienced, and the great variety of conditions in which he is found at different periods of his life, have given rise to a belief that he was a man of reckless and unreliable character. But this opinion does not appear to rest on any sufficient foundation. He was undoubtedly the first, and in many respects the greatest, English navigator that ever visited the shores of the Great South Land. The numerous bays, capes, and channels which he discovered on the coasts of New Holland and New Guinea still bear the names which he conferred upon them.

The recent formation of a settlement at Cape York, the northernmost point of the Australian Continent, and almost within sight of the shores of New Guinea, has naturally drawn considerable attention to that country, one of the largest and probably one of the richest islands in the world. The tradition of its being a gold-producing country dates almost from the period of its discovery, in the early part of the sixteenth century. Up to the date of Captain Cook's discovery of New South Wales, in 1770, it was generally believed that New Guinea was part of New Holland. In

the chart of the French navigator, De Bougainville, whose voyage to Australia and New Guinea preceded the first voyage of Captain Cook by about two years only, New Holland and New Guinea are united. The result of Cook's investigations, however, confirmed the previously reported existence of the straits which divide the two countries, and which were first discovered by the Spanish navigator, Torres, in 1606. The distance between Cape York and the coast of New Guinea is about 100 miles, and the intervening sea, owing to the protection afforded by the barrier reefs and the numerous islands to the eastward, is almost as smooth as a mill pond. No part of the island has ever been in the permanent occupation of any civilised power, although the Dutch appear to have made some feeble attempts to take possession of more than one part of the coast. The island is almost twice as large as New Zealand, and, so far as is known, the soil is of a very fertile description.

Papua, or New Guinea, never having been colonised or occupied by any European power, will, consequently, not come under notice in any subsequent pages of this work. For this reason the writer takes the opportunity of inserting here, although somewhat out of chronological order, the latest information attainable relative to this, the least known, but not the least important or interesting, of the countries which can with propriety be classed under the name of Australia. Most of what follows has been abridged from the latest and best account which has been published relative to New Guinea—that of Commander Charles B. Yule, R.N.

New Guinea (or Papua), although a distinct country, will necessarily be noticed in connection with the Australian Continent, as its southern shores, together with the Louisiade Archipelago, border the approaches to Torres Strait through the Coral Sea from the Australian colonies, New Zealand, and the Pacific Ocean. The first navigator who saw the southern coast of this island appears to have been Luiz Vaez de Torres, in the Spanish frigate *La Almiranta*, coming from the eastward, in August, 1606.

M. de Bougainville, in June, 1768, with two vessels, *La Boussole* and *L'Etoile*, after the unexpected discovery of some detached reefs, about 150 miles off the east coast of Australia, between the parallels of 15°20' and 15°40' S., steered northward until he made the south coast of New Guinea; he then worked to windward along this new land (as it was then thought to be) until he doubled its eastern point, to which the significant name of Cape Deliverance was given. The gulf of the Louisiade was the name given to the space thus traversed by these vessels.

The next addition to our knowledge of these coasts was made in August, 1791, by Captain Edwards, in *H.M.S. Pandora*, shortly before the wreck of that ship upon the Barrier Reef of Australia, when returning from

Tahiti with the mutineers of the *Bounty*. In the following year Captains Bligh and Portlock, in H. M. ships *Providence* and *Assistant*, bringing bread-fruit plants from Tahiti to the West Indies, saw, on their way to Torres Strait from the eastward, a portion of the south coast of New Guinea, extending about 80 miles to the westward and northward from Cape Rodney.

For the little knowledge we possess of the northern portion of the *Louisiade Archipelago*, we are indebted to the expedition under the command of Rear-Admiral Bruny D'Entrecasteaux, who, on the 11th of June, 1798, with *La Recherche* and *L'Esperance*, during his voyage in search of the unfortunate *La Perouse*, came in sight of Rossel Island, and then passed Piron, Renard, St. Aignan, the Bonvouloir, and D'Entrecasteaux Islands.

In June 1798, Messrs. Bampton and Alt, in the English ships *Hormuzeer* and *Chesterfield*, got embayed on the south coast of New Guinea, in what is now called the Gulf of Papua, and after in vain seeking a passage out to the N.E. were forced to abandon the attempt, and make their way westward through Torres Strait, after the discovery of large portions of the land forming the N.W. shores of this bay, extending from Bristow Island northward and eastward upwards of 120 miles.

In 1804, M. Ruault Coutance, commanding the French privateer *L'Adela*, made several discoveries on the south coast of New Guinea, which were recorded by Freycinet, from the MS. journal of Coutance, in the history of Baudin's voyage. A portion of this is unquestionably the land seen by Captain Bligh in 1792; but in addition, detached portions of the north-eastern shores of the Papua Gulf were doubtless seen.

During his survey of the northern and eastern entrances of Torres Strait, with H. M. ships *Fly* and *Bramble*, Captain F. P. Blackwood spent two months in 1845 upon the south coast of New Guinea. Great mud-banks, extending from 10 to 20 miles out to sea, prevented any near approach to the shore except by boats. In the following year, further additions to the survey of the south coast of New Guinea was made by Lieutenant C. B. Yule, while in command of H. M. schooners *Bramble* and *Castlereagh*.

The Gulf of Papua is an indentation of the coast, extending 196 miles across from Bampton Island, nearly E. half N. to Cape Suckling, and is about 90 miles in depth. The shores of this extensive bay are low, and with the exception of Aird-hill, in latitude 7°27'30" S. longitude 144°21'30" E., and the Albert Mountains, nearly 90 miles farther to the eastward, the west and northern coasts present no objects of sufficient elevation to serve as marks for making them from seaward. From Bampton Point, the south point of Bampton Island, to Aird river, 190 miles to the N.E., not a single eminence, or scarcely a tree more elevated than its neighbours could be seen above the level outline of this extensive and apparently half-drowned country. It is wooded to the water's edge, the tops of the trees in many parts ranging from 100 to 150 feet in height above the level of the sea.

The numerous fresh-water openings in this portion of the coast appear to be the delta of some vast river, forming, by its deposits, a continuation of mud flats, and banks of hard, fine, black sand, extending from 6 to 25 miles off shore; the latter extent is eastward of Prince River, and the former is off Cape Blackwood. A reference to a chart of New Guinea will show that it is quite possible for this river to have a direct course of 350 miles. The population of this great delta appeared to be immense, as villages were seen at every part visited; but it was found impossible to hold friendly communication with the inhabitants, in consequence of their implacable hostility. Those seen were quite naked, and did not differ in appearance from the Darnley

islanders. The canoes resembled, but were rather inferior to those of Torres Strait.

The vegetation of this country is totally different from that of Australia; the cocoa-nut, breadfruit, plantain, sago, palm, and sugar-cane growing here in the greatest luxuriance, altogether indicating a rich soil. A few pigs, resembling the wild boar, were seen at one of the villages; but no other quadrupeds. Fly River, a broad opening in the low wooded country, is 5 miles in breadth at its mouth, where the water was found to be fresh. Captain Blackwood went a short distance up this river, but was obliged to return from the hostility of the numerous natives residing on its banks. Nine miles outside the mouth of the river the water was nearly fresh at the last of the ebb. There are depths of 4 and 5 fathoms at the mouth; but a bank with 8 feet on it, 7 miles eastward of Breakfast Point, and extensive flats to the southward, prevent the river from being available for ships of great draught of water.

On the shore, and about 3 miles from the entrance, was a native village consisting of five huts, apparently long deserted; the only one not in a state of dilapidation resembled a long barn, or haystack; it was about 80 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth, raised from the ground upon four rows of posts about four feet high, with a roof forming a very obtuse angle. This building was divided by partitions into five apartments, opening into each other by doors with hinges; entrance was obtained into the two end rooms from the gables, and the others from the sides. The floor and partitions were made of the exfoliations or peelings of the toddy palm, with the leaves of which the roof was thatched. There was either one or two fire-places in each room, the hearth being a thick layer of clay, over which was a small platform.

A river which has been named the Aird falls into the sea by a broad estuary between Risk Point and Cape Blackwood; but a bar, on which were heavy rollers, extends across. The general direction of Aird river is N.W. by N.; it was examined by Captain Blackwood for 20 miles above Risk Point, and its average breadth seldom found to exceed a quarter of a mile, with irregular soundings from 1 to 5 fathoms; although the general course of the river is direct, it is in some parts tortuous, with numerous creeks running off in every direction. The tide was found to cease 10 miles above Entrance Island, where the water was described as fresh.

The banks and adjacent country are flat, scarcely above the level of the sea at high water, and covered with dense woods, growing on muddy ground. For the first 12 miles above Risk Point mangroves abounded, but above that distance lofty forest trees, with jungle, covered the country. No inhabitants were met with until the farthest point was reached, when a tribe of more than 100 was encountered, and an immense barn-shaped house seen. The natives were so daring and hostile that they openly attacked the Prince George, a revenue cutter of about 70 tons, lent by the Colonial Government at Sydney, to serve as a tender to H.M.S. Fly, and the boats with which Captain Blackwood and his exploring party ascended the river, although the latter were well armed and quite prepared. Should a vessel enter either of the numerous rivers which here empty themselves into the sea, for the purpose of watering, refitting, or trading with the natives, she ought to be well armed and prepared, against surprise.

Deception Bay is an extensive bight in the low country, immediately to the eastward of Cape Blackwood; it is 20 miles wide E.N.E. and W.S.W. between the Cape and Bald Head, and 9 miles deep. This bay received its name from at first presenting every appearance of a good deep entrance to

some large navigable river, but after a very careful examination no channel could be found through the shallows into either of the openings, which are evidently the mouths of some considerable river, as several large trees and trunks of the sago palm were seen drifting down.

McClatchie Point, E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 17 miles from East Entrance islet, is a low bend of the main land, with a large village on the western side. Off this point H.M. schooners Bramble and Castlereagh in 1846 fell in with a canoe of extraordinary dimensions and appearance. As nearly as could be estimated it was about 60 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth, and appeared to be a treble or quadruple canoe, with a platform covering nearly the whole: this platform was enclosed by bulwarks of cane 5 or 6 feet in height, which supported another platform or sort of upper deck. It had masts and two large sails, stretched between long poles, spread like the letter V: there were also several small square-sails, some suspended like studding sails. Three men were steering with long paddles like oars over the stern. The number of the crew appeared to be between 40 and 50, most of whom were upon the upper platform, stringing their bows and preparing for a fight, when approached by a boat sent from the Bramble to get a nearer view of this singular vessel. This canoe was seen under sail one evening and on the following morning, the weather being nearly calm. There is a creek two miles eastward of the islet, between which and the point the coast falls back into a bay with a small coast range at its eastern end; there is another village near the centre of the bay. The coast here, although it continues low, is more open; and two hills, of moderate height, at the back, together with the coast range at the east end of the bay, begin to break the monotony of this hitherto flat country. This part of the coast appeared populous and fertile from the number of villages and cocoanut groves seen.

Freshwater Bay was so named from the Bramble and Castlereagh having filled their tanks by baling the fresh water up from the surface of the sea where the vessels were at anchor about a mile outside the bar, the body of water running out of this river being so great as to be quite fresh at least two or three miles off shore. It was procured in a perfectly pure state by anchoring the boats a few yards from the vessels and filling the casks overboard, by allowing the water at the surface to run in at the bungholes. For a vessel of weak force in want of water, this will be found a very convenient place to get a supply; for although there is an abundance of fresh water along the southern coast of New Guinea, and at many of the large islands of the Louisiade Archipelago, no watering party would be secure from the attacks of the natives on shore without the protection of a strong armed force.

This part of the coast is very populous, as several villages and extensive cocoanut groves were seen, as were also a number of large canoes full of people near the shore, who were with great difficulty prevented from boarding the Bramble and Castlereagh.

The neighbourhood of the Cape Possession is also very populous; but the inhabitants were apparently far more advanced towards civilisation and less hostile than those of the coasts to the westward; they were well made, active, and intelligent, varying in shades from nearly black to a light copper colour, and different from all other men hitherto met with in this part of the world; they had some regard to decency, being sparsely clad with a sort of native cloth, similar to that made by the South Sea Islanders. They chewed the betel nut with chinam, but had evidently never had intercourse either with Malays or Europeans, as they possessed no iron, and were not even acquainted with its use. Lieutenant Yale landed at Cape Possession in 1846 for the purpose of obtaining

surveying, observations; and after having taken possession of this newly discovered part of the country in Her Majesty's name, he attempted to reembark, but the boat was upset in the surf; and being without the means of defence, he and his party were at the mercy of nearly 100 natives, armed with spears, clubs, stone axes, and other weapons; but after possessing themselves of everything within their reach, they suffered Lieutenant Yule and his party to escape by a boat veered through the surf.

The shore consists of a sandy beach backed by a coast range of woody hills, with a strip of level land between, on which were seen several villages, and one continuous forest of cocoanut trees, extending for several miles along at the back of the beach, at the base of the hills. From the termination of the beach to Aoo Point the land is very little above the level of the sea, and covered with a dense jungle.

This estuary was not explored, but it was seen from the mast head to retain a considerable breadth a long way inland, and to take a winding course through a low woody country north-eastward, in the direction of the deep valley which divides Owen Stanley Range; it may, therefore, on further examination, prove to be the mouth of a river of some importance.

The natives seen about Redcar Bay are of a dark copper colour, with bushy heads, and do not appear so numerous as to the southward. They have large single canoes with mat sails, and their arms are large spears and bows and arrows. They barter cocoanuts, yams, sugar cane, and plantains, for iron hoops, &c.

Dampier, after his escape from the wreck of the *Roebeck*, published a most interesting description of his voyage to New Holland, and from that time all attempts on the part of the Dutch to keep the country to themselves appear to have been abandoned. Many memorials of Dampier's visits to the coasts of New Holland and New Guinea remain in the names of the geographical features of these countries. Indeed no English navigator is so intimately connected with Australian geographical nomenclature as Dampier. There are Dampier's Archipelago, *Roebeck Bay*, and the *Buccaneer Islands*, on the north-western coast of New Holland; and Dampier's Straits, Dampier's Islands, and Dampier's Channel, on the New Guinea coast; to say nothing of the many other places which still bear the names he conferred—of his sovereign, his patrons, his friends, or his ship. A notice of Dampier and his achievements would be incomplete without reference to one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with his singularly interesting career. He was the shipmate of the celebrated Alexander Selkirk, the sailor whose story, under the name of the *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, has charmed every boy of British birth or origin, and has probably contributed to foster a passion for the sea and for maritime adventure to a greater degree than any other book ever written. It is a singular circumstance also that Dampier was the pilot of the ship which rescued Selkirk. As stated in a preceding page,

Dampier was in the Pacific, on a buccaneering expedition, with a Captain Stradling, in 1705. The name of the vessel was the *Cinque Ports*. What position Dampier occupied on board is uncertain—it is supposed he was part proprietor in the venture—but Alexander Selkirk, a native of Largs, in the county of Fife, Scotland, was one of the crew. The voyage was a very unsuccessful one, and the ship was in a leaky and shattered condition, when, being at the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez, disturbances broke out on board. Selkirk, partly in consequence of a quarrel with the captain, but principally from the dangerous condition of the ship, determined to remain behind. He was allowed to take on shore his clothes and bedding, a firelock and some powder and bullets, some tobacco, a knife, and a kettle; a Bible and several other books, and some mathematical instruments. Selkirk's opinion of the unseaworthy state of the ship proved to be correct. The *Cinque Ports*, with Dampier and his companions on board, foundered on the homeward voyage. Dampier himself however, with his usual good fortune, escaped and ultimately reached England in safety. In 1708, four years and four months after leaving Selkirk at Juan Fernandez, Dampier, as mentioned in a preceding page, was again in the South Seas, on a buccaneering expedition, as pilot of a Bristol ship, the *Duke*. Although not so stated in any accounts of Dampier's life or Selkirk's adventures, there can be little doubt of the fact that Dampier on that occasion took advantage of his position as pilot or sailing master, to visit the island of Juan Fernandez and rescue Selkirk from his solitary position. On the evening of the 31st January, 1709, the vessel of which Dampier was pilot made the island. During the night a light was observed on shore. Captain Rogers, on perceiving this, made up his mind that a French crew were in possession, and ordered the decks to be cleared for action. At daylight he stood in towards the land, but no enemy could be seen. A yawl was sent to reconnoitre. As it drew near the shore a man was seen waving a flag, and on the boat approaching nearer, he directed the sailors, in the English language, to a spot where they could best land. He was clad in goat skins, and appeared more wild and ragged than the animals from which his clothing had been taken. It was Selkirk, the man whose adventures and solitary residence on the island afterwards formed the groundwork of De Foe's delightful story of *Robinson Crusoe*. The expedition of which

Dampier was the pilot on this occasion turned out one of the most lucrative and successful adventures in which the buccaneers had ever engaged. It reached England on the 14th October, 1710. The total outlay incurred was £15,000, and the profits amounted to £170,000. One-third of this, or about £57,000, was divided among the officers and crew. Dampier's share must have amounted to a very considerable sum. It was the last expedition in which he is known to have been engaged. He was a man somewhat advanced in life at this period, probably near sixty years of age, having been born about the year 1752. He was a native of East Coker, in Somersetshire, and was left an orphan, and apprenticed to the sea, when a mere child. The perfect truthfulness of his writings has long been placed beyond doubt, but his adventures were at first considered so extraordinary and improbable that Dean Swift, in *Gulliver's Travels*, makes his hero hail him as cousin. De Foe's book was not published until ten years after Selkirk's rescue. In the interval it was almost impossible that two such remarkable men as Dampier and De Foe—both writers whose works had made their authors deservedly famous—should not have become known to each other; and it is highly probable that during this period De Foe received the materials of his story from Dampier.

Of the English navigators who visited the Great South Land in the next fifty years after Dampier's time, few records remain. The Dutch continued to prosecute their Australian discoveries; and it is said that in 1705 three of their ships explored certain parts of the east coast, although no particulars of their voyage have ever been published. In 1721 the Dutch East India Company fitted out a fleet of three ships, the *Eagle* of 36 guns, the *Tienhoven* of 28 guns, and the *African* galley of 14 guns, which were placed under the command of Jacob Roggewein, for the discovery of the Southern Continent. This navigator was an enthusiast, as his father had been before him, in the cause of Southern discovery and exploration. Roggewein the elder was an eminent Dutch mathematician, who had formed projects a quarter of a century previously for the discovery of the *Terra Australis Incognita*, but died without having been able to carry his plans out. His son persevered until he induced the Dutch East India Company to assist him. Roggewein, on being entrusted with the command, was promoted to the rank

of Admiral, and with his three ships and two hundred and seventy-one men left the Texel on the 21st August, 1721. The expedition experienced a long and disastrous voyage to the Pacific; it was accomplished by way of Cape Horn. One of the vessels was at last wrecked, and another had to be abandoned. With his remaining ship, however, Roggewein discovered several before unknown islands in the Pacific. But his crew were attacked with scurvy, and in that state underwent the most frightful sufferings, while the expedition proved a complete failure as to its main object—the finding of a Southern Continent.

It is difficult to understand why Roggewein and others did not follow up the discoveries Carpenter and Tasman had made about a century before, rather than plunge into unknown parts of the ocean with the expectation of finding the imaginary *Terra Australis Incognita*. But the mysterious and the unknown have in most ages of the world possessed peculiar charms for the daring, the adventurous, and the imaginative, while beaten tracks have been left for more plodding, painstaking, and generally more successful rivals. In connection with the failure of such an expedition as that of Roggewein to solve the question of the extent and position, or even to ascertain the existence of the *Terra Australis Incognita*, it must be remembered that up to this time, and even at a much later period, it was quite uncertain whether the places touched at by previous Dutch navigators and by Dampier were separate islands or parts of one great land.

It has been stated, but not on any reliable authority, that the Dutch, in one of their early voyages anchored in Botany Bay, and, according to their usual custom, fixed a metal plate, with a suitable inscription, on a rock or tree there, to commemorate their visit; and it has been also asserted that Captain Cook, or some of his crew, finding this plate in the possession of the natives, when they landed in 1770, and being desirous of having the credit of the first discovery, agreed that nothing should be said about the circumstance. That the Dutch visited Botany Bay long before Cook's voyage is not altogether improbable; but the accounts of the matter are so obscure and so wanting in authority, and the statement about the jealousy of Cook and his officers, and their silence respecting the finding of the metal plate, so apocryphal, as to be scarcely worthy of serious attention. There is no doubt, however, that if full access could be obtained to Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch archives much

important information connected with early Australian voyages would be brought to light.

From the visit of Dampier and the buccaneers until the time of Cook about three quarters of a century elapsed, and during that period the piracy and lawlessness which had prevailed for so long a time "beyond the line" gave place to a better state of things. Spain and Portugal had gradually sunk into a condition of comparative weakness and obscurity. Holland was no longer able to contend with England for the mastery of the ocean. France, beginning to awake from apathy, and preparing to throw off a galling political and social yoke, had made some faint efforts towards maritime discovery, but without any important result; nor had the American states commenced that struggle which ultimately resulted in their becoming a great maritime nation.

The opportunity for discovery and exploration thus afforded to England was not neglected. Commodore (afterwards Lord) Anson, although not on a voyage of discovery, sailed round the world in 1742 and 1743; King George the III. had, in early life, formed the plan of distinguishing himself by patronising the prosecution of new discoveries in the Southern hemisphere; and it is said that when a very young man he expressed an intention, if ever he came to the throne, of devoting a portion of his revenue to that object. In 1764 he was in a position to carry his designs into effect. An expedition of two ships, the *Dolphin* and the *Tamar*, was accordingly fitted out, and the command entrusted to Commodore Byron. He circumnavigated the globe in the years 1764, 1765, and 1766, but made no discoveries connected with Australia. Shortly after Commodore Byron's return, Captain Wallis was despatched on a similar voyage in one of the vessels which Byron had commanded—the *Dolphin*—memorable as the first ship whose bottom was sheathed with copper. This voyage was concluded in 1768; and Captain Carteret, in the *Swallow*, completed a like performance in 1769; but as these navigators, although they entered the Indian Seas, did not touch the shores of Australia, their achievements do not come within the scope of this history. In 1768 the French navigator De Bougainville, who had been sent into the South Seas on a voyage of discovery, visited certain parts of the coasts of New Holland and New Guinea, but added little or nothing to what was before known of these countries. In 1769 the French fitted out a ship from Mauritius, under command of

Captain Kerguelin, with a view to the exploration of very low southern latitudes. The result was the discovery of the island known as Kerguelin's Land, or the Island of Desolation, in latitude 50 degrees south, and other islands or places supposed to be portions of an antarctic continent. In 1768, Captain James Cook, a man who by his energy and talents had raised himself from a very humble position, was chosen as the fittest commander to conduct another English exploring expedition into the Pacific. The principal object of this expedition,—although not the only one,—was to prove the existence or non-existence of a Southern Continent; another was to search for any unknown tracts of land that might exist within the vast expanse of ocean that occupies so large a portion of the southern hemisphere; and a third was, the verification and connection of the discoveries of former navigators.

It appears at first sight—with our present knowledge of Australian geography, and the information now possessed as to the connexion of the various separate discoveries—exceedingly strange that in the latter half of the eighteenth century an expedition should have been despatched from England to ascertain, not the precise position and extent of the Great South Land, but to solve the question whether such a country really existed or not. A little consideration will, however, show that the discoveries made by Carpenter on the north, Peter Nuyts on the south, Vlaming, De Witts, Edels, Dampier, and others on the north-western and western coasts, and Tasman at the extreme southern point of Van Diemen's Land, not having been connected by any continuous surveys, afforded no proof of the existence or non-existence of such an island-continent as the hopes and imaginations of explorers and navigators and the traditions of antiquity had led the world to expect. There was nothing to prove that the various places which had been discovered were all parts of one great land. Dampier made the mistake of supposing that he was on an island, when in reality he was on the mainland of the north-western coast; and Tasman very naturally, but erroneously, imagined, when he discovered the island of Van Diemen's Land, that he had found the southern extremity of the continent of New Holland. Between the land discovered by Tasman, in 1642, and the country seen by Nuyts, in the indentation of the great Australian Bight, about fifteen years before, there was a space of a thousand miles of coast which no navigator had yet sighted. And even supposing Van

Diemen's Land to have been the southern extremity of an island-continent, whose western and northern shores stretched from there to the Gulf of Carpentaria, still there was absolutely nothing known of its eastern boundaries or of its extent in that direction. The precise position of the place which Quiros had discovered in 1606, and which he had named the *Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo*, was at best but doubtful; and from the extremity of Van Diemen's Land on the south to Cape York on the north, a space extending over thirty-three degrees of latitude, was a perfect blank on the charts of that period. In fact the whole of the Pacific Ocean comprised between the tenth and forty-fourth parallels of south latitude, and the one hundred and forty-fifth and one hundred and fifty-seventh meridians of east longitude, was entirely unexplored; and the existence and extent of the Great South Land still formed, as they had done for ages, the principal problem which remained to be solved relative to the geography of the globe.

The imaginary *Terra Australis Incognita*, with its profusion of gold and spices, its gorgeous semi-tropical vegetation and delicious fruits, its inhabitants loaded with jingling ornaments of the precious metals, and breathing an atmosphere that made life a pleasure and existence a constant round of enjoyment—such an imagined paradise as this—the bright vision that had filled the dreams of enthusiastic navigators and explorers for more than two hundred years—from the times of Mendana and of Quiros to those of Cook—found no fitting realisation in the country whose shores Dampier and others had described as a sandy, inhospitable waste, whose people were the poorest and most degraded beings on the face of the earth. The world refused to believe that the greatest geographical and physical problem of the globe had been solved by the discovery of a few miles of coast which was apparently the boundary of a dread, arid, waterless waste, devoid of mountains, and barricaded by almost impenetrable scrubs. Nothing was known of the great extent of the country of whose fringe the discoverers had given such disheartening accounts; nothing of the lovely and luxuriant plains which lay beyond those parched and desert shores; nothing of the rich pastures, the magnificent forests, the mountains and streams whose rocks and sands were of gold, which Australia has since revealed; and men refused to own that the barren and inhospitable land of Edels, Vlaming, Nuyts, Tasman, and

Dampier was the Terra Australis of its dreams and hopes. It was reserved for England to set this question of the Great South Land at rest.

No man belonging to the British navy was so well fitted as Captain James Cook to conduct an exploring expedition with this object in view into the southern hemisphere. Of very humble parentage, being the son of a Yorkshire farm labourer, he had raised himself by his talents and energy to a position seldom attained by one of his class. He had in the early part of his career materially contributed, by the accuracy of his surveys, made under most difficult and even dangerous circumstances, to the brilliant success which attended the operations of the immortal Wolfe at the siege of Quebec; and to this circumstance he owed much of the advancement in his profession and the splendid opportunities for acquiring distinction which he afterwards enjoyed.

In the present day, when all parts of India and Australia are in constant intercourse with each other and with Europe, when steam communication is regular and rapid between almost all parts of the world; when a voyage to the parent country is but a matter of a few weeks; when arrangements for visiting the most distant parts of the earth are made and carried out with as much certainty and as little difficulty or delay as our grandfathers experienced in performing a journey from Exeter or York to London, it is difficult to comprehend fully the great distance in time which, only a century since, separated the countries of the Indian Ocean and the South Seas from Europe. The case of the crew of the *Falmouth*, an English man-of-war of fifty guns, illustrates in a remarkable manner the difference between the two periods. This ship having been several years out from England, cruising in the Pacific and China Seas, was on her voyage home, in the year 1762, when she ran aground on a mudbank on the coast of Batavia. It does not appear that she was much injured; still she could not be got off. Her commander and some of her officers and crew after a time quitted her with the hope of reaching England. The fate they met with is not known. They left the ship and stores, part of which had been landed in an attempt to lighten the vessel, in charge of that portion of the officers and crew which remained behind. These unfortunate people stayed by the ship for eight years before they were afforded an opportunity of quitting her and of being taken home. In 1767, five years after the vessel struck on the mudbank,

the ship *Dolphin*, Captain Wallis, then on a voyage round the world, discovered them; and the following account of their then condition is given in the history of the *Dolphin's* voyage:—"On an examination of the stores and ship every thing was found in so decayed a state as to be totally useless; the masts, yards, and cables were dropping to pieces; the ironwork was so rusty that it was worth nothing; her hull was in a most shattered condition; many of her ports were washed into one, and there was no place in her where a man could be sheltered from the weather. The officers and crew were in as wretched a state as the ship herself. The boatswain, through vexation and distress, had lost his senses, the carpenter was dying, and the cook wounded and a cripple. The warrant officers presented a petition to Captain Wallis, requesting that he would take them on board the *Dolphin*. They stated that nothing now remained for them to look after; that although they had ten years' pay due they would gladly forfeit it to be relieved from their present sufferings; and that they were frequently robbed by the Malays, and were in continual dread of being murdered by them. Captain Wallis told them, with the utmost regret and compassion, that the relief they prayed for was not in his power to render; that as they had received charge of the ship and stores they must wait for orders from home. He assured them that he would do all in his power on his arrival in England to relieve them; and with this remote consolation only," continues the narrative, "these poor, neglected, forgotten, unassisted, suffering men, took their leave with tears in their eyes." Upwards of two years more elapsed, and still these poor fellows, true to what they considered their duty to their country, remained by the rotting ship, and still no relief arrived from England. At length the government at Batavia interfered, and sent them home in a Dutch ship. This took place a few months before Captain Cook touched at Batavia on his first voyage in the latter part of 1770. The hardships they endured, and the apparent neglect with which they were treated, were no doubt mainly due to the infrequency and difficulty of communication in those days, for it cannot be supposed that the British government would have allowed nearly the whole crew of a man-of-war to perish in the miserable manner narrated, if the circumstances under which they were placed were rightly understood. Captain Wallis's refusal to rescue them, although he no

doubt acted in strict accordance with the Admiralty regulations of that period, would have brought him to a court martial, and probably to condign punishment, in the present day. The case affords a remarkable illustration of the progress which has been made in navigation, and the changes that have been effected in travelling and in communicating with distant parts of the world through the instrumentality of steam and the agency of the electric telegraph, during the present century.

CHAPTER IV.

CAPTAIN COOK'S DISCOVERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES IN 1770, AND HIS VISIT TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND IN 1777.

THE expedition entrusted to the command of Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 26th August, 1768. It consisted of but one ship, the *Endeavour*, of 350 tons. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, and Dr. Solander, a Swede and a pupil of the celebrated Linnæus, accompanied the expedition as naturalists; Mr. Green as astronomer; Mr. Buchan as draughtsman; and Mr. Parkinson as painter.

Cook did not believe in the existence of a Southern Continent, and in his account of his voyage he enters into very elaborate arguments to prove that Quiros and the other old navigators had been mistaken. The result, however, of Cook's discoveries has rather tended to confirm the opinion of Quiros, and to a certain extent it has proved the accuracy of his statements if not the truth of his theories. It is difficult to understand how Cook, knowing, as he must have done, all that had been accomplished by the old Spanish and Dutch navigators, could have entertained the opinions which he held; and when he found himself mistaken it is strange that he did not alter or suppress that part of his narrative in which he declared that others were wrong in supposing that a continent existed to the north of the 40th degree of south latitude. The part of Cook's journal treating on this subject shows the uncertainty which surrounded the enigma, not of Australian geography merely, but of the very existence of such a country, less than a century ago; and proves that notwithstanding all the efforts of navigators for

hundreds of years previously, very little progress had really been made in elucidating the mystery which enveloped the Great South Land. The globe had been circumnavigated three times within three or four years preceding Cook's first voyage, without the slightest light having been thrown upon the Australian problem. It is true that the general object of the voyages undertaken by English navigators previous to Cook's first expedition, was to discover any unknown islands or tracts of land that might exist in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and not the discovery of the Terra Australis in particular. The principal object of Cook's voyage, on the contrary, was the solution of the Australian enigma. All that had been discovered before served rather to create uncertainty and to whet curiosity than to satisfy inquiry or to confirm reasonable conjecture. It was difficult in that day to distinguish between what was true and what was false concerning the Great South Land—to discriminate between facts on the one side, and idle tales, obscure traditions, and the bold inventions of deliberate falsehood on the other. This state of uncertainty the English government at length determined should exist no longer, and Captain Cook was selected as the officer best qualified to lift the veil which was supposed to shroud a fifth continent from the eyes of the rest of the world. It is unnecessary to recite the incidents of his voyage previous to his arrival in Australian waters. A few days before sighting land Cook wrote as follows:—

“Thus far our navigation has certainly been unfavourable to the notion of a Southern Continent, for it has swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which it has been founded. The principal navigators, whose authority has been urged on this occasion, are Tasman, Juan Fernandez, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein; and the track of the Endeavour has demonstrated that the land seen by these persons, and supposed to be part of a continent, is not so; it has also totally subverted the theoretical arguments which have been brought to prove that the existence of a Southern Continent is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres; for upon this principle what we have already proved to be water, would render the southern hemisphere too light.

“Yet upon a view of the chart it will appear that there is a large space extending quite to the tropics, which neither we, nor any other navigators to our knowledge, have explored,

and as there will appear to be room enough for the cape of a Southern Continent to extend northward into a low southern latitude, I shall give my reason for believing there is no cape of any Southern Continent to the northward of forty degrees south.

"Notwithstanding what has been laid down by some geographers in their maps, and alleged by Mr. Dalrymple, with respect to Quiros, it is improbable in the highest degree that he saw to the southward of two islands which he discovered in latitude 25 or 26, and which I suppose may lie between the longitude of 130 degrees and 140 degrees W., any signs of a continent, much less anything which, in his opinion, was a known or indubitable sign of such land; for if he had, he would certainly have sailed southward in search of it, and if he had sought, supposing the signs to have been indubitable, he must have found; the discovery of a Southern Continent was the ultimate object of Quiros's voyage, and no man appears to have had it more at heart; so that if he was in latitude 26 degrees S., and in longitude 146 degrees W., where Mr. Dalrymple has placed the islands he discovered, it may fairly be inferred that no part of a Southern Continent extends to that latitude.

"As to myself, I saw nothing that I thought a sign of land in my route, either to the northward, southward, or westward, till a few days before I made the east coast of New Zealand. I did indeed frequently see large flocks of birds, but they were generally such as are found at a very remote distance from any coast; and it is also true that I frequently saw pieces of rock-weed, but I could not infer the vicinity of land from these, because I have been informed, upon indubitable authority, that a considerable quantity of the beans called ox-eyes, which are known to grow nowhere but in the West Indies, are every year thrown upon the coast of Ireland, which is not less than twelve hundred leagues distant.

"Thus have I given my reasons for thinking that there is no continent to the northward of latitude 40 degrees S. Of what may lie farther to the southward than 40 degrees I can give no opinion: but I am so far from wishing to discourage any future attempt finally to determine a question which has long been an object of attention to many nations, that now this voyage has reduced the only possible site of a continent in the southern hemisphere, north of latitude forty degrees, to so small a space, I think it would be a pity to leave that any

longer unexamined, especially as the voyage may turn to good account, besides determining the principal question, if no continent should be found, by the discovery of new islands in the tropical regions, of which there is probably a great number that no European vessel has ever yet visited."

The above was written between the 31st March, 1770, when Cook left New Zealand, and the following 18th of April, when he discovered land near the southern extremity of the Australian continent, which he named Point Hicks, after his lieutenant, who was the first to obtain a sight of it. There appears to be some uncertainty in Cook's remarks upon the non-existence of a Southern Continent in the position ascribed by Dalrymple and others to the Australian land discovered by Quiros. Cook's supposition that indications of a continent were discovered by Quiros in longitude 146 west does not appear to be borne out by any passage in the narrative of Quiros's voyage. The meridian of 146 west is as nearly as possible in the middle of the Pacific, midway between America and Australia,—the longitude of the Marquesas and the Society Islands; a place where nobody ever supposed a continent existed. The meridian of 146 east, however, strikes the Australian land very near its intersection by the latitude named by Dalrymple, and cuts the continent almost from Halifax Bay to Wilson's Promontory. Cook, probably, had not Quiros's narrative before him, and depended upon Dalrymple's theoretical observations. That Quiros, at the extreme westernmost point which he attained, was very near the Australian coast, whether he sighted it or not, is, however, quite certain, for Torres, the almirante of the expedition, passed through the strait which bears his name shortly after they parted company.

The course of the Endeavour, after sighting Point Hicks, was turned to the north-east, and she ranged along the shore for several days.

The following extracts from Cook's journal relate his discovery of land, and the course pursued until he anchored in Botany Bay :—

"In the morning of the 18th, we saw two Port Egmont hens, and a pintado bird, which are certain signs of approaching land, and, indeed, by our reckoning, we could not be far from it, for our longitude was now one degree to the westward of the east side of Van Diemen's Land, according to the longitude laid down by Tasman, whom we could not suppose

to have erred much in so short a run as from this land to New Zealand; and by our latitude we could not be above fifty or fifty-five leagues from the place whence he took his departure. All this day we had frequent squalls and a great swell. At one in the morning we brought to and sounded, but had no ground with 130 fathom; at six we saw land extending from N.E. to W., at the distance of five or six leagues, having eighty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom.

"We continued standing westward, with the wind at S.S.W., till eight, when we made all the sail we could, and bore away along the shore N.E. for the easternmost land in sight, being at this time in latitude 37 degrees 58 seconds S., and longitude 210 degrees 39 minutes W. The southernmost point of land in sight, which bore from us W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S., I judged to lie in latitude 38 degrees, longitude 211 degrees 7 minutes, and gave it the name of Point Hicks, because Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, was the first who discovered it. To the southward of this point no land was to be seen, though it was very clear in that quarter, and by our longitude, compared with that of Tasman, not as it is laid down in the printed charts, but in the extracts from Tasman's journal, published by Rembrantse, the body of Van Dieman's Land ought to have borne due south; and indeed, from the sudden falling of the sea after the wind abated, I had reason to think it did; yet as I did not see it, and as I found this coast trend N.E. and S.W., or rather more to the eastward, I cannot determine whether it joins to Van Diemen's Land or not.

"At noon we were in latitude 37 degrees 5 minutes, longitude 210 degrees 29 minutes W. The extremes of the land extended from N.W. to E.N.E., and a remarkable point bore N. 20 E., at the distance of about four leagues. This point rises in a round hillock, very much resembling the Ram Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, and therefore I called it by the same name. The variation by an azimuth, taken this morning, was 3 degrees 7 minutes E.; and what we had now seen of the land appeared low and level; the sea-shore was a white sand, but the country within was green and woody. About one o'clock, we saw three water-spouts at once; two were between us and the shore, and the third at some distance, upon our larboard quarter.

"At six o'clock in the evening we shortened sail, and brought to for the night, having fifty-six fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom. The northernmost land in sight then bore N.

by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., and a small island lying close to a point on the main bore W. distant two leagues. This point, which I called Cape Howe, may be known by the trending of the coast, which is north on the one side and south-west on the other; it may also be known by some round hills upon the main, just within it.

"We brought to for the night, and at four in the morning made sail along shore to the northward. At six, the northernmost land in sight bore N.N.W. and we were at this time about four leagues from the shore. At noon we were in latitude 36 degrees 51 minutes S., longitude 209 degrees 53 minutes W., and about three leagues distant from the shore. The weather being clear gave us a good view of the country, which has a very pleasing appearance; it is of a moderate height, diversified by hills and valleys, ridges and plains, interspersed with a few lawns of no great extent, but in general covered with wood; the ascent of the hills and ridges is gentle, and the summits are not high. We continued to sail along the shore to the northward, with a southerly wind, and in the afternoon we saw smoke in several places, by which we knew the country to be inhabited. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and sounded; we found forty-four fathom water, with a clear sandy bottom, and stood on under an easy sail till twelve, when we brought to for the night, and had ninety fathom water.

"At four in the morning we made sail again, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, and at six we were abreast of a high mountain, lying near the shore, which, on account of its figure, I called Mount Dromedary. Under this mountain the shore forms a point, to which I gave the name of Point Dromedary, and over it there is a peaked hillock.

"At five in the evening we were abreast of a point of land which rose in a perpendicular cliff, and which, for that reason, I called Point Upright. Our latitude was 35 degrees 35 minutes S. when this point bore from us due west, distant about two leagues; in this situation we had about thirty-one fathom water, with a sandy bottom. At six in the evening, the wind falling, we hauled off E.N.E., and at this time the northernmost land in sight bore N. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. At midnight, being in seventy fathom water, we brought to till four in the morning, when we made sail in for the land; but at day-break found our situation nearly the same as it had been at five the evening before, by which it was apparent that we had been driven about three leagues to the southward, by a tide

or current, during the night. After this we steered along the shore N.N.E. with a gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the land as to distinguish several of the natives upon the beach, who appeared to be of a black, or very dark colour. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 35 degrees 27 minutes S. and longitude 209 degrees 23 minutes W., Cape Dromedary bore S. 28 W., distant nineteen leagues, a remarkable peaked hill, which resembled a square dove-house, with a dome at the top, and which for that reason I called the Pigeon House, bore N. 32 degrees 30 minutes W., and a small low island, which lay close under the shore, bore N.W., distant about two or three leagues. When I first discovered this island, in the morning, I was in hopes, from its appearance, that I should have found shelter for the ship behind it; but when we came near it, it did not promise security even for the landing of a boat. I should however have attempted to send a boat on shore, if the wind had not veered in that direction, with a large hollow sea rolling in upon the land from the S.E., which indeed had been the case ever since we had been upon it. The coast still continued to be of a moderate height, forming alternately rocky points and sandy beaches; but within, between Mount Dromedary and the Pigeon House, we saw high mountains, which, except two, are covered with wood; these two lie inland behind the Pigeon House, and are remarkably flat at the top, with steep rocky cliffs all round them, as far as we could see. The trees, which almost everywhere clothe this country, appear to be large and lofty.

"We stood to the N.E. till noon the next day, with a gentle breeze at N.W., and then we tacked and stood westward. At this time our latitude by observation, was 35 degrees 10 minutes S., and longitude 208 degrees 51 minutes W. A point of land which I had discovered on St. George's day, and which therefore I called Cape George, bore W. distant nineteen miles, and the Pigeon House (the latitude and longitude of which I found to be 35 degrees 19 minutes S. and 209 degrees 42 minutes W.) S. 75 W. We had a fresh breeze at N.W. from noon till three; it then came to the west, when we tacked and stood to the northward. At five in the evening, being about five or six leagues from the shore, with the Pigeon House bearing W.S.W. distant about nine leagues, we had eighty-six fathom water; and at eight, having thunder and lightning, with heavy squalls, we brought to in 120 fathom.

"At three in the morning, we made sail again to the northward, having the advantage of a fresh gale at S.W. At noon we were about three or four leagues from the shore, and in latitude 34 degrees 22 minutes S., longitude 208 degrees 36 minute W. In the course of this day's run from the preceding noon, which was forty-five miles north-east, we saw smoke in several places near the beach. About two leagues to the northward of Cape George, the shore seemed to form a bay, which promised shelter from the north-east winds, but as the wind was with us, it was not in my power to look into it without beating up, which would have cost me more time than I was willing to spare. The north point of this bay, on account of its figure, I named Long Nose; its latitude is 35 degrees 6 minutes, and about eight leagues north of it there lies a point, which from the colour of the land about it, I called Red Point; its latitude is 34 degrees 29 minutes, and longitude 208 degrees 45 minutes W. To the north-west of Red Point, and a little way inland, stands a round hill, the top of which looks like the crown of a hat. In the afternoon of this day we had a light breeze at N.N.W. till five in the evening when it fell calm. Before it was dark, we saw smoke in several places along the shore, and a fire two or three times afterwards. During the night we lay becalmed, driving in before the sea till one in the morning, when we got a breeze from the land, with which we steered N.E., being then in thirty-eight fathom. At noon it veered to N.E. by N., and we were then in latitude 34 degrees 10 minutes S., longitude 208 degrees 27 minutes W.; the land was distant about five leagues, and extended from S. 37 W. to N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. In this latitude there are some white cliffs, which rise perpendicularly from the sea to a considerable height. We stood off the shore till two o'clock, and then tacked and stood in till six, when we were within four or five miles of it, and at that distance had fifty fathom water. The extremities of the land bore from S. 28 W. to N. 25 degrees 30 minutes E. We now tacked and stood off till twelve, then tacked and stood in again till four in the morning, when we made a trip off till daylight; and during all this time we lost ground, owing to the variableness of the winds. We continued at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore, till the afternoon, when we came within two miles, and I then hoisted out the pinnace and yawl to attempt a landing, but the pinnace proved to be so leaky that I was obliged to hoist her in again. At this time we saw several of the natives walking briskly along the

shore, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders. We flattered ourselves that they were going to put her into the water, and come off to the ship, but finding ourselves disappointed, I determined to go on shore in the yawl, with as many as it would carry. I embarked, therefore, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and four rowers; we pulled for that part of the shore where the Indians appeared, near which four small canoes were lying at the water's edge. The Indians sat down upon the rocks, and seemed to wait for our landing; but to our great regret, when we came within about a quarter of a mile, they ran away into the woods. We determined, however, to go ashore, and endeavour to procure an interview; but in this we were again disappointed, for we found so great a surf beating upon every part of the beach, that landing with our little boat was altogether impracticable. We were therefore obliged to be content with gazing at such objects as presented themselves from the water. The canoes, upon a near view, seemed very much to resemble those of the smaller sort at New Zealand. We observed, that among the trees on shore, which were not very large, there was no under-wood; and could distinguish that many of them were of the palm kind, and some of them cabbage trees; after many a wishful look we were obliged to return, with our curiosity rather excited than satisfied, and about five in the evening got on board the ship. About this time it fell calm, and our situation was by no means agreeable. We were now not more than a mile and a half from the shore, and within some breakers, which lay to the southward; but happily a light breeze came off the land, and carried us out of danger. With this breeze we stood to the northward, and at day-break we discovered a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which, therefore, I determined to go with the ship. The pinnace being repaired, I sent her, with the master, to sound the entrance, while I kept turning up, having the wind right out. At noon, the mouth of the bay bore N.N.W., distant about a mile, and seeing a smoke on the shore, we directed our glasses to the spot, and soon discovered ten people, who, upon our nearer approach, left their fire, and retired to a little eminence, whence they could conveniently observe our motions. Soon after two canoes, each having two men on board, came to the shore just under the eminence, and the men joined the rest on the top of it. The pinnace, which had been sent ahead to sound, now approached the place, upon which all the Indians

retired farther up the hill, except one, who hid himself among some rocks near the landing place. As the pinnacle proceeded along the shore, most of the people took the same route, and kept abreast of her at a distance. When she came back, the master told us, that in a cove a little within the harbour, some of them had come down to the beach, and invited him to land by many signs and words, of which he knew not the meaning; but that all of them were armed with long pikes, and a wooden weapon shaped somewhat like a cimeter. The Indians who had not followed the boat, seeing the ship approach, used many threatening gestures, and brandished their weapons; particularly two, who made a very singular appearance, for their faces seemed to have been dusted with a white powder, and their bodies painted with broad streaks of the same colour, which passing obliquely over their breasts and backs, looked not unlike the cross-belts worn by our soldiers; the same kind of streaks were also drawn round their legs and thighs, like broad garters. Each of these men held in his hand the weapon that had been described to us as like a cimeter, which appeared to be about two feet and a half long; and they seemed to talk to each other with great earnestness.

"We continued to stand into the bay, and early in the afternoon anchored under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing S.E., and the north point east. As we came in we saw, on both points of the bay, a few huts, and several of the natives, men, women, and children. Under the south head we saw four small canoes, with each one man on board, who were very busily employed in striking fish with a long pike or spear. They ventured almost into the surf, and were so intent upon what they were doing, that although the ship passed within a quarter of a mile of them, they scarcely turned their eyes toward her; possibly, being deafened by the surf, and their attention wholly fixed upon their business or sport, they neither saw nor heard her go past them.

"The place where the ship had anchored was abreast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses, and while we were preparing to hoist out the boat we saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of the wood; she was loaded with fire wood; and each of the children had also its little burden. When she came to the houses, three more children, younger than the others, came out to meet her: she often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear



CAPTAIN COOK'S LANDING AT BOTANY BAY AD 1770

nor surprise. In a short time she kindled a fire, and the four canoes came in from fishing. The men landed, and having hauled up their boats, began to dress their dinner, to all appearance, wholly unconcerned about us, though we were within half a mile of them. We thought it remarkable that all of the people we had yet seen, not one had the least appearance of clothing, the old woman herself being destitute even of a fig leaf."

The following is his account of Botany Bay, and of what took place there :—

"After dinner the boats were manned, and we set out from the ship, having Tupia of our party. We intended to land where we saw the people, and began to hope that as they had so little regarded the ship's coming into the bay, they would as little regard our coming on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for as soon as we approached the rocks two of the men came down upon them to dispute our landing, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in managing or throwing the lance. They called to us in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a single word; they brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two, and we were forty. I could not but admire their courage, and being very unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force between us, I ordered the boat to lie upon her oars; we then parlied by signs for about a quarter of an hour, and to bespeak their good-will, I threw them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. I then made signs that I wanted water, and, by all the means that I could devise, endeavoured to convince them that we would do them no harm. They now waved to us, and I was willing to interpret it as an invitation; but upon our putting the boat in, they came again to oppose us. One appeared to be a youth about nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; as I had now no other resource, I fired a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste. A stone was then thrown at us, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired with small shot, which struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran

to one of the houses, which was distant about an hundred yards. I now hoped that our contest was over, and we immediately landed; but we had scarcely left the boat when he returned, and we then perceived that he had left the rock only to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up, he threw a lance at us, and his comrade another; they fell where we stood thickest, but happily hurt nobody. A third musket with small shot was then fired at them, upon which one of them threw another lance, and both immediately ran away; if we had pursued, we might probably have taken one of them; but Mr. Banks suggesting that the lances might be poisoned, I thought it not prudent to venture into the woods. We repaired immediately to the huts, in one of which we found the children, who had hidden themselves behind a shield and some bark; we peeped at them, but left them in their retreat, without their knowing that they had been discovered, and we threw into the house, when we went away, some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents, which we hoped would procure us the good-will of the inhabitants when they should return; but the lances which we found lying about we took away with us, to the number of about fifty; they were from six to fifteen feet long, and all of them had four prongs in the manner of a fiss-gig, each of which was pointed with fish-bone, and very sharp; we observed that they were smeared with a viscous substance of a green colour, which favoured the opinion of their being poisoned, though we afterwards discovered that it was a mistake; they appeared, by the seaweed that we found sticking to them, to have been used in striking fish. Upon examining the canoes that lay upon the beach, we found them to be the worst we had ever seen; they were between twelve and fourteen feet long, and made of the bark of a tree in one piece, which was drawn together and tied up at each end, the middle being kept open by sticks, which were placed across them from gunwale to gunwale as thwarts. We then searched for fresh water, but found none, except in a small hole which had been dug in the sand.

“Having re-embarked in our boat, we deposited our lances on board the ship, and then went over to the north point of the bay, where we had seen several of the inhabitants when we were entering it, but which we now found totally deserted. Here, however, we found fresh water, which trickled down from the top of the rocks, and stood in pools among the

hollows at the bottom; but it was situated so as not to be procured for our use without difficulty.

"In the morning, therefore, I sent a party of men to that part of the shore where we first landed, with orders to dig holes in the sand where the water might gather; but going ashore myself with the gentlemen soon afterwards we found, upon a more diligent search, a small stream, more than sufficient for our purpose.

"Upon visiting the hut where we had seen the children, we were greatly mortified to find that the beads and ribbons which we had left there the night before had not been moved from their places, and that not an Indian was to be seen.

"Having sent some empty water-casks on shore, and left a party of men to cut wood, I went myself in the pinnace to sound, and examine the bay; during my excursion I saw several of the natives, but they all fled at my approach. In one of the places where I landed, I found several small fires, and fresh muscles broiling upon them; here also I found some of the largest oyster-shells I had ever seen.

"As soon as the wooders and waterers came on board to dinner, ten or twelve of the natives came down to the place, and looked with great attention and curiosity at the casks, but did not touch them; they took away, however, the canoes which lay near the landing-place, and again disappeared. In the afternoon, when our people were again ashore, sixteen or eighteen Indians, all armed, came boldly within about an hundred yards of them, and then stopped; two of them advanced somewhat nearer; and Mr. Hicks, who commanded the party on shore, with another, advanced to meet them, holding out presents to them as he approached, and expressing kindness and amity by every sign he could think of, but all without effect; for before he could get up with them they retired, and it would have answered no purpose to pursue. In the evening I went with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to a sandy cove on the north side of the bay, where, in three or four hauls with the seine, we took above three hundred weight of fish, which was equally divided among the ship's company.

"The next morning, before daybreak, the Indians came down to the houses that were abreast of the ship, and were heard frequently to shout very loud. As soon as it was light, they were seen walking along the beach; and soon after they retired to the woods, where, at the distance of about a mile from the shore, they kindled several fires.

"Our people went ashore as usual, and with them Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who, in search of plants, repaired to the woods. Our men, who were employed in cutting grass, being the farthest removed from the main body of the people, a company of fourteen or fifteen Indians advanced towards them, having sticks in their hands, which, according to the report of the serjeant of marines, shone like a musket. The grass-cutters upon seeing them approach, drew together, and repaired to the main body. The Indians, being encouraged by this appearance of a flight, pursued them; they stopped, however, when they were within about a furlong of them, and after shouting several times, went back into the woods. In the evening they came again in the same manner, stopped at the same distance, shouted and retired. I followed them, myself, alone and unarmed, for a considerable way along the shore, but I could not prevail upon them to stop.

"This day Mr. Green took the sun's meridian altitude a little within the south entrance of the bay, which gave the latitude 34 degrees S.; the variation of the needle was 11 degrees 3 minutes E.

"Early the next morning, the body of Forby Sutherland, one of our seamen, who died the evening before, was buried, near the watering-place; and from this incident I called the south point of this bay Sutherland Point.* This day we

* The apocryphal accounts referred to in page 55 of this work say, in reference to the death of Forby Sutherland, that he was wounded in attempting to take from the natives an inscribed brass or pewter plate, which had been left there by old Dutch navigators, but that Cook wishing to have the credit of being the first discoverer of the country, suppressed, in his journal, all reference to the occurrence. In confirmation of this it is pointed out that Cook, who is generally very minute and particular about such matters, does not refer to the cause of Sutherland's death. This omission, however, if it is an omission, affords but a very shadowy confirmation of the statements referred to, and but for the circulation of these stories would probably never have been noticed. The inscribed plate in question, it is stated, was taken to England by Cook or some of his officers, and deposited, long afterwards, in the British Museum, where it is asserted it still remains. In opposition to this it may be said that the jealousy which induced Cook to suppress all mention of the matter would certainly have impelled him to destroy or otherwise make away with this plate, instead of preserving it and taking it to England, where it would be sure, sooner or later, to be brought in evidence against his claims to having been the first discoverer of the country. In reference to the alleged existence of other remains and evidences of the visit of the Dutch and Spaniards before Cook's time both to Botany Bay and Broken Bay, the writer has been unable to discover that the statements rest on any reliable foundation. The only accounts he has succeeded in tracing to any satisfactory conclusion show that the stories of the asserted finding of old Dutch and Spanish coins have either arisen from

resolved to make an excursion into the country. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, myself, and seven others, properly accoutred for the expedition, set out and repaired first to the huts near the watering-place, whither some of the natives continued every day to resort; and though the little presents which we had left there before had not yet been taken away, we left others of somewhat more value, consisting of cloth, looking-glasses, combs, and beads, and then went up into the country. We found the soil to be either swamp or light sand, and the face of the country finely diversified by wood and lawn. The trees are tall, straight, and without underwood, standing at such a distance from each other, that the whole country, at least where the swamps do not render it incapable of cultivation, might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. Between the trees the ground is covered with grass, of which there is great abundance, growing in tufts about as big

mistakes or prove nothing whatever. One of the coins in question—for only one supposed Dutch coin can now be discovered—was found by Mr. John Collins, when ploughing, many years since, on his farm at Pitt Water, on the shores of Broken Bay. This coin, which is of silver, and is now in the possession of Mr. Macintosh, of Lane Cove, is not a Dutch coin at all, but a German or rather Schleswig-Holstein “10 schilling” piece. The date is almost obliterated, but it appears to have been 1788, the year of the foundation of the colony, and eighteen years after Cook’s visit. It affords no evidence therefore of the landing there of old Dutch or any other navigators. Its probable history is as follows:—Governor Phillip, the founder of the colony, was of German extraction, his father having been a citizen of Frankfurt. During the period of his rule in New South Wales several Germans emigrated to the new colony, probably at his invitation. To one of them, named Philip Schoeffer, who came out as agricultural superintendent, one of the first grants of land which Governor Phillip ever made was issued. This land was situated at Pitt Water, and Schoeffer lived on his farm there for many years. It is highly probable, therefore, that the coins in question, if there really was more than one of the kind referred to ever found there, were lost by Schoeffer or some of his people, as any money he or they brought with them would naturally be in the coin of their own country. Another coin, said to be Spanish, turned out upon careful examination to be an English half-crown of the reign of Charles the First. The date is obliterated, but the letters “Carol...Rex...Brit...Hib” can be clearly made out on the obverse, and some traces of the figures of George and the Dragon on the reverse. A third silver coin which was found not far from the water’s edge at Broken Bay, really was a Spanish pillar dollar, but it was so corroded and defaced that the finder could not make out the date, and it therefore proved nothing. This coin had a small hole near the edge, as if it had been attached to a string to be worn round the neck, a practice formerly not unusual with sailors. The other stories of Dutch or Spanish relics, it is believed, rest on still slighter foundations; and even if they were true would prove nothing to the purpose in the absence of all information as to how they came where they were discovered.

as can well be grasped in the hand, which stand very close to each other. We saw many houses of the inhabitants, and places where they had slept upon the grass without any shelter; but we saw only one of the people, who, the moment he discovered us, ran away. At all these places we left presents, hoping that at length they might produce confidence and good-will. We had a transient and imperfect view of a quadruped, about as big as a rabbit. Mr. Banks's greyhound, which was with us, got sight of it, and would probably have caught it, but the moment he set off he lamed himself against a stump which lay concealed in the long grass. We afterwards saw the dung of an animal which fed upon grass, and which we judged could not be less than a deer; and the footsteps of another, which was clawed like a dog, and seemed to be about as big as a wolf. We also tracked a small animal, whose foot resembled that of a polecat or weasel. The trees over our head abounded with birds of various kinds, among which were many of exquisite beauty, particularly loriquets and cockatoos, which flew in flocks of several scores together. We found some wood which had been felled by the natives with a blunt instrument, and some that had been barked. The trees were not of many species; among others there was a large one which yielded a gum not unlike the *sanguis draconis*; and in some of them steps had been cut at about three feet distance from each other, for the convenience of climbing them.

"From this excursion we returned between three and four o'clock, and having dined on board, we went ashore again at the watering-place, where a party of men were filling casks. Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, had been sent out in the morning with a boat to dredge for oysters at the head of the bay; when he had performed this service he went ashore, and having taken a midshipman with him, and sent the boat away, set out to join the waterers by land. In his way he fell in with a body of two-and-twenty Indians, who followed him, and were often not more than twenty yards distant. When Mr. Gore perceived them so near, he stopped, and faced about, upon which they stopped also; and when he went on again, continued their pursuit. They did not, however, attack him, though they were all armed with lances, and he and the midshipman got in safety to the watering-place. The Indians, who had slackened their pursuit when they came in sight of the main body of our people, halted at about the distance of a quarter of a mile, where they stood still. Mr. Monk-

house and two or three of the waterers took it into their heads to march up to them ; but seeing the Indians keep their ground till they came pretty near them, they were seized with a sudden fear very common to the rash and fool-hardy, and made a hasty retreat. This step, which insured the danger that it was taken to avoid, encouraged the Indians, and four of them running forward, discharged their lances at the fugitives with such force, that flying no less than forty yards, they went beyond them. As the Indians did not pursue, our people, recovering their spirits, stopped to collect the lances when they came up to the place where they lay ; upon which the Indians, in their turn, began to retire. Just at this time I came up with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia ; and being desirous to convince the Indians that we were neither afraid of them, nor intended them any mischief, we advanced towards them, making signs of expostulation and entreaty ; but they could not be persuaded to wait till we could come up. Mr. Gore told us that he had seen some of them up the bay, who had invited him by signs to come on shore, which he, certainly with great prudence, declined.

"The morning of the next day was so rainy, that we were all glad to stay on board. In the afternoon, however, it cleared up, and we made another excursion along the sea-coast to the southward : we went ashore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gathered many plants ; but besides these we saw nothing worthy of notice. At our first entering the woods, we met with three of the natives, who instantly ran away : more of them were seen by some of the people, but they all disappeared with great precipitation as soon as they found that they were discovered. By the boldness of these people at our first landing, and the terror that seized them at the sight of us afterwards, it appears that they were sufficiently intimidated by our fire-arms ; not that we had any reason to think the people much hurt by the small shot which we were obliged to fire at them when they attacked us at our coming out of the boat ; but they had probably seen the effects of them, from their lurking-places, upon the birds that we had shot. Tupia, who was now become a good marksman, frequently strayed from us to shoot parrots ; and he had told us that while he was thus employed, he had once met with nine Indians, who, as soon as they perceived he saw them, ran from him in great confusion and terror.

"The next day twelve canoes, in each of which was a single Indian, came towards the watering-place, and were

within half a mile of it a considerable time : they were employed in striking fish, upon which, like others that we had seen before, they were so intent that they seemed to regard nothing else. It happened, however, that a party of our people were out a shooting near the place, and one of the men, whose curiosity might at length, perhaps, be roused by the report of the fowling-pieces, was observed by Mr. Banks to haul up his canoe upon the beach, and go towards the shooting party. In something more than a quarter of an hour he returned, launched his canoe, and went off in her to his companions. This incident makes it probable that the natives acquired a knowledge of the destructive power of our fire-arms when we knew nothing of the matter : for this man was not seen by any of the party whose operations he had reconnoitred.

“ While Mr. Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, I went with Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse to the head of the bay, that I might examine that part of the country, and make farther attempts to form some connection with the natives. In our way we met with eleven or twelve small canoes, with each a man in it, probably the same that were afterwards abreast of the shore, who all made into shoal water upon our approach. We met other Indians on shore the first time we landed, who instantly took to their canoes, and paddled away. We went up the country to some distance, and found the face of it nearly the same with that which has been described already, but the soil was much richer ; for, instead of sand, I found a deep black mould, which I thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind. In the woods we found a tree which bore fruit that in colour and shape resembled a cherry : the juice had an agreeable tartness, though but little flavour. We found also interspersed some of the finest meadows in the world : some places, however, were rocky, but these were comparatively few : the stone is sandy, and might be used with advantage for building. When we returned to the boat, we saw some smoke upon another part of the coast, and went thither in hopes of meeting with the people, but at our approach these also ran away. We found six small canoes, and six fires very near the beach, with some muscles roasting upon them, and a few oysters lying near : by this we judged that there had been one man in each canoe, who having picked up some shell fish, had come ashore to eat it, and made his separate fire for that purpose. We tasted of their cheer, and left them

in return some strings of beads, and other things which we thought would please them. At the foot of a tree in this place we found a small well of fresh water, supplied by a spring; and the day being now far spent, we returned to the ship. In the evening, Mr. Banks made a little excursion with his gun, and found such a number of quails, resembling those in England, that he might have shot as many as he pleased but his object was variety and not number.

"The next morning, as the wind would not permit me to sail, I sent out several parties into the country to try again whether some intercourse could not be established with the natives. A midshipman, who belonged to one of these parties, having straggled a long way from his companions, met with a very old man and woman, and some little children; they were sitting under a tree by the water side, and neither party saw the other till they were close together. The Indians showed signs of fear, but did not attempt to run away. The man happened to have nothing to give them but a parrot that he had shot; this he offered, but they refused to accept it, withdrawing themselves from his hand either through fear or aversion. His stay with them was but short, for he saw several canoes near the beach fishing, and being alone, he feared they might come ashore and attack him. He said that these people were very dark-coloured, but not black; that the man and woman appeared to be very old, being both grey-headed; that the hair of the man's head was bushy, and his beard long and rough; that the woman's hair was cropped short; and both of them were stark naked. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, and one of the men, who were with another party near the watering-place, also strayed from their companions, and as they were coming out of a thicket, observed six Indians standing together, at the distance of about fifty yards. One of them pronounced a word very loud, which was supposed to be a signal, for a lance was immediately thrown at him out of the wood, which very narrowly missed him. When the Indians saw that the weapon had not taken effect, they ran away with the greatest precipitation; but on turning about towards the place whence the lance had been thrown, he saw a young Indian, whom he judged to be about nineteen or twenty years old, come down from a tree, and he also ran away with such speed as made it hopeless to follow him. Mr. Monkhouse was of opinion that he had been watched by these Indians in his passage through the thicket, and that the youth had been stationed in the tree to discharge

the lance at him, upon a signal, as he should come by; but however this may be, there could be no doubt but that he was the person who threw the lance.

"In the afternoon, I went myself with a party over to the north shore, and while some of our people were hauling the seine, we made an excursion a few miles into the country, proceeding afterwards in the direction of the coast. We found this place without wood, and somewhat resembling our moors in England; the surface of the ground, however, was covered with a thin brush of plants, about as high as the knees. The hills near the coast are low, but others rise behind them, increasing by a gradual ascent to a considerable distance, with marshes and morasses between. When we returned to the boat, we found that our people had caught with the seine a great number of small fish, which are well-known in the West-Indies, and which our sailors call leather-jackets, because their skin is remarkably thick. I had sent the second lieutenant out in the yawl a striking, and when we got back to the ship we found that he also had been very successful. He had observed that the large sting-rays, of which there is great plenty in the bay, followed the flowing tide into very shallow water; he therefore took the opportunity of flood, and struck several in not more than two or three feet water: one of them weighed no less than two hundred and forty pounds after his entrails were taken out.

"The next morning, as the wind still continued northerly I sent out the yawl again, and the people struck one still larger, for when his entrails were taken out he weighed three hundred and thirty-six pounds.

"The great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place induced me to give it the name of Botany Bay. It is situated in the latitude of 34 degrees S., longitude 208 degrees 37 minutes W. It is capacious, safe, and convenient, and may be known by the land on the sea-coast, which is nearly level, and of a moderate height; in general higher than it is farther inland, with steep rocky cliffs next the sea, which have the appearance of a long island lying close under the shore. The harbour lies about the middle of this land, and in approaching it from the southward, is discovered before the ship comes abreast of it; but from the northward it is not discovered so soon; the entrance is a little more than a quarter of a mile broad, and lies in W.N.W. To sail into it, the southern shore should be kept on board, till the ship is within a small bare island,

which lies close under the north shore; within this island the deepest water on that side is seven fathom, shallowing to five a good way up. At a considerable distance from the south shore there is a shoal reaching from the inner south point quite to the head of the harbour; but over towards the north and north-west shore there is a channel of twelve or fourteen feet at low water, for three or four leagues, up to a place where there is three or four fathom; but here I found very little fresh water. We anchored near the south shore, about a mile within the entrance, for the convenience of sailing with a southerly wind, and because I thought it the best situation for watering; but I afterwards found a very fine stream on the north shore, in the first sandy cove within the island, before which a ship might lie almost land-locked, and procure wood as well as water in great abundance. Wood, indeed, is everywhere plenty, but I saw only two kinds which may be considered as timber. These trees are as large, or larger, than the English oak, and one of them has not a very different appearance; this is the same that yields the reddish gum like *sanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark-coloured, like *lignum vitæ*; the other grows tall and straight, something like the pine; and the wood of this, which has some resemblance to the live oak of America, is also hard and heavy. There are a few shrubs, and several kinds of the palm; mangroves also grow in great plenty near the head of the bay. The country in general is level, low, and woody, as far as we could see. The woods, as I have before observed, abound with birds of exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind; we found also crows here, exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl, most of which were altogether unknown to us; one of the most remarkable was black and white, much larger than a swan, and in shape somewhat resembling a pelican. On these banks of sand and mud there are great quantities of oysters, muscles, cockles, and other shell-fish, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants, who go into shoal water with their little canoes, and pick them out with their hands. We did not observe that they ate any of them raw, nor do they always go on shore to dress them, for they have frequently fires in their canoes for that purpose. They do not, however, subsist wholly upon this food, for they catch a variety of other fish, some of which they strike with gigs, and some they take

with hook and line. All the inhabitants that we saw were stark naked; they did not appear to be numerous, nor to live in societies, but, like other animals, were scattered about along the coast, and in the woods. Of their manner of life, however, we could know but little, as we were never able to form the least connection with them; after the first contest at our landing, they would never come near enough to parley; nor did they touch a single article of all that we had left at their huts, and the places they frequented, on purpose for them to take away.

"During my stay in this harbour I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day, and the ship's name, and the date of the year, to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place.

"It is high-water here at the full and change of the moon about eight o'clock, and the tide rises and falls perpendicularly between four and five feet."

The place where Cook landed, on the shores of Botany Bay, being one of the very few spots in Australia to which anything like historical interest attaches, is certainly worthy of being marked by some appropriate memorial. Upwards of forty years ago an attempt was made on the part of a few gentlemen of Sydney, who called themselves, somewhat pretentiously, the Philosophical Society of Australasia, to commemorate Cook's discovery of the colony, and to mark the spot where he landed. The motive was excellent, but the performance was hardly worthy of the occasion. At the place where it was supposed Cook first stepped on shore, they affixed to a rock a brass plate, on which the following singular inscription was engraved:—"A.D. MDCCLXX. Under the auspices of British Science these shores were discovered by James Cook and Joseph Banks, the Columbus and the Mæcenas of their time. This spot once saw them ardent in the pursuit of knowledge. Now to their memory, this tablet is inscribed in the first year of the Philosophical Society of Australasia. Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., and F.R.S.L. and E., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, President." The plate on which this inscription was engraved was fastened to the rock about fifteen feet above high water mark, and there it still remains.

Possibly some readers of these chapters may not be aware that "the first year of the Philosophical Society of Australasia" means A.D. 1822. It was on the 20th March in that year

that the brass plate was placed at Botany Bay. An attempt was then made to find an aboriginal native who had seen and remembered Cook's landing fifty-two years previously. And an old man was found who was said to have been the very youth who opposed Cook's landing so vigorously. It is hardly necessary to say, that the grounds for the belief that the old man of 1822 was identical with the young man of 1770 were of a somewhat vague and shadowy description. A gentleman, a native of Sydney, who had frequent opportunities in his youth, in the early part of the present century, of acquiring information from the Botany Bay blacks, and who always took much interest in all that related to them, has kindly supplied the writer with all the information he was able to glean from their old men on the subject of Cook's landing. As the Endeavour was the first ship, and Cook and his crew the first white men they had ever seen, it is reasonable to suppose that the circumstance must have made a strong impression upon their memory. The gentleman referred to states that the aborigines known to have been contemporary with Captain Cook's landing were Yadyer, Bullmayne, Dolmoik, Kurrul, Bluitt and Potta (two brothers). All agreed in their statements respecting this great event. They said that when the ship first appeared off the coast they were on the north shore of the bay, at a spot called by the aborigines Kooriwal, but afterwards known to the colonists as the Frenchman's Gardens. Yadyer said that on seeing the ship he went down to a corner of the beach, where a portion of the tribe were encamped, and told them what he had seen. They all thereupon went up the hill to look. Some of them thought the ship was a large bird. But, as the object of their amazement approached the heads of the bay, they came to the conclusion that it was a large canoe with people on board. Shortly afterwards they saw two boats leave the ship, and go to the rocks at "Kundel," the point where the brass plate was put up in 1822. Three persons from one of the boats landed just below that point. The boats went round the rock into a little harbour; and the three persons who had landed went round in the same direction, to a spot within forty yards of the run of water which flows close to the south side of where Kundel house now stands. The boats landed at a small gap, where there was a fine run of fresh water. After staying there some time, the boats came over to the north side of Botany Bay, and landed on the beach at Kooriwal. Three persons then landed from

one of the boats; one of these had on his head something like a "bang-alle." [The bang-alle is a vessel used by the blacks for carrying water; it is made of bark, drawn together at the ends and fastened with thongs, so as to resemble very closely a cocked hat.] These three men walked along the beach, the boats pulling close to the land, till they came to Bumbera Point, half a mile from Kooriwall, due north. The blackfellows made their appearance on the bank above the beach, with spears and wommeras; but made no attempt to throw a spear at the strangers. When the aborigines appeared the second time, two guns were fired from the boats, on which they drew back into the bush. When the three persons who landed came to Bumbera Point, they got into the boat, and after staying there a short time went back to the ship, which was then anchored just inside the Heads. Either that evening or the following morning two boats came up again to the north side at Bumbera Point, and hauled a seine twice, and then returned to the ships. Such is the report of the landing of Captain Cook, as told by the aborigines, about forty years afterwards.

The Endeavour sailed from Botany Bay on the 6th May; and at noon, says Cook, "we were abreast the entrance of a bay or harbour in which there appeared to be good anchorage; and which I called Port Jackson." They did not enter, but continued their voyage along the coast, and at sunset discovered a bay, which from the irregular and broken appearance of the land was named Broken Bay. The next place named was Port Stephens; the entrance to the River Hunter, one of the largest streams of Eastern Australia, having been passed without notice. Cape Hawke, the hills called the Three Brothers, Smokey Cape, Cape Byron, Mount Warning, and Point Danger, were all seen and their present names conferred by Cook within the next few days. Point Danger, in 28 degrees 8 minutes south, is the northern extremity of the present colony of New South Wales.

On the 16th May, the ships still keeping near to the coast, Cook writes:—"The shore forms a wide open bay, which I called Moreton's Bay, in the bottom of which the land is so low that I could but just see it from the topmast head." The name of Cape Moreton was also given, "it being the north point of Moreton's Bay." The hills called the Glass-houses, Indian Head, Breaksea Spit, Harvey's Bay, and Bustard Bay, were also seen and named during the next few days. At the last bay they landed and shot a large bird,

which, says Cook, weighed seventeen pounds and a half, and was a species of bustard. "We all agreed," he continues, "that this was the best bird we had eaten since we left England; and in honour of it we called this inlet Bustard Bay." Standing along the coast, Cape Capricorn, Cape Manifold, Kepple Bay, Cape Townshend, Broad Sound, Cape Palmerston, Cape Hillsborough, Repulse Bay, Cape Gloucester, Cape Upstart, Edgecumbe Bay (now Port Denison), Cape Cleaveland, Halifax Bay, Rockingham Bay, and other remarkable bays and headland were seen, and the names given by which they are still known.

The part of the coast which they were now on was a very dangerous one, and the crew of the Endeavour met and surmounted difficulties of no ordinary kind. Their ship, on one occasion, struck suddenly upon a coral rock, and was in danger of sinking. Of the means by which this was prevented Cook's narrative gives the following interesting account:—

"To those only who have waited in a state of such suspense death has approached in all his terrors, and as the dreadful moment that was to determine our fate came on, every one saw his own sensations pictured in the countenances of his companions; however, the capstan and windlass were manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, and the ship floating about twenty minutes after ten o'clock, the effort was made and she was heaved into deep water. It was, however, impossible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to draw upon the leak, and as the exact situation of it could not be discovered, we had no hope of stopping it within. In this situation, Mr. Monkhouse, one of my midshipmen, came to me and proposed an experiment that he had once used on board a merchant ship, which sprung a leak that admitted above four feet of water an hour, and which, by this experiment, was brought safely from Virginia to London; the master having such confidence in it that he took her out of the harbour, knowing her condition, and did not think it worth while to wait till the leak could be otherwise stopped. To this man, therefore, the care of the expedient, which is called fothering the ship, was immediately committed, four or five of the people being appointed to assist him, and he performed it in this manner: he took a lower studding sail, and having mixed together a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped pretty small, he stitched it down in handfuls upon the sail as lightly as possible, and over this he spread the dung of our

sheep and other filth. When the sail was thus prepared, it was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended, and when it came under the leak the suction which carried in the water carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which, in other parts, the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. By the success of this expedient our leak was so far reduced that instead of gaining upon three pumps, it was easily kept under with one."

On the 17th June, the ship having been run aground in a harbour where the tide left her at low water, it was discovered that "the rollers made their way through four planks and even into the timbers, three more planks were much damaged, and the appearance of these breaches was very extraordinary; there was not a splinter to be seen, but all was as smooth as if the whole had been cut away by an instrument. One of the holes, which was big enough to have sunk us if we had had eight pumps instead of four, and been able to keep them incessantly going, was in a great measure plugged up by a fragment of the rock, which, after having made the hole was left sticking in it; so that the water which had at first gained upon the pumps, was what came in at the interstices between the stone and the edges of the hole that received it. We found also several pieces of the fothering which had made their way between the timbers, and in a great measure stopped those parts of the leak which the stone had left open."

To this harbour the name of Endeavour Bay was given, and here Cook remained refitting and obtaining information from June until the following August. During their stay here the first kangaroos were seen, of which circumstance Cook gives the following account:—"With the first dawn they set out in search of game, and in a walk of many miles they saw four animals of the same kind, two of which Mr. Banks's greyhound chased, but they threw him out at a great distance, by leaping over the long thick grass which prevented his running: this animal was observed not to run upon four legs, but to bound or hop forward upon two. It is called by the natives kangaroo."

They had at first great difficulty in inducing the natives to come near them, but at last they grew bolder, and at length became mischievous. Cook's narrative proceeds:—

"On the 19th, in the morning, we were visited by ten of the natives, the greater part from the other side of the river,

where we saw six or seven more, most of them women, and like all the rest of the people we had seen in this country, they were stark naked. Our guests brought with them a greater number of lances than they had ever done before, and having laid them up in a tree, they set a man and a boy to watch them : the rest then came on board, and we soon perceived that they had determined to get one of our turtle, which was probably as great a dainty to them as to us. They first asked us by signs to give them one ; and being refused, they expressed, both by looks and gestures, great disappointment and anger. At this time we happened to have no victuals dressed, but I offered one of them some biscuit, which he snatched and threw overboard with great disdain. One of them renewed his request to Mr. Banks, and upon a refusal stamped with his foot, and pushed him from him in a transport of resentment and indignation. Having applied by turns to almost every person who appeared to have any command in the ship, without success, they suddenly seized two of the turtles, and dragged them towards the side of the ship where their canoe lay : our people soon forced them out of their hands, and replaced them with the rest. They would not, however, relinquish their enterprise, but made several other attempts of the same kind, in all which being equally disappointed, they suddenly leaped into their canoe in a rage, and began to paddle towards the shore. At the same time, I went into the boat with Mr. Banks and five or six of the ship's crew, and we got ashore before them, where many more of our people were already engaged in various employments. As soon as they landed they seized their arms, and before we were aware of their design, they snatched a brand from under a pitch-kettle which was boiling, and making a circuit to the windward of the few things we had on shore, they set fire to the grass in their way, with surprising quickness and dexterity : the grass, which was five or six feet high, and as dry as stubble, burnt with amazing fury ; and the fire made a rapid progress towards a tent of Mr. Banks's, which had been set up for Tupia when he was sick, taking in its course a sow and pigs, one of which it scorched to death. Mr. Banks leaped into a boat, and fetched some people from on board, just time enough to save his tent, by hauling it down upon the beach ; but the smith's forge, at least such part of it as would burn, was consumed. While this was doing, the Indians went to a place at some distance, where several of our people were washing, and where our nets,

among which was the seine, and a great quantity of linen were laid out to dry; here they again set fire to the grass, entirely disregarding both threats and entreaties. We were therefore obliged to discharge a musket, loaded with small shot, at one of them, which drew blood at the distance of about forty yards, and thus putting them to flight, we extinguished the fire at this place before it had made much progress; but where the grass had been first kindled, it spread into the woods to a great distance. As the Indians were still in sight, I fired a musket, charged with ball, abreast of them, among the mangroves, to convince them that they were not yet out of our reach: upon hearing the ball they quickened their pace, and we soon lost sight of them. We thought they would now give us no more trouble; but soon after we heard their voices in the woods, and perceived that they came nearer and nearer. I set out, therefore, with Mr. Banks and three or four more to meet them. When our parties came in sight of each other, they halted; except one old man, who came forward to meet us: at length he stopped, and having uttered some words, which we were very sorry we could not understand, he went back to his companions, and the whole body slowly retreated. We found means, however, to seize some of their darts, and continued to follow them about a mile: we then sat down upon some rocks, from which we could observe their motions, and they also sat down at about an hundred yards distance. After a short time, the old man again advanced towards us, carrying in his hand a lance without a point: he stopped several times, at different distances, and spoke; we answered by beckoning, and making such signs of amity as we could devise; upon which the messenger of peace, as we supposed him to be, turned and spoke aloud to his companions, who then set up their lances against a tree, and advanced towards us in a friendly manner: when they came up, we returned the darts or lances that we had taken from them, and we perceived with great satisfaction that this rendered the reconciliation complete. We found in this party four persons whom we had never seen before, who as usual were introduced to us by name; but the man who had been wounded in the attempt to burn our nets and linen was not among them; we knew, however, that he could not be dangerously hurt, by the distance at which the shot reached him. We made all of them presents of such trinkets as we had about us, and they walked back with us towards the ship. As we went along, they told us, by signs, that

they would not set fire to the grass any more; and we distributed among them some musket-balls, and endeavoured to make them understand their use and effect. When they came abreast of the ship they sat down, but could not be prevailed upon to come on board; we therefore left them, and in about two hours they went away, soon after which we perceived the woods on fire at about two miles distance. If this accident had happened a very little while sooner, the consequence might have been dreadful; for our powder had been aboard but a few days, and the store-tent, with many valuable things which it contained, had not been removed many hours. We had no idea of the fury with which grass would burn in this hot climate, nor consequently of the difficulty of extinguishing it; but we determined, that if it should ever again be necessary for us to pitch our tents in such a situation, our first measure should be to clear the ground round us."

The aborigines could only be satisfied by actually feeling the hands and faces of their visitors that they were made of flesh and blood like themselves. Respecting the natives of this part of the coast, Cook says:—

"The men are well made, of the middle size, and active in a high degree, but their voices are soft even to effeminacy. Their colour is chocolate, but they were so covered with dirt as to look almost as black as negroes. The chief ornament of these people is the bone that is thrust through the nose, which the sailors whimsically termed the spritsail-yard. Some few of them had an ornament of shells hanging across the breast. Besides these ornaments they painted their bodies and limbs white and red in stripes of different dimensions, and they had a circle of white round each eye and spots of it on the face. Their huts were built with small rods, the two ends of which were fixed into the ground so as to form the figure of an oven, they are covered with pieces of bark and palm leaves. The door of this building, which is only high enough to sit upright in, is opposite to the fire-place, they sleep with their heels turned up towards their heads, and even in this posture the hut will not hold more than four people. They produce fire, and extend the flames in a very singular manner; they reduce one end of a stick into an obtuse point, they place this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright stick very fast backward and forward between their hands the fire is soon produced, nor is it increased with less celerity."

The Endeavour sailed from this place on the 13th August 1770, and "succeeded in getting into the open sea in safety after having been surrounded by dreadful shoals and rocks for three months." The explorers still continued their voyage to the northward, until the extreme point of the Australian Continent, which they named Cape York, was reached. They then steered westward through Torres Straits, naming the channel through which they passed into the Indian Ocean Endeavour Strait.

Cook concludes his account of New South Wales as follows:—"As I was now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude 38 degrees south to this place, (latitude 10½ south,) and which I am confident no European had ever seen before, I once more hoisted English colours; and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast, in right of his Majesty King George the Third, by the name of New South Wales, with all the bays, harbours, rivers, and islands situated upon it; we then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship."

Captain Cook in his account of Cape York says:—"The point of the main which forms the side of the channel through which we passed, opposite to the island, is the northern promontory of the country, and I called it York Cape. Its longitude is 218 degrees and 24 seconds W., the latitude of the north point is 10 degrees 37 seconds, and of the east point 10 degrees 42 seconds S. The land over the east point, and to the southward of it, is rather low, and as far as the eye can reach, very flat, and of a barren appearance. To the southward of the Cape the shore forms a large open bay, which I called Newcastle Bay, and in which are some small low islands and shoals; the land adjacent is also very low, flat, and sandy. The land of the northern part of the Cape is more hilly, the valleys seem to be well clothed with wood, and the shore forms some small bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage. Close to the eastern point of the Cape are three small islands, from one of which a small ledge of rock runs out into the sea; there is also an island close to the northern point. The island that forms the strait or channel through which we had passed, lies about four miles without these, which, except two, are very small; the southernmost is the largest, and much higher than any part of the main land. On the north-west

side of this island there appeared to be good anchorage, and on shore, valleys that promised both wood and water. These islands are distinguished in the chart by the name of York Isles."

After visiting and naming Booby Island, he continues:—"We returned to the ship, and in the meantime the wind had got to the S.W.; it was but a gentle breeze, yet it was accompanied by a swell from the same quarter, which with other circumstances, confirmed my opinion that we were got to the westward of Carpentaria, or the northern extremity of New Holland, and had now an open sea to the westward, which gave me great satisfaction, not only because the dangers and fatigues of the voyage were drawing to an end, but because it would no longer be a doubt whether New Holland and New Guinea were two separate islands, or different parts of the same."

That New Guinea was an island had, however, notwithstanding what Cook says, been determined ages before. Torres, the commander of one of the ships of Quiros's expedition*

* It is very difficult to reconcile conflicting accounts as to whether Quiros or Torres was the actual chief of this remarkable expedition. Quiros was undoubtedly the nominal leader, but it is hard to resist the conviction in reading Torres's narrative, that he was himself in possession of some commission which made him regard "the Portugal" as his inferior. There was evidently great jealousy between them, and the crew of the vessel under the immediate command of Quiros were in a state of mutiny almost from the commencement. Torres says that Quiros left them at the Australia del Espiritu Santo, while at anchor at night, without any notice given; and that although every effort was made to discover where he had gone, it was fruitless, for that he "did not sail on the proper course, nor with good intention." He then, he says, "after waiting fifteen days, determined to fulfil his Majesty's orders, for my condition was different from that of Captain Pedro Fernandez Quiros." While most writers speak of Quiros as chief, others as positively state that "Luis Vaez de Torres was entrusted with the command;" and they assert that, "Quiros, from zeal for the success of the undertaking, was content to act in the inferior station." Quiros it should be remembered, was not a Spaniard, but a Portuguese in the service of Spain, and for this reason there might possibly have been some jealousy regarding his uncontrolled appointment to the supreme command. Besides, he appears to have been a man of exceedingly impulsive and uncertain temperament, and possessed little influence over those beneath him. A curious evidence of his presumed unfitness for command is afforded in the account of Mendana's voyage in 1595. When his Excellency (the Adelantado), as Mendana was called, found himself dying, instead of leaving the future control of the expedition to Quiros, who, from his position, would in the ordinary course of things have naturally taken the command, he appointed his wife, Donna Isabel Berreto, who with her ladies and domestics accompanied him, to be his successor, with the title of Governor. Quiros, in fact, although a man of great ability, was exceedingly

previously mentioned, discovered and sailed through the straits which bear his name (and one of the channels of which Cook named Endeavour Strait) shortly after parting from Quiros, at the Australia del Espiritu Santo, or New Hebrides in 1606. It is singular that Cook does not once allude to the fact of Torres's discovery of these straits, for, although very little had transpired of the particulars of Torres's voyage at Cook's time, the fact that he had passed between New Holland and New Guinea was well known, and maps are in existence at least as old as 1620 in which the outlines of Papua or New Guinea are laid down with comparative accuracy.

The following is Torres's account of his passage between Australia and New Guinea:—"From hence I stood back to the N.W. to $11\frac{1}{2}$ degrees S. latitude: there we fell in with the beginning of New Guinea, the coast of which runs W. by N. and E. by S. I could not weather the eastern point, so I coasted along to the westward on the south side. We went along 300 leagues of coast, and diminished the latitude $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees which brought us into 9 degrees. From hence we fell in with a bank of from 3 to 9 fathoms which extends along the coast above 180 leagues. We went over it along the coast to $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees S. latitude, and the end of it is in 5 degrees. We could not go farther on for the many shoals and great currents, so we were obliged to sail out S.W. in that depth to 11 degrees S. latitude. There is all over it an archipelago of islands without number, by which we passed, and at the end

enthusiastic and flighty, and was unfortunate in his dealings with the savages as well as with his own men. It may be, however, that the belief that he was only second in command has arisen from the fact that Torres was called the almirante of the expedition. But this word almirante, from which the English word admiral is derived, and which has its root in the Moorish word *el emir* (the chief), although originally signifying in Spanish the leader of an expedition, had come before the time referred to (1605) to mean the commander of the second ship of a fleet, which was termed *almiranta*, the first being *captiana*. Speaking of Quiros, Captain Burney, in his *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas*, says:—"The character of Quiros as a navigator and a discoverer is unquestionable. In other respects his abilities were, if not below mediocrity, by no means equal to the task of forming settlements in newly conquered countries. Though a passionate admirer of the natives of the South Sea Islands, and acquainted with their manners, his conduct towards them, independent of its injustice, has all the character of levity and inexperience. His want of firmness likewise disqualified him from exercising or preserving the authority of a commander; and to this weakness it may be attributed that his success in discovery, instead of leading to his advancement, proved to him a constant source of disappointment."

of the 11th degree the bank became shoaler. Here were very large islands, and there appeared more to the southward; they were inhabited by black people, very corpulent, and naked; their arms were lances, arrows, and clubs of stone ill fashioned. We could not get any of their arms. We caught in all this land twenty persons of different nations, that with them we might be able to give a better account to your Majesty. They give much notice of other people, although as yet they do not make themselves well understood."

Captain Burney, in his account of Torres's voyage says:—"There can be little doubt that some of the land seen by Torres at this time to the southward was part of the great Terra Australis. Captain Cook, when in Torres's Straits, writing in reference to Quiros's discoveries, says:—"The islands which were discovered by Quiros, and called Australia del Espiritu Santo, lie in this parallel; but how far to the eastward cannot now be ascertained; in most charts they are placed in the same longitude with this country, which, as appears by the account of his voyage that has been published, he never saw; for that places his discoveries no less than two-and-twenty degrees to the eastward of it."

Cook, upon leaving the Australian coast, thus speaks of the country and its aboriginal inhabitants:—"New Holland, or, as I have now called the eastern coast, New South Wales, is of a larger extent than any other country in the known world that does not bear the name of a continent; the length of coast along which we sailed, reduced to a straight line, is no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting to near 2000 miles, so that its square surface must be much more than equal to all Europe. To the southward of 33 or 34, the land in general is low and level; farther northward it is hilly, but in no part can be called mountainous; and the hills and mountains, taken together, make but a small part of the surface, in comparison with the valleys and plains. It is, upon the whole, rather barren than fertile; yet the rising ground is chequered by woods and lawns, and the plains and valleys are in many places covered with herbage; the soil, however, is frequently sandy, and many of the lawns, or savannahs, are rocky and barren, especially to the northward, where, in the best spots, vegetation was less vigorous than in the southern part of the country; the trees were not so tall, nor was the herbage so rich. The grass in general is high, but thin, and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than forty feet

asunder ; nor is the country inland, as far as we could examine it, better clothed than the sea-coast. The banks of the bays are covered with mangroves, to the distance of a mile within the beach, under which the soil is a rank mud, that is always over-flowed by a spring-tide ; farther in the country we sometimes met with a bog, upon which the grass was very thick and luxuriant, and sometimes with a valley that was clothed with underwood ; the soil in some parts seemed to be capable of improvement, but the far greater part is such as can admit of no cultivation. The coast, at least that part of it which lies to the northward of 25 degrees S., abounds with fine bays and harbours, where vessels may lie in perfect security from all winds.

“The number of inhabitants in this country appears to be very small in proportion to its extent. We never saw so many as thirty of them together but once, and that was at Botany Bay, when men, women, and children, assembled upon a rock to see the ship pass by ; when they manifestly formed a resolution to engage us, they never could muster above fourteen or fifteen fighting men, and we never saw a number of their sheds or houses together that could accommodate a larger party. It is true, indeed, that we saw only the sea-coast on the eastern side : and that, between this and the western shore, there is an immense tract of country wholly unexplored ; but there is great reason to believe that this immense tract is either wholly desolate, or at least still more thinly inhabited than the parts we visited. . It is impossible that the inland country should subsist inhabitants at all seasons without cultivation ; it is extremely improbable that the inhabitants of the coast should be totally ignorant of arts of cultivation, which were practised inland ; and it is equally improbable that, if they knew such arts, there should be no traces of them among them. It is certain that we did not see one foot of ground in a state of cultivation in the whole country, and therefore it may well be concluded, that where the sea does not contribute to feed the inhabitants, the country is not inhabited.

“The only tribe with which we had any intercourse we found where the ship was careened ; it consisted of one-and-twenty persons, twelve men, seven women, one boy, and one girl ; the women we never saw but at a distance, for when the men came over the river they were always left behind. The men, here and in other places, were of a middle size, and in general well made, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous,

active, and nimble; their countenances were not altogether without expression, and their voices were remarkably soft and effeminate.

"They appeared to have no fixed habitations, for we saw nothing like a town or village in the whole country. Their houses, if houses they may be called, seemed to be formed with less art and industry than any we had seen, except the wretched hovels at Tierra del Fuego, and in some respects they are inferior even to them. At Botany Bay, where they were best, they were just high enough for a man to sit upright in, but not large enough for him to extend himself in his whole length in any direction: they are built with pliable rods about as thick as a man's finger, in the form of an oven, by sticking the two ends into the ground, and then covering them with palm-leaves and broad pieces of bark: the door is nothing but a large hole at one end, opposite to which the fire is made, as we perceived by the ashes. Under these houses, or sheds, they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, and in this position one of them will hold three or four persons. As we advanced northward, and the climate became warmer, we found these sheds still more slight: they were built, like the others, of twigs, and covered with bark; but none of them were more than four feet deep, and one side was entirely open: the close side was always opposed to the course of the prevailing wind, and opposite to the open side was the fire, probably more as a defence from the mosquitos than the cold. They were set up occasionally by a wandering horde in any place that would furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when, after it was exhausted, they went away; but in places where they remained only for a night or two, they slept without any shelter, except the bushes or grass, which is here near two feet high.

"The only furniture belonging to these houses that fell under our observation, is a kind of oblong vessel made of bark, by the simple contrivance of tying up the two ends with a withy, which not being out off serves for a handle; these we imagined were used as buckets to fetch water from the spring, which may be supposed sometimes to be at a considerable distance. They have, however, a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage-net, which is made by laying threads loop within loop, somewhat in the manner of knitting used by our ladies to make purses. This bag the man carries loose upon his back by a small string which passes over his

head ; it generally contains a lump or two of paint and resin, some fish-hooks and lines, a shell or two, out of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and their usual ornaments, which includes the whole worldly treasure of the richest man among them.

" Their fish-hooks are very neatly made, and some of them are exceedingly small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood which is about a foot long, and very well bearded ; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, about as thick as a man's wrist, and about seven or eight feet long ; to the staff is tied one end of a loose line about three or four fathom long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle, the peg is fixed into the socket, and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to trace their victim in the water ; it assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. One of these pegs, as I have mentioned already, we found buried in the body of a turtle, which had healed up over it. Their lines are from the thickness of a half-inch rope to the fineness of a hair, and are made of some vegetable substance, but what in particular we had no opportunity to learn.

" Their food is chiefly fish, though they sometimes contrive to kill the kangaroo, and even birds of various kinds ; notwithstanding, they are so shy that we found it difficult to get within reach of them with a fowling-piece. The only vegetable that can be considered as an article of food is the yam ; yet doubtless they eat the several fruits which have been mentioned among other productions of the country ; and indeed we saw the shells and hulls of several of them lying about the places where they had kindled their fire."

The Endeavour sailed from Booby Island on the 23rd August, 1770, having been upwards of four months on the coast of New South Wales. Captain Cook then directed his course towards the south coast of New Guinea. He landed on the Papuan shore on the 3rd September, and being attacked by the natives was obliged to fire upon them, at first with small shot, but this proving ineffectual, ball was at length used. The savages upon this retreated, and Cook not wishing to persevere where bloodshed appeared likely to be the result, embarked his men and proceeded on his voyage to Batavia, to refit, without having had any friendly intercourse with the Papuans.

Several years elapsed after Cook's discovery of New South Wales, during which "the long wash of Australasian seas" remained unfurrowed by European keels. Yet in this period of inaction in the cause of Australian discovery one of the most singular voyages on record was undertaken. In 1774 the East India Company determined to make an attempt to introduce the cultivation of the nutmeg into their possessions. Balambangan, a small island to the north of Borneo, was then held by them, and at this place a little expedition, under the command of Captain Thomas Forrest, was fitted out to proceed to New Guinea to procure plants of the nutmeg tree. Captain Forrest, who was a commander in the Company's service, appears to have been a man of great energy, experience, and judgment. The nature and control of this enterprise being left entirely to his discretion, he wisely determined to go in such a way and under such circumstances as not to excite the alarm or jealousy of the natives of the country. For this purpose he procured a little craft of ten tons, which he called the Tartar galley, rigged her in a manner peculiar to the Indian Archipelago, and manned her, with the exception of two English sailors, exclusively with Malays. These Malays, as they did not understand English, and Captain Forrest and his two sailors did not understand them, were under the control of a pilot named Tuan Hadjee, a man who had previously been to the coast of New Guinea, and to whose representations it was mainly owing that Dorey harbour, on the northern coast of that island, was selected as the best place at which to procure the nutmeg trees. The crew of the galley consisted of twenty men, including the two English sailors, one of whom acted as mate and the other as gunner. They left Balambangan on the 9th November, 1774, and after various adventures made the Cape of Good Hope, the northern point of the New Guinea coast, on the 24th January, 1775. Here, "being then about seven miles off shore," says Captain Forrest, "I perceived many clear spots on the hills which were nearest the shore, with ascending smoke. Tuan Hadjee told me these were the plantations of the Haraforas, or people who lived inland and cultivated the ground." On the 27th they reached Dorey harbour, where, contrary to what would assuredly have been the case if they had come in a large vessel, they were received by the natives in a very peaceable and friendly manner. His narrative continues:—

"Off the mouth of the bay before the harbour, but out of

the swell, a boat, with two Papua men, came on board, after having conversed a good deal with our linguists at a distance satisfied we were friends, they hastened ashore, to tell, suppose, the news. Soon after, many Papua Coffres came on board, and were quite easy and familiar: all of them wore their hair bushed out so much round their heads, that their circumference measured about three feet, and where least two and a half. In this they stuck their comb, consisting of four or five long diverging teeth, with which they now and then combed their frizzling locks, in a direction perpendicular from the head, as with a design to make it more bulky. They sometimes adorned their hair with feathers. The women had only their left ear pierced, in which they wore small brass rings. The hair of the women was bushed out also; but not quite so much as that of the men.

"We anchored about four in the afternoon, close to one of their great houses, which is built on posts, fixed several yards below low water mark, so that the tenement is always above the water, a long stage, supported by posts, going from it to the land, just at high water mark. The tenement contains many families, who live in cabins on each side of a wide common hall, that goes through the middle of it, and has two doors, one opening to the stage, towards the land; the other on a large stage towards the sea, supported likewise by posts in rather deeper water than those that support the tenement. On this stage the canoes are hauled up; and from this the boats are ready for a launch, at any time of tide, if the Harforas attack from the land; if they attack by sea, the Papuas take to the woods. The married people, unmarried women and children, live in these large tenements, which, as I have said, have two doors; the one to the long narrow stage that leads to the land; the other to the broad stage, which is over the sea, and on which they keep their boats, having outriggers on each side. A few yards from this sea stage, if I may so call it, are built, in still deeper water, and on strong posts, houses where only bachelors live. This is like the custom of the Batta people on Sumatra, and the Idaan and Moroots on Borneo, where, I am told, the bachelors are separated from the young women and the married people.

"At Dorey were two large tenements of this kind, about four hundred yards from each other, and each had a house for the bachelors close by it: in one of the tenements were fourteen cabins, seven on a side; in the other, twelve, or six on a side. In the common hall I saw the women sometimes making

mats, at other times forming pieces of clay into earthen pots ; with a pebble in one hand to put into it, whilst they held in the other hand also a pebble, with which they knocked, to enlarge and smooth it. The pots so formed they burned with dry grass, or light brushwood. The men, in general, wore a thin stuff that comes from the cocoanut tree, and resembles a coarse kind of cloth, tied forward round the middle, and up behind, between the thighs. The women wore in general coarse blue Surat balfas round their middle, not as a petticoat, but tucked up behind, like the men ; so that the body and thighs were almost naked, as boys and girls go entirely. I have often observed the women with an axe or chopping knife, fixing posts for the stages, whilst the men were sauntering about idle. Early in the morning I have seen the men setting out in their boat, with two or three fox looking dogs, for certain places to hunt the wild hog, which they call Ben, a dog they call Naf. I have frequently bought of them pieces of wild hog ; which, however, I avoided carrying on board the galley, but dressed and ate it ashore, unwilling to give offence to the crew."

"A boat with outriggers came pretty near us to-day. Of the four men in her, two had, each about his neck, a ratan collar, to which, hung backwards, by the top, a log of wood shaped like a sugar loaf, and of about five or six pounds weight. They were slaves offered to me for sale. I might have had them very cheap ; but, being crowded, I did not choose to purchase them. If I had, Tuan Hadjee and others would have expected the same indulgence. These objects of traffic had the gristle between the nostrils pierced with a bit of tortoiseshell, and were natives of New Guinea, a good way farther east,

"On Thursday, the 9th, fine weather and southerly winds. Two small boats returned from a place they called Wobur, with sago, plantains, &c., for their families : they were therefore unwilling to dispose of any. They also brought some birds of Paradise, which I purchased from them. To-day I repaired to the large tenement, near which the vessel lay. I found the women in the common hall, making cocoa mats as usual ; also kneading (if I may so term it) the clay, of which others formed the pots, with two pebble stones, as before described. Two of them were humming a tune, on which I took out a German flute, and played ; they were exceedingly attentive, all work stopping instantly when I began. I then asked one of the women to sing, which she did. The air she

sung was very melodious, and of a species much superior to Malay airs in general, which dwell long on a few notes, with little variety of rise or fall. Giving her a fathom of blue baftas, I asked another to sing: she was bashful, and refused; therefore I gave her nothing: her looks spoke her vexed, as if disappointed. Presently, she brought a large bunch of plantains, and gave it me with a smile. I then presented her with the remaining fathom of baftas, having had but two pieces with me. There being many boys and girls about us as we sat at that part of the common hall that goes upon the outer stage of the tenement, I separated some of the plantains from the bunch, and distributed to the children. When I had thus given away about one half, they would not permit me to part with any more; so the remainder I carried on board. I could not help taking notice that the children did not snatch, or seem too eager to receive, but waited patiently, and modestly accepted of what I offered, lifting their hands to their heads. The bachelors, if courting, come freely to the common hall, and sit down by their sweethearts. The old ones at a distance, are then said often to call out, Well, are you agreed? If they agree before witnesses, they kill a cock, which is procured with difficulty, and then it is a marriage. Their cabins are miserably furnished; a mat or two, a fire place, an earthen pot, with perhaps a china plate or basin, and some sago flour. As they cook in each cabin, and have no chimney, the smoke issues at every part of the roof: at a distance the whole roof seems to smoke. They are fond of glass, or china beads of all colours; both sexes wear them about the waist, but the women only at the left ear. I saw no gold ornaments worn by the Papua people; but in the hills, pointing towards them, they declared that 'buluan,' meaning gold, was to be found.

"On Wednesday, the 15th, fine weather, with S.E. winds; went again to Manaswary. About a mile from where we landed, found a nutmeg tree; we eagerly cut it down, and gathered about thirty or forty nuts; there were many upon it, but they were not ripe. Tuan Hadjee and all the Molucca people assured me it was the true nutmeg, but of the long kind, called Warong; the round nutmeg, which is cultivated at Banda, being called Keyan. I presently found many more nutmeg trees, and many young ones growing under their shade. I picked above one hundred plants, which I put up in baskets, with earth round them, intending to carry them to Balambangan, whither I now proposed to return as fast as

possible. Gave the reward I had promised for finding the nutmeg tree, being five pieces of baftas.

"On Thursday, the 16th, the fair weather continued, with easterly winds; saw many great fires on the mountains of Arfak. As the Papua people had not yet returned with the provisions stipulated, and I was unwilling to lose the fair winds, that had blown some time from the eastward, being also afraid of N.W. winds returning,—against which it were imprudent to attempt, and impossible to work up the coast to Waygiou—I therefore gave up to the Dorey people the debt of thirty pieces of surat cloth, and a bar of iron, with which I had trusted them: this rejoiced the old men.

"On Friday, the 17th, had still easterly winds, with fine weather. To-day some of the people found a nutmeg tree not a hundred yards from our shed house. We cut it down, but the fruit was not ripe; it was just such a tree as I had found and cut down at Manaswary; and the people of Dorey said there were many such trees about the country; at the same time they did not seem to know that it was an object of consequence, and regarded it no more than any wild kind of fruit that is of no general use: whereas on the plantain, the cocoanut, the pine apple, and the bread fruit of two sorts, they set a proper value. They allowed that to the eastward, at a place called Omberpon and Mandamy, were many nutmegs gathered, but I could not learn what was done with them, or to whom they were sold. Sometime before this I had asked Tuan Hadjee and Tuan Bussora, what they thought of going farther down the coast. They both objected to it, as they likewise did to making any inland incursion, to visit the Haraforas' houses. The Papua people also did not seem willing that we should have any intercourse with the Haraforas, who, I believe, are somehow kept under, or at least kept in ignorance by the Papuans. When I asked any of the men of Dorey why they had no gardens of plantains and kalavansas, which two articles they were continually bringing from the Haraforas, I learnt, after many interrogatories, that the Haraforas supply them with these articles, and that the Papua people do not give goods for these necessities every time they fetch them; but that an axe or a chopping knife given once to a Harafora man, makes his hands or his labour subject to an eternal tax of something or other for its use. Such is the value of iron; and a little way farther east, I was told they often use stone axes, having no iron at all. If a Harafora loses the instrument so advanced to him, he is still subject to the tax; but if

he breaks it, or wears it to the back, the Papua man is obliged to give him a new one, else the tax ceases.

"The promontory of Dorey, the sea coast of which extends about fourteen leagues, is of middling height; the ground everywhere ascends gradually. It may be said, like Malaya countries in general, to be covered with wood; but it differs in one respect; there being no underwood, it is very easy travelling under the shade of lofty trees. The country abounds with small fresh water rivulets; here and there is very good grass, but in no large tracts that I saw. It is very temperate, being so near the high mountains of Arfak, where the clouds seem always to settle, so that it is by far the best country hitherto visited on the voyage.

"From Waropine, above mentioned, is said to be a long land stretch to the head of a river, or a branch of the sea, which comes from the south coast of New Guinea. I have been told that the inhabitants of Ceram carry iron and other goods up this inlet, and trade with the inhabitants of the north coast, for Missoy bark. They are deemed also to speak different languages; but I could learn nothing of the coast east of Waropine.

"As to the character of the inhabitants of those places, east of where we lay, I have the greatest reason to think it was fierce and hostile, that they are numerous, and have a vast many prows; at the same time they are said to deal honestly with the Chinese, who trade with them, and advance their goods for several months before the returns are made. They trim and adorn their hair, but bore the nose, and wear ear-rings like the mop-headed people of Dorey."

Captain Forrest having succeeded in procuring a number of plants of the nutmeg tree, left the Papua coast, after a long visit, characterised throughout by the maintenance of perfectly friendly relations with the natives. The Rev. Dr. Lang, in a most interesting paper, lately published, on the subject of New Guinea and Captain Forrest's remarkable voyage, says:—"It is evident that the Papuans of Dorey harbour had, previous to Captain Forrest's visit, had some intercourse, through the semi-civilised inhabitants of the Arafura Islands, to the westward of New Guinea, with the Chinese; but their native civilisation, such as it is, has a peculiar and distinct type of its own, which was evidently unaffected by that intercourse. They live in communities, in large barn-like buildings erected on piles, and running out into the sea, or lake, or river, having an approach at the

one end of the building either to or from the water, and another at the other end of it either to or from the land; each family of the community having its own compartment or cabin in the house for the married people, and their bachelors' hall being a detached building of a similar construction. Now this is precisely the style in which the primitive inhabitants of Europe appear to have lived, and moved, and had their being, as is evident from the remains of the lacustrine habitations of the ancient inhabitants of Switzerland, that have recently been described and commented on by some of the ablest archæologists of Europe. In short the remains of the human habitations that are still to be found on the shores of the lakes of Switzerland are the remains of buildings precisely similar to those which Captain Forrest figures and describes in Dorey harbour, in New Guinea. Ninety years have now elapsed since that able navigator's visit; but it is scarcely creditable to us to acknowledge, that we have gained no further information in the interval respecting the great island (as large as France) that is now beginning to attract our attention, and is brought at length so near our own shores. These strange buildings, which seem to carry us back to the remotest times in the history of our race, and serve to form a bond of connection between the Papuan negro and the primitive inhabitants of Switzerland and other parts of Europe, are not only figured in Captain Forrest's copperplates, but accurately described in his narrative, and their object and uses are pointed out."

That we have in the Papuans, or inhabitants of New Guinea, a race resembling in many respects the prehistoric people who dwelt on the borders of the Swiss, Irish, and other European lakes is highly probable. A greater knowledge of the Papuans—at present one of the least known races of mankind—would probably throw a ray of light backwards into that dim antiquity when the aborigines of Europe flourished unconscious of the approach of Celtic or Teutonic intruders. And, as Dr. Lang remarks, it is not creditable to the energy and enterprise of the Australian people, that a great island like New Guinea, lying close to their own shores, should have remained to the present time almost unknown and even unvisited. It has long been supposed to be rich in gold, and Captain Forrest's narrative to some extent confirms the supposition. But whether it deserves its auriferous character or not, there can be no doubt that it possesses many articles commercially valuable and suitable for traffic, and

that a trade could readily be opened up with its people if proper steps were taken. Captain Forrest speaks of cocoanuts, tortoiseshell, sago flour, beche-le-mer, and other products which the natives would probably be willing to exchange for iron, cotton, glass beads, and other articles of traffic.*

In his second voyage, in 1773, Captain Cook himself did not visit any part of Australia, but his ship, the *Resolution*, having separated from her consort, the *Endeavour*, Captain Furneaux, the commander of the latter proceeded to Van Dieman's Land, and having explored the east coast of that island, came to the erroneous conclusion that it was part of the mainland of Australia. It is remarkable that although his examination extended from the South Cape of Van Dieman's Land almost to latitude 38 degrees south where Captain Cook's exploration of the main land, on his first voyage, had commenced, he failed to detect the existence of the straits, discovered many years afterwards by Mr. Bass, which divide the two countries. Captain Cook in his third voyage, anchored in Adventure Bay, on the south-east coast of Van Dieman's Land, on the 26th January, 1777. He remained there for several days, and had excellent opportunities of making himself acquainted with the inhabitants and the natural productions of the country. His remarks relative to the aborigines are not the less interesting because

* Wishes have at various times been expressed by Australian colonists that some steps should be taken for exploring New Guinea, and ascertaining with something like certainty the nature and productions of the country and the character of its people. These wishes and intentions have, however, as yet led to very little result. In one case, a gentleman, Mr. W. H. R. Jessup, for some time a resident of Sydney, and the author of a small work on the colony, determined—it is said unassisted and alone—to visit New Guinea and to reveal its character and capabilities to the world. He reached the northern coast in safety in 1863, and was employed in making a collection of such artificial and natural productions as he thought likely to prove useful or interesting, when death put a stop to his labours. He died at Dorey Harbour. His instruments and other effects were, it is said, sold to defray some debts he had incurred at one of the Dutch settlements in the Indian Archipelago. Inquiries were afterwards sent to Sydney to ascertain where his relatives could be found, or if any person here was authorised to claim the remainder of his effects and collections, or if the Sydney Museum would take charge of them. No steps, however, appear to have been taken in the matter, and the fruits of Mr. Jessup's enterprise have probably been lost to the colony. The Captain Forrest above mentioned, who made the singular voyage to New Guinea in the Tartar galley, also became a resident in Sydney many years afterwards. He was a connexion of a very old colonial family—the Wilshires—some of whose members bear his name.

that unfortunate race has been exterminated during the present century by his fellow-countrymen. Cook, in his journal, under the above date, says:—

“In the afternoon we were agreeably surprised, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives: eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable; for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end.

“They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments; unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight, and others in curved lines.

“They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips, nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and some had their faces also painted with the same composition.”

On the 29th he says:—“We had not been long landed before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust. There was one of this company conspicuously deformed; and who was not more distinguishable by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his gestures, and the seeming humour of his speeches; which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment. But, unfortunately, we could not understand him; the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my first voyage: which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw, and those we then visited, differ in many other respects. Nor did they seem to be such miserable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have seen on the western coast.

“After staying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, as I could now be pretty confident that the latter were not likely to give the former any disturbance, I left them, and went over to the grass-cutters on the east point of the bay, and found that they had met with a fine patch. Having seen

the boats loaded, I left that party, and returned on board dinner; where, some time after, Lieutenant King arrived.

"From him I learnt that I had but just left the shore when several women and children made their appearance and were introduced to him by some of the men who attended them. He gave presents to all of them, of such trifles as he had about him. These females wore a kangaroo skin (in the same shape as it came from the animal) tied over the shoulders, and round the waist. But its only use seemed to be, to support their children when carried on their backs; for it did not cover those parts which most nations conceal; being in all other respects as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with scars in the same manner. But in this they differed from the men, though their hair was of the same colour and texture, some of them had their heads completely shorn or shaved; in others this operation had been performed only on one side, while the rest of them had all the upper part of the head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of the Romish ecclesiastics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years, a less favourable report was made. However, some of the gentlemen belonging to the Discovery, I was told, paid them addresses, and made liberal offers of presents, which were rejected with great disdain; whether from a sense of virtue or the fear of displeasing their men, I shall not pretend to determine. That this gallantry was not very agreeable to the latter, is certain; for an elderly man, as soon as he observed it, ordered all the women and children to retire, which they obeyed, though some of them showed a little reluctance.

"Van Dieman's Land has been twice visited before. It was so named by Tasman, who discovered it in November, 1644. From that time it had escaped all further notice by European navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in March, 1773. I hardly need say that it is the southern point of New Holland, which, if it doth not deserve the name of a continent, is by far the largest island in the world.

"The land is, for the most part, of a good height, diversified with hills and valleys, and everywhere of a greenish hue. It is well wooded; and if one may judge from appearance, and from what we met with in Adventure Bay, is not supplied with water. We found plenty of it in three or four places in this bay."

Cook, in his first voyage, in 1770, saw some grounds for suspecting that Van Dieman's Land might possibly be a separate island, but as Captain Furneaux, in his visit in 1773, did not confirm this opinion, the great navigator appears on his last voyage to have come to the conclusion that it was part of the Australian Continent. And this continued to be the opinion of geographers until Mr. Bass, in 1798, discovered the straits which bear his name.

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH COLONISATION OF AUSTRALIA—THE "FIRST FLEET" DESPATCHED—
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP—THE LANDING AT
BOTANY BAY, AND THE TRANSFER OF THE SETTLEMENT TO SYDNEY COVE.

THE publication of the narratives of Cook's voyages excited great interest in England; and when, a few years afterwards, the result of the American War of Independence closed the plantations of Virginia against the reception of transported offenders, the government were compelled to look out for a place to which might be sent some of the prisoners who then filled the gaols of Great Britain to overflowing. Under these circumstances no spot in the world seemed so suitable as the shores of that bay, on the eastern coast of Australia, of which Cook had given so favourable an account. There it was accordingly determined to form a settlement. The execution of the project was, however, delayed for several years, and it was not until 1786 that the British Government proceeded to carry out its intention of planting a colony on the remote shores of the Pacific.

Orders in Council for establishing a settlement in New South Wales were issued on the 6th December, 1786, and early in the following year the ships were prepared, and officers selected, for carrying the plan into effect. The Isle of Wight was appointed as a rendezvous for the fleet, consisting of eleven sail. The names of the vessels were the *Sirius*, frigate; the *Supply*, armed tender; the *Golden Grove*, *Fishburn*, and *Barrowdale*, storeships; and the *Scarborough*, *Lady Penrhyn*, *Friendship*, *Charlotte*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Alex-*

ander, transports. The officers of the new colony were Captain Arthur Phillip, who was styled Governor and Commander-in-Chief of New South Wales; Major Robert Rowland, Lieutenant Governor; Richard Johnson, chaplain; Andrew Miller, commissary; David Collins, Judge Advocate; John Long, adjutant; James Furzer, quartermaster; John White, surgeon; Thomas Arndell and William Balmain, assistant surgeons; John Hunter, Captain of the Sirius; Lieutenant H. L. Ball, in command of the Supply; Lieutenant John Shortland, agent for transports. The garrison consisted of 200 marines, with the following officers:—Captains Campbell, Shea, Meredith, and Tench; Lieutenants Johnston, Collins, Kellow, Morrison, Clarke, Faddy, Cresswell, Poulde, Sharp, Davey, and Timmins. The persons under their charge, who were to remain in the settlement, were besides the 200 soldiers, forty of whom were allowed to take their wives and families, 81 free persons and 696 convicts. The founders of the colony therefore consisted of one free person to every two prisoners. The precise number of people embarked was 1044, viz.—Civil officers, 10; military, including officers, 212; wives and families of military, (28 women and 17 children,) 45; other free persons, 81; total free persons, 348; prisoners, 696.

Of this number 1030 were safely landed in the colony. The exact proportion of the sexes among them is not known. The females were probably less than three hundred in number, of whom twenty-eight were wives of the military and one hundred and ninety-two convicts. The prisoners were mostly young persons from the agricultural districts of England, nine tenths of them being natives of the south-western and midland counties. Very few had been convicted of serious crimes. Out of the whole six hundred and ninety-six, only fifty-five were sentenced for longer periods than seven years, and the sentences of a large number would expire within two or three years after their landing.

The statements respecting the prisoners embarked in the "first fleet" vary so much as to occasion some difficulty in ascertaining their precise numbers. These variations probably arose from the fact that all on board the several vessels who did not belong to the marines or the crews—who were neither soldiers nor sailors—appear to have been included in some returns as belonging to the transports or convicts. This, however, was not the case, for although many of the free persons were probably the wives or children of prisoners

who were allowed to accompany their husbands or fathers into exile, there were others who went out in the situation of overseers, agricultural superintendents, and other offices of trust.

It must be confessed that the materials were not the best that could be selected for founding a new colony. But it should be remembered that at this time the laws of England were administered with extreme severity. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world were criminals so severely punished for comparatively trifling offences as at this time. Capital convictions and executions were so frequent as to excite little attention, while the gaols were crowded with prisoners, large numbers of whom had never been accused of anything worse than poaching or smuggling, and many were suffering for political offences which in the present day the most despotic government in the world would hardly have thought deserving of notice. The convicts of 1788 must not therefore, on the whole, be looked upon as so utterly depraved a class as the murderers, garotters, and robbers, who are transported in the present day. A century ago most of those who are now transported would have been hanged. It is also an undoubted fact, that some of the most flourishing colonies of the world, both in ancient and modern times, have grown from what appeared at first equally unfavourable beginnings. Virginia, one of Britain's earliest and most successful attempts at colonisation, is a remarkable instance of this. Robertson, in his *History of America*, speaking of the persons who formed the settlement there under Lord Delaware, says:—"Several among them of better rank were such dissipated hopeless young men, as their friends were glad to send out in quest of whatever fortune might betide them in a foreign land. Of the lower order many were so profligate or desperate, that their country was happy to throw them out as nuisances in society. All their subsistence was derived from the stores which they had brought from England; these were soon consumed; then the domestic animals sent out to breed in the country were devoured; and, by this inconsiderate waste, they were reduced to such extremity of famine as not only to eat the most nauseous roots and berries, but to feed on the bodies of the Indians whom they slew, and even on those of their companions who sunk under the oppression of such complicated distress." The number of convicts transported to Virginia in the early days of that colony was very large in

proportion to the whole population; although neither as regards Virginia in particular nor the American plantations in general of the seventeenth century, have we any means of ascertaining with anything like exactness the precise proportions between the prisoners and the free colonists. But we know that for upwards of a century and a half, great numbers of convicts were annually sent across the Atlantic, most of whom were sold to the planters for a term of years or for life; and it is notorious that, for a considerable period, England derived a large revenue—amounting to more than £40,000 a year at times—from this source. The convicts were sold to the planters at an average of twenty pounds each. Many persons transported to Virginia ultimately rose to positions of wealth and influence, and not a few of the leading families of the “old Dominion” owe their origin to ancestors who left their country under the sentence of the law.

Captain Arthur Phillip, the officer chosen for the important duty of founding a settlement in a new world, was of German extraction, but born and educated in England. His father was Joseph Phillip, a native of Frankfort, who, after coming to England, maintained his family by teaching music and languages. Captain Phillip, who entered the navy at sixteen years of age, and served with some distinction, appears to have been eminently qualified for the post to which he was appointed. He was not a mere sailor, for, although he had adopted that as a profession in early life, he had afterwards paid much attention to agriculture, and had filled with far more than average ability the duties which usually fall to the lot of English country gentlemen. The following short biographical sketch of Captain Phillip is prefixed to the earlier editions of his voyage to New South Wales:—

“Arthur Phillip is one of those officers who, like Drake, Dampier, and Cook, has raised himself by his merit and his services, to distinction and command. His father was Jacob Phillip, a native of Frankfort, in Germany, who having settled in England, maintained his family and educated his son by teaching the languages. His mother was Elizabeth Breach, who married, for her first husband, Captain Herbert of the navy, a kinsman of Lord Pembroke. Of her marriage with Jacob Phillip, was her son, Arthur, born in the parish of All-hallows, Bread-street, within the city of London, on the 17th of October, 1738.



CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP

First Governor of Australia

(From an Original Portrait)

"Being designed for a seafaring life, he was very properly sent to the school of Greenwich, where he received an education suitable to his early propensities. At the age of sixteen, he began his maritime career, under the deceased Captain Michael Everet of the navy, at the commencement of hostilities, in 1755 : and at the same time that he learnt the rudiments of his profession under that able officer, he partook with him in the early misfortunes and subsequent glories of the seven years' war. Whatever opulence Phillip acquired from the capture of the Havannah, certain it is, that, at the age of twenty-three, he there was made a Lieutenant into the Stirling Castle, on the 7th of June, 1761, by Sir George Pococke, an excellent judge of naval accomplishments.

"But of nautical exploits, however they may raise marine officers, there must be an end. Peace, with its blessings, was restored in 1763. And Phillip now found leisure to marry ; and to settle at Lyndhurst, in the New Forest, where he amused himself with farming, and like other country gentlemen, discharged assiduously those provincial offices, which, however unimportant, occupy respectably the owners of land, who, in this island, require no office to make them important.

"But sailors, like their own element, are seldom at rest. Those occupations, which pleased Phillip while they were new, no longer pleased him when they became familiar. And he hastened to offer his skill and his services to Portugal when it engaged in warfare with Spain. His offer was readily accepted, because such skill and services were necessary amidst an arduous struggle with a too powerful opponent. And, such was his conduct and such his success, that when the recent interference of France, in 1778, made it his duty to fight for his king, and to defend his country, the Portuguese court regretted his departure, but applauded his motive.

"His return was doubtless approved by those who, knowing his value, could advance his rank : for he was made master and commander into the Basilisk fireship, on the 2nd of September, 1779. But in her he had little opportunity of displaying his zeal, or of adding to his fame. This step, however, led him up to a higher situation ; and he was made post-captain into the Ariadne frigate, on the 13th of November, 1781, when he was upwards of three and forty. This is the great epoch in the lives of our naval officers, because it is from this that they date their rank. In the Ariadne, he had little time for active adventures, or for gainful prizes, being

appointed to the Europe of sixty-four guns, on the 23rd of December, 1781. During the memorable year 1782, Phillip promoted its enterprises, and shared in its glories. And in January, 1783, he sailed with a reinforcement to the East Indies, where superior bravery contended against superior force, till the policy of our negotiators put an end to unequal hostilities by a necessary peace.

"The activity, or the zeal of Phillip, was now turned to more peaceful objects. And when it was determined to form a settlement on that part of New Holland, denominated New South Wales, he was thought of as a proper officer to conduct an enterprise which required professional knowledge and habitual prudence. When the time shall arrive that the present European settlers on Sydney Cove demand their historian, these authentic anecdotes of their pristine legislation will be sought for as curious, and considered as important."

The fleet sailed on the 13th May, 1787, and having touched at Teneriffe, Rio Janerio, and the Cape of Good Hope, for water and provisions, the first ship, the Supply, with Governor Phillip on board, sighted the coast of New South Wales on the 3rd January, 1788. She anchored in Botany Bay on the 18th, and was followed on the 19th and 20th by the other ships. On landing the strangers were met in a most peaceable and friendly manner by the aborigines, who, on seeing Captain Phillip approach unarmed, immediately threw down their spears and other weapons and readily accepted some trifling presents which he offered them.

The following account of Governor Phillip's landing at Botany Bay is from the history of his voyage published in 1789:—"At the very first landing of Governor Phillip on the shore of Botany Bay, January 18th, 1788, an interview with the natives took place. They were all armed, but on seeing the Governor approach with signs of friendship, alone and unarmed, they readily returned his confidence by laying down their weapons. They were perfectly devoid of clothing, yet seemed fond of ornaments, putting the beads and red baize that were given them on their heads or necks, and appearing pleased to wear them. The presents offered by their new visitors were all readily accepted, nor did any kind of disagreement arise while the ships remained in Botany Bay. This very pleasing effect was produced in no small degree by the personal address, as well as by the great care and attention of the Governor. Nor were the orders which enforced a

conduct so humane, more honourable to the persons from whom they originated than the punctual execution of them was to the officers sent out; it was evident their wishes coincided with their duty; and that a sanguinary temper was no longer to disgrace the European settlers in countries newly discovered.

"The next care after landing was the examination of the bay itself, from which it appeared that, though extensive, it did not afford a shelter from the easterly winds; and that, in consequence of its shallowness, ships even of a moderate draught would always be obliged to anchor with the entrance of the bay open, where they must be exposed to a heavy sea, that rolls in whenever it blows hard from the eastward.

"Several runs of fresh water were found in different parts of the bay, but there did not appear to be any situation to which there was not some very strong objection. In the northern part of it is a small creek, which runs a considerable way into the country, but it has water only for a boat, the sides of it are frequently overflowed, and the low lands near it are a perfect swamp. The western branch of the bay is continued to a great extent, but the officers sent to examine it could not find there any supply of fresh water, except in very small drains.

"Point Sutherland offered the most eligible situation, having a run of good water, though not in very great abundance. But to this part of the harbour the ships could not approach, and the ground near it, even in the higher parts, was in general damp and spungy. Smaller numbers might indeed in several spots have found a comfortable residence, but no place was discovered in the whole circuit of Botany Bay which seemed at all calculated for the reception of so large a settlement. While this examination was carried on, the whole fleet had arrived. The Supply had not so much outsailed the other ships as to give Governor Phillip the advantage he had expected in point of time. On the 19th of January, 1788, the *Alexander*, *Scarborough*, and *Friendship*, cast anchor in Botany Bay; and on the 20th, the *Sirius*, with the remainder of the convoy. These ships had all continued very healthy; they had not, however, yet arrived at their final station."

Proceedings were immediately commenced for landing the people and stores; and men were set to work to clear a piece of land on the south side of the bay about a mile from the

entrance, and near the spot where Captain Cook had first stepped on shore eighteen years before.

The place, however, did not at all answer the expectations which the Governor and his officers had been led to form from the description given by Cook; and no time was lost in making an examination of the surrounding country in search of a more favourable site. The first place to which attention was directed was the harbour which Cook had described as existing a few miles north of Botany Bay, and which he had called Port Jackson, after the seaman who had descried it from the mast-head of the *Endeavour*. The Governor proceeded to examine this harbour on the 23rd; and was as much gratified with its magnificent appearance, its sheltered position, deep water, and almost innumerable bays and bold headlands, as he had been disappointed with the place where he had at first landed. He thereupon decided on removing the settlement to Port Jackson, and fixed on a position about six miles inside the entrance, where he discovered "a fine run of fresh water stealing silently through a thick wood" and falling into a little bay, which he named Sydney Cove, in honour of Viscount Sydney, who was at that time at the head of the Colonial Office, and who had taken great interest in the welfare of the expedition.

The aborigines at Sydney Cove at first showed signs of opposition towards the new comers; but they were quickly pacified by the tact and conciliatory conduct of the Governor. The leading men of the tribe, after their first surprise was over, behaved with a manly frankness, and evinced such an intelligent yet unobtrusive curiosity, as greatly raised them in the estimation of the intending colonists.

Captain Collins, in his account, says: "The coast, as we drew near Port Jackson, wore a most unpromising appearance, and the natives everywhere greeted the little fleet with shouts of defiance and prohibition, the words 'Warra, warra,' go away, go away, resounding wherever they appeared. The Governor's utmost expectation as he drew near the harbour being to find what Captain Cook, as he passed by, thought might be found shelter for a boat; he was most agreeably surprised at discovering on his entrance, a harbour capable of affording security for a much larger fleet, than would probably ever seek shelter within its limits."

The historical account of the voyage says:—"On the arrival of the boats at Port Jackson, a second party of the

natives made its appearance near the place of landing. These also were armed with lances, and at first were very vociferous ; but the same gentle means used towards the others easily persuaded them to discard their suspicions, and to accept whatsoever was offered. One man in particular, who appeared to be the chief of this tribe, showed very singular marks both of confidence in his new friends, and of determined resolution. Under the guidance of Governor Phillip, to whom he voluntarily intrusted himself, he went to a part of the beach where the men belonging to the boats were then boiling their meat ; when he approached, the marines, who were drawn up near that place, and saw that by proceeding he should be separated from his companions, who remained with several of the officers at some distance, he stopped, and with great firmness, seemed by words and gestures to threaten revenge if any advantage should be taken of his situation.

"In passing near a point of land in this harbour, the boats were perceived by a number of the natives, twenty of whom waded into the water unarmed, received what was offered them, and examined the boat with a curiosity which impressed a higher idea of them than any former account of their manners had suggested. This confidence, and manly behaviour, induced Governor Phillip, who was highly pleased with it, to give the place the name of Manly Cove. The same people afterwards joined the party at the place where they had landed to dine. They were then armed, two of them with shields and swords, the rest with lances only. The swords [boomerangs] were made of wood, small in the gripe, and apparently less formidable than a good stick. One of these men had a kind of white clay rubbed upon the upper part of his face, so as to have the appearance of a mask. This ornament, if it can be called such, is not common among them, and is probably assumed only on particular occasions, or as a distinction to a few individuals. One woman had been seen on the rocks as the boats passed with her face, neck, and breasts thus painted, and to our people appeared the most disgusting figure imaginable ; her own countrymen were perhaps delighted by the beauty of the effect.

"During the preparation for dinner, the curiosity of these visitors rendered them very troublesome, but an innocent contrivance altogether removed the inconvenience. Governor Phillip drew a circle round the place where the English were, and without much difficulty made the natives understand that they were not to pass that line ; after which they sat down

in perfect quietness. Another proof how tractable these people are, when no insult or injury is offered, and when proper means are employed to influence the simplicity of their minds.

"On the 24th of January, 1788, Governor Phillip, having sufficiently explored Port Jackson, and found it in all respects highly calculated to receive such a settlement as he had appointed to establish, returned to Botany Bay. On his arrival there, the reports made to him, both of the ground which the people were clearing, and of the upper parts of the Bay, which in this interval had been more particularly examined, were in the greatest degree unfavourable. It was impossible after this to hesitate concerning the choice of situation; and orders were accordingly issued for the removal of the whole fleet to Port Jackson."

Captain Phillip having spent the 24th in an examination of the harbour, on the 25th and 26th the ships and all the people, with the exception of a few left in charge of the stores which had been landed at Botany, were brought round to Sydney Cove.

The day before this transfer took place, considerable alarm was created by the sudden appearance, off Botany Heads, of two large ships under French colours. They were soon afterwards driven out of sight by contrary winds, but entered on the following day, and proved to be the *Bussole* and *Astrolabe*, on a voyage of discovery. They were under the command of Monsieur de la Peyrouse, who, with his officers and men, once entered into the most friendly relations with Captain Phillip and the people whom they had so unexpectedly found in occupation of the place.

On the evening of the 26th January, 1788, all the ships having come round to Port Jackson, and being safely anchored at Sydney Cove, the Governor took formal possession of the country by hoisting British colours on a flagstaff erected on the site now occupied by Dawes' Battery. The King's health was then drunk by the Governor and officials around the flagstaff, and this proceeding was followed by enthusiastic cheering and much excitement on the part of the people.

On the following day the work of clearing a spot on which tents might be fixed and stores landed was commenced. The place was so heavily timbered that many trees had to be cut down before room could be obtained for the accommodation of so large a number of persons; and while the English were thus busily engaged at Sydney Cove in making preparations

for their accommodation on shore, the French were as fully employed at Botany Bay in setting up two long boats, the frames of which had been brought out from Europe, and in making other arrangements for the prosecution of their voyage.

The stay at Botany Bay of the French expedition was, however, not a very long one, and owing to both the English and French being so much engaged—the one party in refitting and the other in making preparations for landing the people and stores and instituting a regular form of government—very little intercourse took place between them. Some of the convicts absconded, and endeavoured to get admitted into the French ships, but M. de la Peyrouse refused to receive them. Had their wish been gratified it would only have been to meet an early and violent death, for not one man of the French crews was ever seen, dead or alive, after leaving Botany Bay. M. de la Peyrouse, before sailing, sent Captain Clonard to wait upon Governor Phillip with despatches for the French Government. During their stay in Botany Bay, Father Le Receveur, the naturalist of the *Astrolabe*, died. His death was occasioned by wounds received in an encounter with the natives at the Navigator's Islands. A slight monument was erected to his memory, on the north shore of the Bay. It bore the following inscription:—"Hic jacet Le Receveur, E.F.F. Minimis Galliæ Sacerdos, Physicus in circumnavigatione Mundi, Duce de la Peyrouse, Ob. 17th February, 1788." This monument was shortly afterwards destroyed by the natives, but was many years since reconstructed, and may still be seen beneath a small clump of trees on a grassy slope, near the Customs Station, on the north side of the Bay. The commanders, officers, and men of the French vessels were singularly unfortunate in their intercourse with the aboriginal tribes. In Botany Bay they did not succeed in avoiding conflicts with the natives, and several lives were lost on both sides. After leaving Botany Bay nothing was heard of the expedition for many years. In his letter to the French Minister of Marine, entrusted to the care of Governor Phillip for transmission, M. de la Peyrouse stated that his intention was to visit the Friendly Islands, New Guinea, and Van Dieman's Land, and to be at Bourbon by the latter part of the year. The letter reached Paris in due time, but France was then in the throes of the Great Revolution, and the failure of the expedition to reach the place indicated at the proper time did not excite much notice. More than three years elapsed before any step was taken to ascertain the fate

of the missing navigators. At length, however, an expedition in search of them was fitted out, and entrusted to the command of Rear-Admiral d'Entrecasteaux. This expedition had the misfortune to lose its commander at Java, and returned in two years, without finding the slightest clue to the fate of the lost mariners. The excitement occasioned in France by the uncertainty attending the fate of La Peyrouse and his companions lasted for many years, and was only equalled by the interest felt in England long afterwards respecting Sir John Franklin. The mystery surrounding the French navigators remained, however, for a much longer period unfathomed. At length, in 1826, thirty-eight years after their disappearance, a slight trace of the missing Frenchmen was discovered. A Captain Dillon, in the service of the East India Company as commander of the *Research*, had, in 1813, found two runaway sailors at Feejee, and placed them, at their own request, on an island called Tucopia, three or four degrees north-east of the New Hebrides group. Captain Dillon thirteen years afterwards, had an opportunity of calling at this island where he had left these men, and found them still there living in a very happy and contented manner with the natives. They had in their possession a silver sword hilt and other articles of French make, and on Captain Dillon making inquiries he learned that the natives had obtained many articles of iron and other metals from a distant island named Mallicolo, one of the New Hebrides group, where, as they said, two European ships had been wrecked forty years before. It immediately occurred to Dillon that this circumstance was connected with the fate of La Peyrouse. He at once sailed with one of the men, a Prussian, to Mallicolo, but was prevented from landing by the surf and the coral reef, and consequently was obliged to content himself with such information as he could gather from the sailors and natives of Tucopia. He brought the articles he had procured to Sydney, and determined to make other efforts to ascertain with greater certainty the fate of the long lost French navigators.

In the following year, M. Dumont d'Urville was sent out by the French Government, in the sloop-of-war *Astrolabe*, to explore the Pacific, with authority to follow any clue he might discover to the fate of La Peyrouse. At Hobart Town he heard some account of the efforts made by Captain Dillon, and determined to conclude what he had begun. He sailed at once for Mallicolo, and after examining the eastern coast of the island

without success, proceeded to the western. Here he found several articles of European manufacture in possession of the savages, who refused to say whence they had obtained them, or to point out the scene of the catastrophe or shipwreck. At last, the offer of a piece of red cloth induced a islander to conduct a boat's crew to a spot which is now regarded as that at which the lamented commander and his vessels met their untimely fate. Scattered about in the bed of the sea, at the depth of about twenty feet, lay anchors, cannon, and sheets of lead and copper sheathing, completely corroded and disfigured by rust. They succeeded in recovering many of them from the water—an anchor of fourteen hundred pounds, a small cannon coated with coral, and two brass swivels, in good preservation. Thus possessed of evidence which after the lapse of forty years must be considered as conclusive, d'Urville erected near the anchorage a cenotaph to the memory of the hapless navigators.

As far as d'Urville could interpret the language and pantomime of the islanders, the ships struck upon the reef during a gale in the night. One speedily sank, only thirty of her crew escaping; the other remained for a long time entire, but afterwards went to pieces, her whole crew having been saved. From her timbers they constructed a schooner, in which labour they occupied seven moons or months, and then sailed away. What befell them after their second embarkment, what was the fate of their daring little vessel, if indeed any such was built, no one has survived to tell.

Previous to this, however, the French Government had caused to be erected, on the spot where the explorers had last parted from their English friends in Botany Bay, a monument in honour of the unfortunate De la Peyrouse and his companions. This memorial, a stone column with inscriptions in Latin, French, and English on its base, and surmounted by the figure of an Astrolabe in iron, still forms a conspicuous object near the entrance, on the north shore of the bay, close to the spot where Father Le Receveur had been interred many years before.

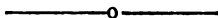
The frontispiece and the title page to this volume are illustrated by views of Sydney Cove, the one taken shortly after the landing of the first settlers, when the place was almost in a state of nature, and the other in the present year. These illustrations will serve better than any verbal descrip-

tion can do to give an idea of the contrast between the two periods. The following, almost prophetic lines, by Darwin, author of the "Botanic Garden," were prefixed to the earlier editions of the history of Governor Phillip's voyage to New South Wales :—

SYDNEY COVE.

Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
 Courts her young navies, and the storm repels ;
 High on a rock amid the troubled air
 Hope stood sublime, and wav'd her golden hair ;
 Calm'd with her rosy smile the tossing deep,
 And with sweet accents charm'd the winds to sleep ;
 To each wild plain she stretched her snowy hand,
 High-waving wood, and sea-encircled strand.
 "Hear me," she cried, "ye rising Realms ! record
 Time's opening scenes, and Truth's unerring word.—
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
 The circus widen, and the crescent bend ;
There, ray'd from cities o'er the cultur'd land,
 Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand.—
There the proud arch, Colossus-like, bestride
 Yon glittering streams, and bound the chasing tide ;
 Embellish'd villas crown the landscape-scene,
 Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between.—
There shall tall spires, and dome-capt towers ascend,
 And piers and quays their massy structures blend ;
 While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
 And northern treasures dance on every tide !"—
 Then ceas'd the nymph—tumultuous echoes roar,
 And Joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore—
 Her graceful steps descending press'd the plain,
 And PEACE, and ART, and LABOUR, join'd her train.

[END OF THE FIRST PART.]



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AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION.—PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, AND THE PROGRESS
OF THE SETTLEMENT DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF ITS EXISTENCE.

ONE most remarkable circumstance in connection with the infancy of Australian Colonisation was the almost universal and strongly expressed belief in England, at the time of the foundation of the little settlement in Sydney Cove, that Australia was destined to experience a rapid development and would quickly rise to greatness. The prevalence of this belief is the more extraordinary, because at that time little or nothing was known to justify it. Almost everything which had been then ascertained about the country was unfavourable; and much of what was not unfavourable proved afterwards to be false. Cook's "green meadows" at Botany Bay, when examined, changed to dismal swamps. It was by no means an exaggerated or darkly coloured picture to say at that time that a few transported offenders and their gaolers had been placed on the barren shores of an unknown land, at the utmost extremity of the known world, far removed from all the influences of civilisation, condemned to toil, apparently with little hope of reward, on an ungrateful soil, and to contend with a climate which one day scorched a stunted vegetation to powder, and the next swept away by floods everything that had escaped destruction by heat and drought. Yet poets, philosophers, and statesmen, all alike foretold Australia's future eminence. The fact almost proves the existence of a universal human instinct. When Darwin wrote that embellished villas should crown the shores of Port Jackson, and orchards blush between; that tall spires and dome-capt towers should there arise; that piers and quays should blend their massy structures; each breeze impel approaching vessels, and treasures dance on every tide, there seemed little probability of the realisation of his words. The sanguine hopes and flattering expectations of Governor Phillip himself must have done much to spread

the belief in Australia's future greatness. Yet, although expectations have been more than realised, it is hard to see on what they were founded. For almost every element which has tended to produce that greatness was then entirely unknown or overlooked. Nothing was known to him of the great pastoral plains of the interior—nothing of the alluvial soil of the hundreds of valleys which now yearly wave with golden grain—nothing of the mighty mineral treasures which were afterwards brought to light, and knowing nothing of these and of other resources which time since served to indicate rather than to develop, it is difficult to see on what ground his glowing anticipations of the future of the country rested.

On the 7th February, 1788, a sufficient space having been cleared for the tents and stores, and the people all landed on the shores of Sydney Cove, a regular form of government was established in a very solemn manner. The whole of the colonists were assembled on a cleared space on the western side of the Cove, then named Point Maskeleyne, but afterwards known as Dawes' Battery; the military were drawn up under arms; the prisoners stationed apart; and, next to the person of the Governor, the gentlemen who were to fill the principal offices. The Royal Commission was then read by the Judge-Advocate; afterwards the Act of the Parliament authorising the establishment of the courts of judicature; and lastly the patents under the great seal empowering the proper officers to convene and hold the courts. Three rounds of musketry concluded this part of the ceremony. Governor Phillip then advanced and addressed the soldiers, thanking them for their steady good conduct. Turning to the prisoners, he explained to them the nature of their position. He reminded them that they were now placed that by industry and good behaviour they might soon regain the advantages which for a time they had forfeited, and promised that every encouragement should be held out to induce them to make the effort to regain that place in the estimation of society of which they had deprived themselves by their offences. To all offenders against the law he promised no mercy; and in order to promote as much as possible the cause of morality, he recommended marriage to as many as were in a position to enter into the state of matrimony, promising every kind of countenance and assistance to those who took a course so likely to promote

cause of good order and the well-being of the community. He concluded by declaring his earnest desire to promote the welfare and happiness of all who were placed under his control, and his determination, with the help of the Almighty, to render the colonisation of New South Wales advantageous and honorable to his country.*

* Of more than a thousand persons who arrived by the "first fleet," and who were present at the formal inauguration of the Government, on the 7th February, 1788, the writer has reason to believe that at present, (May, 1865) not more than one survives, if, indeed, the person to whom he refers is still living. Nearly two years ago, that is, in May, 1863, a very old man, named Michael Norton, was produced as a witness in the Supreme Court, Sydney, in an ejectment case, (*Campbell v. Binka*.) Having then deposed to a circumstance which took place a great many years ago, Sir Alfred Stephen, who was on the bench, inquired how old he was. In reply, the old man said he believed his age was one hundred and three years. Some other questions were then put by his Honor, to which old Norton gave very satisfactory answers. The writer, on the following day, had a long conversation with the old man, and found him remarkably intelligent and communicative. He was, he said, born on board a Government store ship called the *Tiger*, while that vessel was lying in the harbour of St. Helena. His father was a soldier in a cavalry regiment then on its way to India. He remained with his parents in India for several years, and ultimately returned with them to England. Some time afterwards, with his mother's consent, his father being in another part of England with his regiment, he was drafted to join a company of marines, who were to go out as guard with Captain Arthur Phillip, to Botany Bay. He was never formally enrolled, being but a boy at the time; and on the voyage out never stood sentry, for although regularly drilled with the marines, he was generally employed as cook's assistant. On his arrival here he went to live as servant with Major Johnstone, and continued with him until 1791, when he went with some sawyers to the river Hawkesbury. There he remained for more than seventy years, being generally employed as a sawyer, and never until January, 1863, left the district of Colo, where he had taken up his residence. He then determined to visit Sydney, principally for the purpose of gratifying his curiosity by the sight of a railway train and steam vessels. He had often read and heard of these wonderful inventions, but having never seen them, it occurred to him that if he wished to do so, he had not much time to lose. He had never in his life, he said, been in a court of law, even as a witness, before he was called upon on the previous day to give evidence in the above-mentioned case, and had never before taken an oath. He had never been married, nor had he any relatives in the colony. He had, when he left England, two brothers, both soldiers, and the last time he heard from them was just after the capture of Candy, in Ceylon, at which they were present. Never having left the secluded district of the Colo for more than seventy years, he was, he said, known to very few persons. His occupation as a sawyer, usually carried on in remote parts of the bush, seldom brought him into contact with strangers; and accounted for the fact of a person of his great age, and who had come to the colony by the first fleet, not being more generally known. He stated, in corroboration of the fact of his longevity, that the oldest natives on the Hawkesbury, men who could remember him for sixty years or more, always

The government having been thus formally established, energetic means were at once adopted for erecting stores, houses, and such other buildings as were most urgently required for the health of the people and the safety and preservation of the large amount of provisions, seed, animals and implements, which had been sent out for their use. The live stock landed consisted of one bull, five cows, a bull and an entire horse, three mares, three colts, twenty-nine sheep, nineteen goats, seventy-four pigs, and about three hundred turkeys, geese, and fowls. The cattle and horses were property of the Government, the smaller animals and poultry belonged to private persons.

Heavy rains prevented much work from being accomplished for the first two or three weeks, and when the weather improved it was found that there were so few skilled

called him "Old Mick," even when they were children, so that he must have been an elderly man more than half a century ago. He was still strong, hearty, and sometimes engaged in farming work, but was generally employed in his own trade as a sawyer. He was extremely active, with sight and hearing almost unimpaired, and had the appearance of a man about seventy years of age. He was very sharp and intelligent in conversation, often making use of words and phrases which he could only have acquired by reading, and expressed himself readily, and, for one of his station, very correctly. Occasionally there was evident a momentary loss of recollection or lapse of consciousness of the subject on which he was speaking; and he was often unable to follow out the most simple train of reasoning; but his lapse of recollection was only for an instant, and then his eye flashed and kindled as he felt gratified at the quick return of his faculties. Contrary to what is said to be usually the case with very old people, his memory appeared exceedingly good and retentive for details of matters of very recent occurrence, but not for things which happened many years ago. Of the most important occurrences of his early life he recollected but a few leading events. On this account it was difficult to ascertain how far his impressions as to certain facts or what he evidently believed to be facts, were reliable, and his belief as to his great age seemed founded on no very distinct data—at least, when cross-questioned, he appeared unable to reconcile discrepancies, or even to see that they were discrepancies. For instance, he said he thought that he was 103 years old; but when it was pointed out to him that if he was a boy or youth when he arrived in 1788, he could then be little more than 90, he was unable to see the inconsistency of his statements. His faculty for numbers appeared to be almost wholly obliterated. There is no doubt that he was a very old man, and considering his strength and activity, and the wonderful preservation of his physical faculties, the singularity of the case is not much lessened even on the supposition that he was but 93 instead of 103 years old. From consideration of all the above circumstances, and of many other matters which incidentally arose in the course of a lengthy conversation, it is probable that the real age of Michael Norton was somewhere between 90 and 95 years. Though he firmly believed his age to be 103 there is no doubt, but his belief did not appear to rest on any sufficient data; on the contrary, the facts which were mentioned in support of it all pointed to 93 instead of 103 as his real age.

mechanics among the prisoners that it would take a long time to erect substantial buildings. Temporary places were therefore built for the officers and soldiers, mostly of cabbage tree, which grew in abundance in several parts of the harbour. The huts for the convicts were still more slight, and consisted of only a few branches and twigs plastered up with clay. Those for the military were placed on the west side of the little water-course, afterwards called the Tank Stream. They occupied the spot now included between George-street and the Tank Stream on the east and west, and Bridge and Hunter streets on the north and south. A small temporary house for the Governor was built of materials brought out from England, on the eastern side of the stream, a few yards from the spot where Pitt and Hunter streets now intersect each other. A store-house was erected on what is now called the Queen's Wharf; and where the Commissariat Store at present stands, the hospital was built. A site for a large town was laid out, with spacious streets, two hundred feet in width, and many open spaces left for air and exercise. The necessity, however, which immediately arose for the erection of temporary places of shelter was so urgent, that from the very first numerous encroachments were made on the original plan. And when after a time many of the huts were replaced by more permanent and substantial buildings, it was found to be difficult, if not impossible, to compel their removal so as to revert to the original design. A large number of men were employed from the first in clearing a farm, at what was called Farm Cove, on the spot now occupied by the Botanical Gardens. In about three months' time nine acres there had been cleared and planted, partly in wheat and partly in maize; but the Governor being by no means satisfied that the soil in that locality was suitable for the growth of cereals, made frequent excursions in various directions in search of a more eligible place. After a short time it was determined to remove most of the men employed in clearing land for cultivation to a spot about fifteen miles distant, at the head of the navigation of the harbour. The new farm was named at first the Crescent, and afterwards Rose Hill, by the Governor, but the native name of Parramatta, signifying a place abounding in eels, [literally "eels sit down,"] was retained by the people, and was at last officially adopted.

A large number of fruit and many ornamental trees had been procured at Rio Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope by

Governor Phillip when the fleet touched at those places. These were carefully planted in and about the Camp, as the settlement at Sydney Cove was for a long time called. The oranges, and peaches, were all found to succeed well, but especially the vine fruits, such as grapes, and figs. Of the ornamental trees that were introduced, many still remain, of which the beautiful stone pines, standing near the old obelisk in Macquarie-place, are the most noteworthy. It is said, and there seems no reason to doubt the fact, that from a small willow tree brought by Governor Phillip all the willows in the colony have sprung. The soil in the vicinity of the Camp was found very suitable for vegetables, of which such a supply was furnished to the people, after a few months, that scurvy and other diseases, which, as they were obliged to live on salt provisions, continued to afflict them even after their landing, at length disappeared. This desirable result was facilitated by the quantities of game and fish which, after places for shelter had been erected, were procured by men who were specially employed in shooting and fishing.

The natives, who, at first, and while they considered the colonists to be merely visitors, had been exceedingly peaceful and confiding, after a short time completely altered in their conduct. The knowledge that their white friends intended to remain and to keep possession of their country rendered them at once so suspicious and so shy that after the first few days the utmost difficulty was experienced by the Governor in procuring an interview with them. One circumstance which rendered these unfortunate people extremely averse to the presence of the whites, was the rapid disappearance, not merely of the kangaroos and other animals on which they had depended for food, but also to a great extent of the fish from the waters of the harbour. That wild animals would quickly abandon a place where fire-arms were frequently discharged, and where the noise of clearing was almost incessant, might have been anticipated; but that fish should suddenly desert their haunts, appeared at first almost incredible. That such was the case, however, at this period, be the cause what it might, the whites as well as the blacks had soon abundant reason to know. Those who were sent out to shoot and fish, after a time returned almost empty handed.

The poor aborigines were quickly reduced to a state of starvation, and it is believed that many of them actually

perished for want of food during the first few months of the occupation of their country. Captain Hunter, in his narrative, speaking of the state of things in the month of July, about six months after the arrival of the colonists, says:—"Such of the natives as we meet seem to be in a miserable and starving condition. We frequently fall in with families living in the hollow part of the rocks by the sea side, where they eagerly watch every opportunity to provide shell or other fish for their present subsistence. If a bird was shot and thrown to them, they would immediately pluck off the feathers, put it upon the fire without taking out the intestines, and eat the whole; sometimes they did not pull off the feathers, and if it were a small bird, did not even throw the bones away. The scarcity of fish subjects these poor creatures to great distress."

Of their numbers, no very reliable calculation could be made. Governor Phillip, who always took great interest in their welfare, and who made many attempts to secure their confidence, at first thought that the district around Port Jackson, extending to Botany Bay on the south and Pitt Water on the north, and including a coast line of about twenty-five miles, did not contain more than about fifteen hundred people. This estimate, however, he afterwards considered to be much too low, for going one day, very quietly and cautiously, to endeavour to procure an interview with some of them, he was able to approach a camp on the coast, between Cudgee and Botany, unobserved, and he then counted 212 men, besides women and children. At the next bay he counted forty men, and at other places saw so many that he was convinced he had at first much under-estimated their numbers. On the same day, at another place in Botany Bay, he found upwards of a hundred canoes on the beach, although not a single native was to be seen; the whole tribe having taken alarm, and fled at his approach. In Port Jackson as many as sixty-seven canoes were counted at one time.

The jealousy and ill-feeling shown by the aborigines towards the settlers at this period, was in all probability in part due to the conduct of M. de la Peyrouse and his crews, in firing upon them on more than one occasion while at Botany Bay. It is not to be supposed that the unfortunate aborigines could distinguish the French from the English. Both had arrived about the same time, and the natives must have considered one party as responsible for the acts of the

other. The conduct of the French on this occasion appears to have completely frustrated all Governor Phillip's human efforts to conciliate and befriend the people whose country he had come to occupy.

These unfortunate people, it should be remembered, were unable to escape their invaders by retreating to other districts, for the limits of the possessions of each tribe or family were defined with almost as much exactness as the boundaries of landed estates in the present day. They had very little notion of individual property in the soil, but tribal or family rights were well understood, and rigidly observed. The district owned by a tribe, when it bordered on the sea shore or on a creek or river, was in some instances very small. On the south shore of Port Jackson there were five distinct tribes, the hunting and fishing grounds of each having their well defined limits, between the South Head and Parramatta—a distance of less than twenty miles in a straight line. On the north shore of the harbour, all were of one tribe. The people there were superior to the others in their physical development, and spoke a language differing very considerably from that of their neighbours. They called themselves Cammeroy, Kamilroy, or Cumleroy, and were the most southern family or branch of a tribe or series of tribes speaking the same language, and called by the same or slightly varying designations, which are known to have extended, with a few interruptions, seven hundred miles north from Port Jackson, and probably much further. The other aboriginal tribes, on the south of the harbour and in the interior, do not appear to have had any collective designation. Each family or division of a tribe called itself, and was called by its neighbours, by the name of the particular locality which was its usual place of resort. The aboriginal name of Botany Bay was Gwea, and hence the people who lived there were called Gwea-Gal, or, as we should say, Botany-folks. The Cammeroy tribe, or tribes, appear to have exercised great influence on the other aborigines. The doctors, or kiradjis, as those cunning men were called who superintended the ceremonies, healed or pretended to heal the sick, and negotiated peace or war, were almost always of the Cammeroy race. In addition to their physical and mental superiority, they were also vastly superior in numbers to any other tribe. It does not appear that the Cammeroy ever attached the name of any locality to their tribal designation, but called themselves, and were called by the others, simply

Cammeroy, wherever they were found. They were considered by Governor Phillip to be much more open in their conduct, and manly in their bearing towards the whites than the other tribes; and it was on account of their bold, frank, and courteous behaviour on his first interview with them, that, as has before been mentioned, he bestowed the name of Manly Beach on the spot where that interview took place.

A week after the formal establishment of the government, Lieutenant Philip Gidley King was despatched with a small party to colonise Norfolk Island. King was a personal friend of Governor Phillip, and had come out as second lieutenant of the *Sirius* frigate. Captain Cook had strongly recommended that a settlement should be formed on Norfolk Island, and it was in obedience to instructions received before leaving England that the earliest opportunity was taken of sending a small party there. The expedition, under Lieutenant King, consisted of a surgeon, a subaltern officer, and six marines, two free men who understood the cultivation of flax, with which the island abounded, and nine men and six women, convicts. The party sailed on the 14th February. On the 19th of March the vessel returned to Port Jackson, having landed the people and their tools and provisions in safety. Lieutenant Ball, who went in command of the *Supply*, gave such a glowing account of the place and of the prospects it held out for settlement, that a short time afterwards a much larger party was despatched to expedite the clearing and cultivation of land.

For a week or two everything went on quietly at Sydney Cove, although very little progress could be made on account of the weather. The first check to the prospects of the settlement was the discovery that the provisions sent out would probably prove inadequate for the supply of so large a number of persons until more could be procured. This circumstance appears to have produced a most demoralising effect on the conduct of the prisoners, who had hitherto behaved remarkably well. Successful attempts were made by some of them to break into and plunder the temporary store. They determined that whoever suffered for want of food they would not. Their conduct was the more scandalous seeing that they had not the excuse of present hunger, but were actuated by a selfishness of the most narrow and abominable kind. Governor Phillip was a man well qualified to deal with such criminals. He determined to act

promptly and vigorously. A court was at once assembled, the men, six in number, were found guilty, and their leader, a youth named Barrett, only seventeen years of age, was executed there and then. The others were ordered to be kept on bread and water, and to be placed on the little island in the middle of the harbour, called by the natives Mettewaye, but afterwards by the colonists Pinchgut, and now present Fort Denison. The common notion that the men perished there from starvation is quite erroneous. They were kept on the rock a little over three months, having been liberated on the following 4th of June, the King's birthday.

It was believed by the prisoners before these summary proceedings took place that, in his commission, the Governor had not been entrusted with the power of putting offenders to death. Under this mistaken impression the misguided boy who was executed remained up to the last moment of his life. He persisted in the notion that the Governor dared not hang him without the sanction of the King, and considered the grim preparations made for his execution as nothing more than a solemn farce—a scheme to strike terror into himself and his companions in order to obtain a confession.

This prompt but necessary severity on the part of the Governor, a man, under ordinary circumstances, of the most humane and gentle disposition, produced a powerful effect for a time, on the conduct of the other prisoners, and probably saved the whole settlement from starvation. The means of securing the provisions and stores were very inadequate at first; and the temptation for those who were disposed to betray themselves so great, that nothing less than death could deter them from plundering the public property.

Captain Hunter who commanded the *Sirius* frigate in the first fleet, and succeeded Captain Phillip in the government of the colony, published in London, in 1793, in a large quarto volume, "An Historical Account of Transactions at New South Wales, from the first Settlement, to the Year 1793," &c. Like his friend, Governor Phillip, he felt a warm interest in the welfare of the unfortunate aborigines, and zealously seconded all endeavours to bring about a general understanding between them and the colonists. Captain Hunter, in his work, gives many interesting details as to the character and habits, and his estimate of their intellectual and physical abilities is far more favourable than the one generally prevalent in the present day. He was employed soon after the formation of the settlement in making a survey of the

harbour, and while employed in this manner was often brought in contact with these unfortunate people. He says:—

“During the time we were employed on the Survey of Port Jackson, we had frequent meetings with different parties of the natives, whom we found at this time very numerous; a circumstance which I confess I was a little surprised to find, after what had been said of them in the voyage of the Endeavour; for I think it is observed in the account of that voyage, that at Botany Bay they had seen very few of the natives, and that they appeared a very stupid race of people, who were void of curiosity. We saw them in considerable numbers, and they appeared to us to be a very lively and inquisitive race; they are a straight, thin, but well made people, rather small in their limbs, but very active; they examined with the greatest attention, and expressed the utmost astonishment, at the different coverings we had on; for they certainly considered our clothes as so many different skins, and the hat as a part of the head; they were pleased with such trifles as we had to give them, and always appeared cheerful and in good humour; they danced and sung with us, and imitated our words and motions, as we did theirs. They generally appeared armed with a lance, and a short stick which assists in throwing it; this stick is about three feet long, is flattened on one side, has a hook of wood at one end, and a flat shell, let into a split in the stick at the other end and fastened with gum; upon the flat side of this stick the lance is laid, in the upper end of which is a small hole, into which the point of the hook of the throwing stick is fixed; this retains the lance on the flat side of the stick; then poising the lance, thus fixed, in one hand, with the fore-finger and thumb over it, to prevent its falling off sideways, at the same time holding fast the throwing-stick, they discharge it with considerable force, and in a very good direction, to the distance of about sixty or seventy yards. I have since seen a strong young man throw the lance full ninety yards; which, till then, I did not believe possible. I measured the distance. Their lances are in general about ten feet long; the shell at one end of the throwing-stick is intended for sharpening the point of the lance, and for various other uses. I have seen these weapons frequently thrown, and think that a man upon his guard may with much ease either parry or avoid them, although it must be owned they fly with astonishing velocity.

"I was one day on shore in another part of the harbor making friendship with a party of natives, when in a very short time, their numbers increased to eighty or ninety men, all armed with a lance and throwing-stick, and many with the addition of a shield, made of the bark of a tree; some were in shape an oblong square, and others of these shields were oval; these were the first shields we had seen in this country. It has since been found that the shields are in general made of wood. Upon examining some of these shields, we observed that many of them had been pierced quite through in various places, which they by signs gave us to understand had been done with a spear; but that those shields were frequently turned the spear, they also showed us, by setting one up at a small distance and throwing a spear at it, which did not go through. They were much surprised at one of our gentlemen, who pulling a pistol out of his pocket that was loaded with ball, and standing at the same distance, fired the ball through the thickest part of the shield, which they then examined with astonishment, and seemed to wonder that an instrument so small should be capable of wounding so deeply. Our numbers at this time were what I first mentioned, with only three muskets, one of which I carried. The natives were very noisy, but did not appear disposed to quarrel; we gave them such little presents as we had with us, with which they seemed well pleased; although we had much reason afterwards to believe, that such trifles only pleased them as baubles do children, for a moment; for at other times we have frequently found our presents lying dispersed on the beach, although caught at by these people with much apparent avidity at the time they were offered. While we were employed with this party we observed at a distance a number of women, who were peeping from their concealment, but durst not gratify their natural curiosity, by appearing openly, and conversing with us, as the men here appeared to be very absolute. I signified to the men that we had observed the women, and that I wished to make them some presents, which they might be permitted to come forward and receive them. The men seemed unwilling to suffer them to advance; for we had frequently observed that they took particular care upon every occasion to keep the women at a distance, and I believed wholly from an idea of danger. They desired to have the presents for the women, and they would carry and deliver them, but to this proposal I positively refused to agree, and made them understand that unless they were allowed to come

forward, they should not have any. Finding I was determined, an old man, who seemed to have the principal authority, directed the women to advance, which they did immediately, with much good humour; and during the whole time that we were decorating them with beads, rags of white linen, and some other trifles, they laughed immoderately, although trembling at the same time through an idea of danger. Most of those we saw at this time were young women, who I judged were from eighteen to twenty-five years of age; they were all perfectly naked as when first born.

"The women in general are well made, not quite so thin as the men, but rather smaller limbed. As soon as the women were ordered to approach us, about twenty men, whom we had not before seen, sallied from the wood, completely armed with lance and shield; they were painted with red and white streaks all over the face and body, as if they intended to strike terror by their appearance; some of them were painted with a little degree of taste, and although the painting on others appeared to be done without any attention to form, yet there were those who at a small distance, appeared as if they were accoutred with cross-belts; some had circles of white round their eyes, and several a horizontal streak across the forehead; others again had narrow white streaks round the body, with a broad line down the middle of the back and belly, and a single streak down each arm, thigh, and leg. These marks, being generally white, gave the person, at a small distance, a most shocking appearance; for, upon the black skin the white marks were so very conspicuous, that they were exactly like so many moving skeletons. The colours they use are mostly red and white; the first of which is a kind of ochre, or red earth, which is found here in considerable quantities; the latter is a fine pipe-clay. The bodies of the men are much scarified, particularly their breasts and shoulders; these scarifications are considerably raised above the skin, and although they are not in any regular form, yet they are certainly considered as ornamental. The men, thus armed and painted, drew themselves up in a line on the beach, and each man had a green bough in his hand, as a sign of friendship; their disposition was as regular as any well disciplined troops could have been; and this party, I apprehend, was entirely for the defence of the women, if any insult had been offered them. We also observed at this interview, that two very stout armed men were placed upon a rock, near to where our boats lay, as sentinels; for they never moved

from the spot until we left the beach: I therefore suppose they were ordered there to watch all our motions. We left these people, after a visit of about four hours, both parties apparently well satisfied with all that passed.

"In the different opportunities I have had of getting a little acquainted with the natives who reside in and about this port, I am, I confess, disposed to think that it will be a very difficult matter, in due time, to conciliate their friendship and confidence; for although they generally appear armed at our first meeting, which will be allowed to be very natural, yet, whenever we have laid aside our arms, and have made signs of friendship, they have always advanced unarmed, with a good spirit, and a degree of confidence scarcely to be expected from that appearance of a friendly disposition I am inclined to think, that by residing some time amongst or near them they will soon discover that we are not their enemies; a light heart they no doubt considered us in on our first arrival.

"The men in general are from five feet six inches to five feet nine inches high; are thin, but very straight and clean made; walk very erect, and are active. The women are not so tall or so thin, but are generally well made; their colour is a rusty kind of black, something like that of soot, but I have seen many of the women almost as light as a mulatto.

The beginning of the month of May, 1788, was marked by increasing distrust between the white intruders and the aboriginal occupants of the soil. The latter appear for some time to have avoided as much as possible any quarrel with the whites. But the calls of hunger were imperative, and on several occasions, when the men sent to fish had obtained by means of the large seine nets which had been brought out from England, a more than usually successful haul, the natives boldly claimed a portion for themselves. The Governor, with that consideration and humanity which always marked his conduct towards them, gave orders that their demands should be complied with. During the first three months after the formation of the settlement, although no lives were taken on either side, blood was shed on several occasions; and early in May the first fatal result of these quarrels took place. Two prisoners who had gone into the bush were speared—one of them succeeded in reaching the camp alive, but the other was never again heard of: and two other men employed cutting rushes were a few days afterwards found dead from spear wounds. The place where this

occurred was, from this circumstance, named Rushcutters' Bay. It was believed at the time that in both cases the persons attacked had brought their fate upon themselves, by their conduct towards the natives; who afterwards, when an interview was obtained with some of them, said that one of their people had been killed and another wounded before they retaliated upon the whites.

The Governor, in the various excursions which he made into the country, was met by the natives, after passing the limits of the tribes bordering on the harbour, who had imbibed a jealousy and dread of the whites, with the utmost frankness and courtesy. The natives of different districts were found to be extremely punctilious and ceremonious in their intercourse with each other; and when the Governor and his party proceeded to a locality occupied by tribes to whom they were unknown, they were generally accompanied and introduced by one or more of the tribe they had last parted from. In many instances every individual present was formally introduced by name; in other cases, where the party was numerous, this ceremony was dispensed with. But notwithstanding the generally courteous conduct of the more distant tribes to the Governor and officers, all the efforts of the former were insufficient to prevent the bitterest hostility, in the vicinity of the Camp, between the two races; and during the next few months many lives were taken by both parties. How many natives perished, and under what circumstances, will of course never be ascertained; but their diminution in numbers was so rapid either from want of food, or by the hands of the whites, that within a short time from the foundation of the settlement all serious danger from their attacks had ceased.

In June a return of the number of persons who had died since their embarkation in England was made out. It was found that eighty-nine deaths had taken place—eight of free persons, and eighty-one of prisoners. This, although a large number, was less than might have been anticipated from the combined effects of a long voyage, change of climate, and other circumstances. Out of the whole number several had died on board ship, while in harbour, before the fleet left England. At the date of this return the people were generally healthy.

On the 6th May, three of the ships which had brought out the expedition sailed for England, and on the 14th July four others, leaving the *Sirius* and her tender, the *Supply*, and

two store ships, the Fishburn and Golden Grove, for the use of the colony until substantial stores could be built.

In the early part of August a circumstance occurred which created great excitement. There seems to have existed from very remote times an almost universal opinion that Australia was rich in gold. Marco Polo, and other early travellers, had recorded what they had heard in confirmation of this belief from the natives of the Indian Archipelago. Columbus himself was probably actuated in undertaking his first voyage as much by a belief in the golden treasures of the Great South Land as by the hope of opening up a route for reaching the spices of the Moluccas and the silks of China. Mendana and Quiros were firm believers in the golden prize which awaited them if they could once set foot on the shores of that mysterious country which they spent their lives in endeavouring to discover. The old Dutch navigators also were so strongly impressed with the same belief, that the return of General Carpenter to Amsterdam, with enormous riches, shortly after his celebrated voyage from Batavia to the northern coast of New Holland, in 1628, caused intense excitement, and led to the fitting out of the great fleet of eleven ships, under the command of Pelsart, of which an account has before been given. It was probably this belief in the auriferous riches of the country which had obtained for what was formerly believed to be the northern extremity of the Great South Land the name of New Guinea. It is difficult to account for this almost universal belief of mankind in a fact which, although true in itself, could have rested in those times on nothing but conjecture, or at best on some dim tradition derived from times yet more remote. Argensola, in his history of the Moluccas, says that there was a tradition current in those islands that Australia was first peopled from the island of Ternate, and that the inhabitants of the northern coasts of this continent were anciently much more civilised than in his time, and formerly carried on an intercourse with the people of the Moluccas. There is an air of probability about this statement which strongly commends it to consideration. The language and some of the customs of the Australian aborigines afford very many reasons for believing that at some period they must have had intercourse with the islands of the Indian Archipelago; and it is not at all improbable that the civilisation of the northern tribes was at one time so far advanced that they were aware of the value of the precious metals,

and exchanged gold for the products of other countries. Sinking afterwards, even deeper than their neighbours of the Indian Archipelago, into the most abject barbarism, the tradition of their golden treasures would remain, and become generally current in the world, even after the precise position and extent of their country had been forgotten in the darkness which overwhelmed the world for many centuries. Whatever its origin this fact is certain, that a belief in the golden riches of the Great South Land was almost universal for ages before it was colonised by England. Well aware of this opinion, many of the convicts, soon after their arrival, devoted much of their time in endeavouring to discover gold, and at last one of them, named James Daley, declared that he had succeeded. He produced a piece of stone impregnated with gold to prove his statements; but when interrogated as to the place where he had found it, he refused to give any information unless the Governor would guarantee to him a certain sum of money, and give him, and a woman to whom he was attached, their freedom. The Governor was then (August, 1788) absent on an excursion into the interior, and Major Ross, the Lieutenant-Governor, not only refused to comply with Daley's demand, but ordered him to show in what part of the country he had found it, on pain of severe punishment. Under threats of the lash, he at length consented, but instead of showing the officer who was sent with him where the alleged gold mine was, he very artfully gave him and his men the slip after leading them some distance into the bush. He then returned to the camp, stated that he had left the officer in full possession of the gold mine, and again disappeared. He was captured soon afterwards, and still persisting in his story, was severely flogged. When the Governor returned, another officer was sent with him to the place where he alleged he had found the gold. This gentleman, determined not to be fooled and laughed at, made Daley walk before him, and threatened him with instant death if he attempted to run away or to deceive him. Under these circumstances, he confessed that he had filed down part of a yellow metal buckle, had mixed with it some particles of gold filed off a guinea, and had blended the whole with clay, which he managed to render very hard. Upon this he was again flogged with greater severity than before. But notwithstanding this confession of Daley, and his failure to point out the spot where he had at first asserted that gold existed, it was generally believed then, and many believe still, that he

actually did find gold, although not at the place to which he took the officers; and those who hold this opinion say that the pretended confession was only extorted from him under fear of the lash. It is certain that many of the early convicts penetrated a considerable distance into the interior, and that some of them succeeded in crossing the Blue Mountains years before any practicable route was discovered by the settlers. Daley, after having been twice flogged within an inch of his life, was convicted of some petty offence, and hanged shortly afterwards. Whether he actually did find gold or not, is a matter of very little practical importance now. Probably his story was entirely unfounded. It is confidently asserted, however, that small quantities of gold were brought to Sydney, and disposed of secretly, by convicts and others, in very early times; and the subject is invested with some interest in connection with the singular belief in the auriferous riches of Australia, which has been before referred to as existing in the world from very early times.

Shortly after landing, Governor Phillip had directed his attention to procuring suitable building materials. Excellent clay for making bricks was found at a spot about a mile from the settlement, and there (Brickfield-hill) a large gang of brick-makers was stationed in the early part of March. Other gangs were employed in procuring shells for making lime, and the material thus obtained was found to answer very well. By the beginning of August, buildings were in hand for a hospital, a barrack, an observatory, a house for the Governor, and another for the Lieutenant Governor. About this time affrays between the people and the natives were almost constantly taking place. The aborigines were rendered so desperate by hunger that, on the 21st of August, a large party of them landed near the observatory (then at Dawes' Battery), attacked the people who were employed there, and killed a goat and carried it off in triumph. This was the boldest attempt yet made, and caused the Governor himself to go in pursuit. The live stock were so few in number that even the loss of a single goat was looked upon as a public misfortune. The Governor, however, neither succeeded in recovering the carcass of the goat, nor in overtaking the sable cattle stealers. In the following month the natives made another attempt on the live stock. On this occasion those who had charge of the sheep and goats were prepared for the attack, and the blacks were best off without the loss of a single animal. From this time a chronic state of hosti-

lities may be said to have existed between the two races, and lives were sacrificed almost daily on one side or the other. The sheep were soon after removed to the land which had been cleared in Farm Cove, and there they were attacked by worse enemies than the blacks—six of them having been killed in one night by native dogs. Colonel Collins, the Judge-Advocate of the colony, in reference to this misfortune, says :—"This to the happy inhabitants of Great Britain may appear a circumstance too trivial to record; but to these founders of a new world it was of magnitude sufficient to be by them deemed a public calamity; so much do situations exalt or diminish the importance of circumstances."

The conduct of the prisoners was, on the whole, much better than could have been anticipated. Their principal vices were the stealing of food and laziness. It is well known that prisoners, and persons in a position depressing to the spirits, require a larger quantity or more nourishing quality of food to keep them in health than is sufficient for soldiers, sailors, labourers, and other persons following their ordinary pursuits. The rations furnished to the prisoners, with the exception of spirits and tobacco, were equal both in quality and quantity to those served out to the soldiers and sailors. Yet the general health of the prisoners was much below that of the free persons. Many sunk into apathy; with others home sickness prevailed to such a degree that some almost starved themselves that they might hoard and sell their rations to pay their passage to England on the expiration of their sentences. One of these home sick people, a youth, was found dead, and a surgical examination proved that he had perished from want of nourishment. His companions stated that he had scarcely tasted food for a week, and yet on searching his box a large quantity of provisions, which he had hoarded for sale, were found. People, under such circumstances as these, could not be made to work much; and they were able to indulge their idleness the more readily in consequence of the difficulty of procuring well qualified and trustworthy persons to superintend and control them.

In the month of August it became evident that a strict husbanding of provisions would be necessary to make them last until fresh supplies could be procured. The ration was at once shortened to a small extent, and the Governor determined to send the *Sirius* to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies. She sailed on the 30th September, under the command of Captain Hunter, reached Table Bay on the 1st of

January, 1789, and returned to Port Jackson on the 9th of May following, with a full cargo of provisions, including sufficient flour to last the whole settlement for several months. When at the Cape of Good Hope, the *Alexander* transport arrived there. She was one of the fleet which had left Port Jackson to return to England about six months before the *Sirius* sailed for the Cape. It appeared that all the vessels of that fleet had been most unfortunate in their return voyage, having met with a succession of storms and contrary winds. Some of them reached Rio Janeiro, and others the Cape of Good Hope, with their provisions exhausted and their crews dying from scurvy. The return of the *Sirius* was hailed with the utmost joy by all the settlement.

In December, 1788, the keel of the first vessel built in the colony was laid; she was designed for conveying provisions to Parramatta. She was launched in September of the following year, and was named the *Rosehill Packet*, but from the clumsiness of her build and the quantity of timber used in her construction she was afterwards usually known as the *Lump*. A wharf or landing place was also constructed in Sydney Cove towards the end of the year. At this time there were two hundred and fifty persons employed in clearing and cultivating the soil, mostly at Parramatta; the others were engaged in procuring building materials, in erecting stores and houses, or in building boats and wharves.

The decrease of the ration of provisions led to an increase of crime, and to avoid punishment many of the prisoners took to the woods. One of the men who had absconded, on being taken was hanged, in the expectation of terrifying the others. The punishments meted out both to soldiers and convicts at this time were of extraordinary severity. Two men, one a prisoner and the other a soldier, were sentenced to seven hundred lashes each. The prisoner was not strong enough to bear the full sentence, and to prevent his death under the lash the punishment had to be stopped when only half the number had been inflicted. The soldier, whose offence consisted in having been found absent from his post, suffered the full penalty.

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT AT SYDNEY, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1789, TO THE TERMINATION OF GOVERNOR PHILLIP'S RULE, IN DECEMBER, 1792.

The latter part of 1788 and the first four months of the following year was one of the darkest periods ever experienced in the history of the settlement. The gloomy prospect before the people, the decrease in their rations, the severity and frequency of punishments, and the strictness with which the Governor found it necessary to husband every resource, bred in the minds of the thoughtless and improvident feelings of recklessness or despair. At the end of January, 1789, there was not a single vessel in the harbour. The *Sirius* had gone on a long and distant voyage, from which her return, although the very existence of the colony depended on it, was uncertain. Her tender, the *Supply*, had been sent to Norfolk Island, and from thence to survey a dangerous reef in an almost unknown sea. The stock of provisions brought out from England was in danger of being exhausted before fresh supplies could be procured; and nothing eatable had yet been produced in the colony with exception of a few vegetables. The few head of cattle brought out from home had suddenly disappeared, nobody knew where, and many of the sheep and goats had fallen victims to the natives or the dingo. The people, reckless of consequences, and in opposition to positive orders, were constantly straying into the bush in search of herbs and roots, and so many of them, when on these errands, were killed by the aborigines, that at length every one detected beyond certain assigned bounds was ordered to receive one hundred and fifty lashes. Those who returned wounded by the natives were sent to the hospital, and flogged as soon as they recovered.

What rendered the prospects of the settlement at this time yet more dark, was the discovery about the end of January of a regularly organised conspiracy for plundering the public store. This conspiracy had existed for several months among the soldiers. They had succeeded in abstracting a considerable quantity of provisions before the plot was found out, so that the stock on hand was much smaller, and the condition of affairs much worse, than the Governor and officers had

previously believed. Probably no man was better fitted than Governor Phillip to deal with such difficulties as were now before him. He hanged the detected soldiers, seven in number, at once. Some of them had up to that time borne excellent characters, and were held in very high esteem by their officers, who used all the influence they possessed to save their lives. It was, however, useless; nothing could move the Governor from his purpose. The position of the settlement under a man of less firmness and self-reliance would have been desperate in the extreme. Starvation stared the people in the face, and the slightest relaxation of discipline would probably have been followed by a state of anarchy and crime frightful to contemplate and impossible to control.

Governor Phillip, at this time of depression and anxiety, set a noble example of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice. He lived on the same ration as was allowed from the public store to the meanest person in the settlement. The weekly quantity, issued to every person indiscriminately at this time was but two and a half pounds of flour, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of pork. The latter, says Collins, when boiled, from the length of time it had been in store, shrunk almost to nothing, and when divided barely afforded three or four morsels. "The Governor," continues the same authority, "from a motive that did him immortal honour, in this season of general distress, gave up three hundred weight of flour which was his Excellency's private property; declaring, that he wished not to see any more at his table than the ration which was received in common from the public store, without any distinction of persons; and to this resolution he rigidly adhered, wishing that, if a convict complained, he might see that want was not unfelt even at Government House."

In the month of April, 1789, the dead bodies of numbers of natives were seen in the bush, and in various places about the shores of the harbour; and others were found in a dying condition from a disease which they called gal-gal-la. The Governor thinking this a favourable opportunity to conciliate, and again open friendly relations with them, ordered two sick children and a man who was found nursing them under a rock in the harbour to be brought to the camp. The medical officers at once pronounced the disease under which they were suffering to be small pox. The presence among the aborigines of that dreadful scourge was considered exceedingly remarkable, seeing that it could not have been communicated

to them by the whites, having never made its appearance among the colonists. Both the black children recovered, but the man died shortly afterwards. Colonel Collins gives a most affecting picture of the devotion and attention to the children shown by this poor savage, who was not their parent, but who in a very short time endeared himself to the strangers by whom he was surrounded, and died eight days after he was seized with the disease, to the regret of all who had witnessed the amiability and gentleness of his deportment. Not one case of the disorder occurred among the white people either afloat or on shore, although there were several young children in the settlement; but a North American Indian, who happened to be on board the schooner Supply, took the disease and died. This fact would seem to indicate that the lower vitality of the coloured races sometimes offers a field in which the seeds of disease will fully develop themselves even when they are not sufficiently vigorous to germinate under conditions afforded by the more robust and enduring constitutions of white people. There was no trace to be discovered among the aborigines that such a disease as small pox had ever visited the country before, and therefore it is only reasonable to conclude that the infection, in a latent state, must have been introduced by the newly arrived colonists, although they themselves escaped its ravages. Their immunity from the scourge might have arisen either from some peculiarity in their system induced by the changes of climate which they had lately undergone, the food on which they existed, or, which is more likely, the superior vitality of their race. The numbers of the aborigines who fell before this dreadful disease must have been very great. Famine had prepared them for pestilence, and the pestilence which smote them was the more terrible because, being wholly unknown, it found them entirely unprepared with even such simple remedies as those with which savages frequently combat diseases of a very severe character.

The return of the Sirius from the Cape, much sooner than was anticipated, filled the before despairing people with joy. She made a very quick voyage, and brought one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds of flour, being a four months' supply for the settlement. This timely relief produced an excellent effect on the tone of feeling among the prisoners. Previously to her arrival many had given themselves up to despair, thinking they had been sent to the end of the world by the government to be abandoned to starvation.

The spirits of the before desponding prisoners were so elevated by being placed on full rations—their joy so great on being rescued from starvation—that they petitioned the Governor to be allowed to commemorate his Majesty's birthday, then near at hand, with such demonstrations of joy as they had it in their power to show. The officers and the free settlers also embraced with alacrity the opportunity of testifying their loyalty. The convicts determined to get up amusements of a dramatic character, and the 4th of July, 1789, is remarkable as the date of the first performance of a play in Australia. Collins, in his account of the rejoicings on this occasion, says:—"The 4th of June was the second anniversary of his Majesty's birthday commemorated in this country, and was observed with every distinction in the power of the loyal inhabitants of Port Jackson. The Governor received the compliments due to the day in his new house, of which he had lately taken possession as the government-house of the colony, where his Excellency afterwards entertained the officers at dinner, and in the evening some of the convicts were permitted to perform Farquhar's comedy of the Recruiting Officer, in a hut fitted up for the occasion. They professed no higher aim than 'humbly to excite a smile,' and their efforts to please were not unattended with applause."

From this period it is easy to trace in the different narratives and records which have been preserved, a more hopeful feeling. The Governor, during the darkest hour, had never allowed a shadow of doubt to cross his mind as to the ultimate success of the settlement and the eventual greatness of the colony. From the first he devoted most of his spare time to making excursions in search of better land for cultivation than was to be found on the shores of Port Jackson. On the 6th of July, 1789, he discovered a large river which he named the Hawkesbury, in honor of Lord Hawkesbury. He sailed up this fine stream for more than a hundred miles, until he came to the shallows near a hill, which he named Richmond Hill.

Captain Hunter's account of the explorations undertaken at this time is sufficiently interesting to be given in detail. The discovery of the Hawkesbury was undoubtedly the most important event which had occurred since the foundation of the settlement, as it led to the opening up of a large district, having a vastly richer soil than any which had previously been found on the shores of Australia. Hitherto the settlers

ad been singularly unfortunate in this respect. The district adjoining the spot where Captain Phillip first landed, on the south shore of Botany Bay, and where the colonists made their first attempt at clearing, was one of the most barren and unsuitable in the whole country. Even now, after the lapse of more than three-quarters of a century, there is scarcely a single white inhabitant to be found there—and the whole tract of country from thence to the northern extreme of Illawarra, a district of more than two hundred square miles in extent, is still in the state in which nature left it. A few aborigines and half-casts, the miserable remnants of several tribes, survive, by hunting and fishing, and begging from persons who occasionally visit the district on shooting excursions or on motives of curiosity, to eke out a wretched existence here. The soil in the vicinity of Port Jackson, to which the settlers quickly removed, was found to be very little better than that at Botany, although other advantages of a most important kind were secured by the change. At Parramatta, the soil, although superior to any found at either of the before-mentioned places, was merely forest land, heavily timbered, and not of the richest kind. Along the coast to the north of Port Jackson, the country was found to be exceedingly barren, with the exception of a few spots, very limited in extent, and very unsuited for agricultural purposes. Before the Hawkesbury was discovered much labour was wasted in attempting to clear land of a very poor kind. The results of the cultivation of the rich alluvial soil on the banks of that river gave heart and hope to the settlers, who soon saw before them the prospect of comfort and abundance. Captain Johnston's account of the discovery of the Hawkesbury contains a good deal of interesting information regarding the aborigines, and affords a painful picture of the state to which the privation of their country, and its accompaniments, famine and pestilence, had reduced them:—

On the 6th of June, 1789, I was engaged in a party, with the Governor, on a visit to Broken Bay. The party consisted of the Governor, Captain Collins, (the judge-advocate), Captain Johnston, of the marines, Mr. White, principal surgeon of the settlement, Mr. Worgan, Mr. Fowell, and myself, and the Sirius, and two men, all armed with muskets, &c. We landed on the north part of Port Jackson, and proceeded along the sea coast to the northward; in the course of our march we had many long sandy beaches to cross, which was a very fatiguing part of the journey; when we ascended the

hills, we had frequently thick woods to pass through, but we often fell in with paths, which the natives in travelling along the coast had trod very well down, these paths rendered our march, not only on account of pointing to us the most easy and accessible parts of the hills and woods, but, in point of direction, the shortest which could be found, if we had even been better acquainted with this tract. We left Port Jackson at six o'clock in the morning, just as the day was dawning, and arrived at the south branch of Broken Bay three in the afternoon, after a pretty warm and fatiguing journey, loaded as we were with provisions for several days water, and ammunition; when we arrived at the water-side we found our boats, which had left Port Jackson at midnight, were safely arrived. As it was now too late in the day, and we were all too much fatigued to attempt any part of our main business upon which we came here, we pitched our tents, and hauled the seine for fish, and being successful, sat down to regale ourselves on fresh fish and salt beef, and rested the remainder of the day. In the course of the little excursions of our boats' crews this afternoon, a native woman was discovered, concealing herself from our sight in the long grass, which was at this time very wet, and I should have thought very uncomfortable to a poor naked creature. She had, before the arrival of our boats at this beach, been, with some of her friends, employed in fishing for their daily food, but were upon their approach alarmed, and they had all made their escape, except this miserable girl, who had just recovered from the small-pox, and was very weak, and unable, from swelling in one of her knees, to get off to any distance; she therefore crept off, and concealed herself in the best manner she could among the grass, not twenty yards from the spot on which we had placed our tents. She appeared to be about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and had covered her debilitated and naked body with the wet grass, having no other means of hiding herself; she was very much frightened on our approaching her, and shed many tears, with piteous lamentations; we soothed her distress a little, and the sailors were immediately ordered to bring up some fire, which was placed before her; we pulled some grass, dried it by the fire, and spread round her to keep her warm; then we shot some birds, such as hawks, crows, and gulls, skinned them, and laid them on the fire to broil, together with some fish, which she eat; we then gave her water, of which she seemed to be much in want, for when the word Baa-do was mentioned

which was their expression for water, she put her tongue out to show how very dry her mouth was. Before we retired to rest for the night, we saw her again, and got some firewood laid within her reach, with which she might, in the course of the night, recruit her fire; we also cut a large quantity of grass, dried it, covered her well, and left her to her repose, which, from her situation, I conjecture was not very comfortable or refreshing. Next morning we visited her again; she had now got pretty much the better of her fears, and frequently called to her friends, who had left her, and who, we knew, could be at no great distance from her; she repeated their names in a very loud and shrill voice, and with much apparent anxiety and concern for the little notice they took of her intreaties to return; for we imagined, in all she said when calling on them, she was informing them that the strangers were not enemies, but friends; however, all her endeavours to bring them back were ineffectual, while we remained with her; but we were no sooner gone from the beach, than we saw some of them come out of the wood; and as there were two canoes on the shore belonging to this party they launched one into the water, and went away.

"We employed this day in going up the south branch, which the Governor named Pitt Water, and so much of the day was spent in examining it, that when we returned down near the place where we had passed the last night, it was thought too late to proceed farther; we therefore encamped at the same spot. Our tents were no sooner up, than we went to visit our young female friend, whom we found in a little bark hut upon the beach; this hut was the place in which she and her friends were enjoying themselves, when the arrival of our boat alarmed them. She was not alone, as before, but had with her a female child, about two years old, and as fine a little infant of that age as I ever saw; but upon our approach (the night being cold and rainy, and the child terrified exceedingly,) she was lying with her elbows and knees on the ground, covering the child from our sight with her body, or probably sheltering it from the weather, but I rather think on account of its fears; on our speaking to her, she raised herself up, and sat on the ground with her knees up to her chin, and her heels under her, and was at that moment, I think, the most miserable spectacle in the human shape I ever beheld: the little infant could not be prevailed on to look up; it lay with its face on the

ground, and one hand covering its eyes.* We supplied her as before, with birds, fish, and fuel, and pulled a quantity of grass to make her a comfortable bed, and covered her little miserable hut so as to keep out the weather. She was now so reconciled to our frequent visits, seeing we had nothing in view but her comfort in them, and the child had now got so much the better of its fears, that it would allow us to take hold of its hand; I perceived the young as it was, it had lost the two first joints of its little finger of the left hand, the reason or meaning of which it had not yet been able to learn."

Having occupied several days in attempting to discover the entrance to the large river, which it was suspected had its mouth in Broken Bay, Captain Hunter proceeds to relate the successful result of their efforts:—

"At daylight on the 1st of July we embarked, and after advancing a very little way beyond our farthest discovery the river divided into two branches, one leading to the north-west, the other to the southward; we took that which led to the north-west, and continued all day rowing up this arm, which was in general shoal water, from four to ten and twelve feet, and its breadth from about twenty to forty fathoms; the banks of this branch were in general immense perpendicular mountains of barren rock; in some places the mountains did not reach the margin of the river, but fell back a little way from it, and were joined by low marshy points covered with reeds or rushes, which extended from the foot of the mountains to the edge of the river. At five in the evening we put on shore, and raised our tents at the foot of one of the mountains, where we found a tolerable dry spot for that purpose; and in the morning of the second, we proceeded higher up, but this morning's progress was a good

* This deep interest, in the welfare of the aborigines, taken by the gentlemen to whom the founding of the colony was intrusted, did them and the government whose servants they were, the highest honour. The author of these chapters on Australian Discovery and Colonisation has given, at great length, probably, than many will think desirable, such extracts as bore particularly upon the relations between the two races in the early days of the settlement. The untiring efforts, in favour of the aborigines, of such men as Governor Phillip, Captain Hunter, and Colonel Collins, afford a strong contrast to the doings of many influential colonists of a later period. The scene so affectingly portrayed in the above account, was sketched on the spot by one of the gentlemen of the party, and being afterwards engraved, in the most exquisite manner, by Stothard, forms a vignette in the title page to Captain Hunter's History of his Voyage to New South Wales.

deal retarded by many large trees having fallen from the banks, and which reached almost across the river; for here it was so narrow, that it hardly deserved that name; by ten o'clock we were so far up, that we had not room for the oars, nor indeed water to float the boats; we therefore found it necessary to return, and before noon we put on shore, where I took the meridian altitude of the sun, which gave our latitude 33 degrees 21 minutes south, and we judged, by the estimated distances marked in my sketch, that we were about thirty-four miles above Mullet Island. At the place where we passed the last night we were examining the ground round us as was customary wherever we placed our tents for the night, and about half a mile distant some of the gentlemen found a small hut; they saw a person whom they took for a native woman, and who, upon our approach, fled with great precipitation into the woods. They went to examine the hut, and found two small helpless children in it; the poor little creatures were terribly frightened, but upon their being kindly treated, they seemed to recover a little from their fear. They appeared to be in great distress, apparently for want of food; they had a little fire by them, and in it was found a few wild yams about the size of a walnut; upon a supposition that the parents of these children would soon return after our leaving the place, a hatchet and some other trifles were left in the hut. Next morning, while the people were employed in striking the tents, some of the gentlemen again visited the hut, which they now found unoccupied; the whole family were gone, and the hatchet, &c., were left lying by it. It is really wonderful that these people should set so little value upon such an useful article as an axe certainly must be to them; this indifference I have frequently seen in those who have been shown the use of it, and even when its superiority over their stone hatchets has been pointed out by a comparison. It is not easily to be accounted for. We had now a strong ebb tide, and we rowed late, in order, if possible, to get out of this branch before we stopt for the night. About six o'clock in the evening we entered the southern branch, and very soon after encamped for the night. The next morning (Friday, 3rd July, 1789,) we proceeded up this arm for about seven or eight miles, where it again divided into two branches; thus far we found the depth from three to nine fathoms, and the breadth of the river from 100 to 150 fathoms; we took the branch which led to the northward, (the other went to the southward) but

we had not advanced more than a quarter of a mile before we found the water very shoally; however, as it might lead to good country, the Governor determined to go as high as the boats could find water; we went through various windings and met with many difficulties from the shoalliness of the water; notwithstanding which, we made shift to get about thirteen miles up; the depth was from four to twelve fathoms and the breadth from twenty to fifty fathoms; the banks of this branch were the same as the last, high, steep, and rocky mountains, with many trees growing down their sides, from between the rocks, where no one would believe there could be any soil to nourish them. Both this and the last branch were examined, probably extend many miles farther than we with our boats could trace them, but they did not appear, where we left off the examination of them, to be navigable for any vessel but the canoes of the natives, which do not draw more than two or three inches water. We saw several natives in these branches, but they fled into the woods on our approach; the wretched condition of the miserable natives who have taken up their residence, for a time, so far back from the sea coast, where no fish are to be had, is far beyond my description; they, no doubt, have methods of snaring or killing the different kinds of animals which are to be found here, otherwise I think it impossible they could exist at any distance from the sea; for the land, as far as we yet know, affords very little sustenance for the human race. Having advanced as far as possible with the boats, we returned, and having rowed two or three miles down to a point where there was tolerable landing, we put ashore, and pitched the tents for the night. In the morning of the 5th, while the tents were putting into the boats, I measured the height of the opposite shore, which I found to be 250 feet perpendicular above the level of the river, which was here 30 fathoms wide: at seven o'clock we embarked, and rowed down until we came to the entrance of the second southern branch, where we found good depth of water, in six and seven fathoms. This, from its depth, encouraged us to hope that it might extend a great distance to the westward: we went up this branch about 13 or 14 miles before we put on shore for the night: in this distance, the general depth of water was from two to seven fathoms, and the breadth of the river from 70 to 140 fathoms; but the country still wore a very unpromising aspect, being either high rocky shores, or low marshy points. After having rested for the

ght, we were again under way at daylight, and this day advanced about fourteen miles against the tide. In the woods we frequently saw fires, and sometimes heard the natives ; in the afternoon we saw a considerable number of people in the wood, with many fires in different places ; we called to them in their own manner, by frequently repeating the word *wee-wee*, which signifies, come here ; at last, two men came to the water-side with much apparent familiarity and confidence : I thought, from this circumstance, that they had certainly seen us before, either at Botany Bay, Port Jackson, or Broken Bay ; they received a hatchet, and a wild duck, which had been just before shot from the boat ; and in return, they threw us a small coil of line, made of the hair of some animal, and also offered a spear, which was refused. The only argument against their having seen us before is, that they were the first we had met with who appeared desirous of making a return for any present they received.

“ Here the banks of the river are low and covered with what we call the pine-trees [swamp oak] of this country ; which indeed have received that name merely from the leaf, which is a good deal like the pine, but the wood is very different. The natives here, appear to live chiefly on the roots which they dig from the ground ; for these low banks appear to have been ploughed up, as if a vast herd of swine had been feeding on them. We put on shore, and examined the places which had been dug, and found the wild yam in considerable quantities, but in general very small, not larger than a walnut ; they appear to be in the greatest plenty on the banks of the river ; a little way back they are scarce. We frequently saw some of the reaches which we passed through this day, very near us the hills, which we suppose are the same as those seen from Port Jackson, and called by the Governor the Blue Mountains.

“ At five in the evening, we put ashore at the foot of a hill, where we passed the night ; and at daylight in the morning of the 5th, we embarked, and continued our way up the river ; in which we still found good depth of water, from two to five fathoms, and 60 to 70 fathoms wide. As we advanced, we found the river to contract very fast in its breadth, and the channel became shoaler ; from these circumstances we had reason to believe that we were not far from its source : theebb tides were pretty strong, but the floods were only perceptible by the swelling of the water. In the evening we arrived at the foot of a high mountain, which was spread over

with lofty trees, without any underwood ; and saw a pleasant looking country [the Windsor and Richmond bottoms], covered with grass, and without that mixture of rocky patches in every acre or two, as is common in many other places : we ascended some distance, and erected our tents for the night. The river here is not more than twenty fathoms wide. In the night, when everything was still, we heard distinctly the roaring of what we judged to be a fall of water ; and imagined from this circumstance, that we should not be able to advance much further. In the morning we walked to the top of the hill, and found we were not more than five or six miles from a long range of mountains, between which, and that where we stood, there is a deep valley, or low country, through which, probably, a branch of this river may run. This range of mountains we supposed to be those which are seen from Port Jackson, and called the Blue Mountains : they limit the sight to the west-north-west. In that range of high land there is a remarkable gully, or chasm, [the Grose river] which is seen distinctly at a distance, and from which we appeared to be distant about five miles. The hills on each side of this gap were named by Governor Phillip ; on one side the Carmarthen, on the other, the Lansdown hills ; and that on which we stood was called Richmond Hill. While the other gentlemen of the party were along with the Governor, examining the country, I employed myself in taking the meridian altitude of the sun, by which I found the highest part of the hill to be in latitude 33 degrees 37 minutes south. The gentlemen spoke highly in favour of the country as far as they walked ; it was perfectly clear of any kind of underwood ; the trees upon it were all very tall, and stood very wide apart ; the soil was also examined, and found very good ; a small patch was dug up, and a few potatoes, Indian corn, melon, and other seeds sown. This was a common practice, when a piece of ground, favourable from its soil, and being in an unfrequented situation, was found, to sow a few seeds of different kinds ; some of the little gardens which had been planted in this manner, and left to nature, have been since visited and found thriving, others have miscarried. After making these observations, the tide being made, we put off in the boats, and endeavoured to get higher up, but were frequently aground ; by the time we had reached half a mile higher than the foot of Richmond Hill, we met the stream setting down so strong, that it was with much difficulty we could get the boats so high. We

here found the river to divide into two narrow branches, [the Nepean and the Grose] from one of which the stream came down with considerable velocity, and with a fall over a range of stones which seemed to lie across its entrance; this was the fall which we had heard the night before from our situation on the side of Richmond Hill. We found too little water for the boats which we had with us to advance any further, and the stream was very strong, although weak to what it may reasonably be conjectured to be after heavy rains; for here we had evident marks of the vast torrents which must pour down from the mountains after heavy rains. The low grounds, at such times, are entirely covered, and the trees with which they are overgrown are laid down (with their tops pointing down the river,) as much as I ever saw a field of corn after a storm; and where any of these trees have been strong enough to resist in any degree the strength of the torrent, (for they are all less or more bent downwards) we saw in the clefts of the branches of such trees vast quantities of large logs which had been hurried down by the force of the waters, and lodged from thirty to forty feet above the common level of the river; and at that height there were great quantities of grass, reeds, and such other weeds as are washed from the banks of the river, hanging to the branches. The first notice we took of these signs of an extraordinary swelling of the water, was twelve or fourteen miles lower down, and where the river is not so confined in its breadth; there we measured the same signs of such torrents twenty-eight feet above the surface of the water; the common rise and fall of the tide did not appear to be more than six feet. On the banks here also we found yams and other roots, and had evident marks of the natives frequenting these parts in search of them for food. They have, no doubt, some method of preparing these roots, before they can eat them; for we found one kind which some of the company had seen the natives dig up; and with which being pleased, as it had much the appearance of horse-radish, and had a sweetish taste, and having swallowed a small quantity, it occasioned violent spasms, cramps in the bowels, and sickness at the stomach; it might probably be the casada root. We found here many traps for catching animals, in which we observed the feathers of many birds, particularly the quail. We now gave up the hope of tracing this river higher up with our boats; and, as in case of heavy rains setting in, which might be expected at this season of the year, there

would be considerable danger, while confined in this narrow part of the river, we pushed down and encamped the night of the 6th, about seven miles below Richmond Hill. In the morning early, we set off on our return, and encamped on the 7th at night, about twenty-six miles down; at seven in the morning of the 8th we embarked again, and by four in the evening had reached a point about forty-three miles down, where we pitched our tents for the night, which was very foggy. In our way down we stopped, and measured the perpendicular height of a hill on the north side of the river, (or more properly one of the banks of the river; for it is a long range of level land, and nearly perpendicular from the water; the opposite shore is low and marshy;) which I found to be 399 feet: the river was here 120 fathoms wide. On the 9th in the morning, we proceeded to examine some of the inferior branches; their general direction was to the southward, and the longest was not more than five or six miles in length, and was navigable for such boats as ours; the general depth was three and four fathoms for about four miles up, and then shoal water; the others were inconsiderable. In one of these branches we passed the night of the 9th, and saw a few natives, who came off to us in their boats with much cheerfulness and good humour; I thought I had seen them before; they received a few presents, among which was a looking-glass, which we took much trouble to show them the use of; they were some time before they observed their own figure in the glass, but when they did, they turned it up and looked behind it; then pointed to the water, signifying that they could see their figure reflected as well from that. Having now examined every thing which was thought worth our attention, we made the best of our way to Mullet Island, where we landed on the 10th in the evening, and caught some fish. This night, and all the next day, 11th, it blew a gale of wind from the southward, so that we were obliged to pass a second night here. In the morning of the 12th, it was more moderate, although very squally and unsettled; we struck our tents and sailed for Pitt Water, where about noon we encamped upon a point pretty high up; in our way, we put ashore to fill some fresh water, and in a cave near the stream we found a native woman, who appeared to have been dead some time, for her skin was as hard as a piece of leather; it was impossible to know whether she had died of the small pox or not. In the morning of the 13th, as we intended to land well up this branch, in order to avoid the

st difficult and tiresome part of the road to Port Jackson, embarked, after we had breakfasted, and rowed up about couple of miles, when the party for walking went on shore, with his arms, and knapsack, containing two days provisions; we were about half an hour in getting through the d, which led us to the sea-coast, where we fell into our and well-known path, and by four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the north part of Port Jackson, [Manly wh]; but we might as well have been fifty leagues off, for we could have no communication either with the Sirius settlement, and no boat had been ordered to meet us. We went immediately to work and made a large fire, by which we lay all night, which happened to be very cold. The day we crossed the hills, and came to the mouth of the north-west harbour, [Middle Harbour] but could not find the means of crossing it; muskets had been frequently fired during the night, in hopes that some boat might have been in the harbour fishing, and heard them. We found this morning a canoe upon the beach, with which we had no prospect of getting two men across the water, who could in a short time walk over to the cove where the Sirius lay, [Swains Bay]; but this prospect was disappointed by the first man who entered the canoe having upset her, and she immediately sunk, and he was obliged to swim ashore; so this time we went to work and made a catamaran, of the best wood we could find, but when finished and launched, could not, although pretty large, bear the weight of one man. It was now proposed to walk round the head of the north-west harbour, which would have been a good long journey for at least two days, and our provisions were nearly expended; to this proposal I was under the necessity of objecting, for want of shoes, the last march having tore all the soles from my feet, and they were tied on with spun-yarn; I therefore declined the proposed walk, and determined to go back to Broken Bay and rejoin the boats; which I had no doubt of being able to effect in the course of that day, and in a far more ease than I could, without shoes, climb such steep mountains, and thick woods, as lay in the way round the head of the north-west harbour. But as it was likely I might fall in with some parties of the natives in the way, I wished to have a companion: Captain Collins preferred accompanying me in the intended walk, and we were just on the point of setting out, when two of the people who came with us proposed swimming over the water, and to cross

through the wood to the Sirius; the distance they had to swim was not more than two cables length, or four hundred yards; they immediately stripped, and each having had a dram, they tied up in a handkerchief a shirt, trowsers, and a pair of shoes each, which was rested upon their shoulders; thus equipped, they took the water, and in seven minutes landed on the opposite shore; but one being seized with the cramp, was obliged to disengage himself from his bundle, which was of course lost; they set off through the woods, and in a short time got on board the ship, the one with his shirt and trowsers, the other perfectly naked. Upon their information, a boat was sent down, and took us on board, after a pretty fatiguing journey. I cannot help here remarking how providential it was that we did not all agree to walk round the north-west harbour. At eight in the morning we heard the report of a great gun, which led me to suspect that some person belonging to the Sirius was missing, and had probably been lost in the woods; we frequently fired muskets that morning, and sometimes imagined we heard a musket at a considerable distance in the woods; in consequence of this suspicion, we frequently fired several together, and as often heard the report of that which we believed was meant to answer us; in short, by means of these repeated volleys, we drew nearer to that which answered us, and by hallooing all together, found we had got within hearing of the person who had answered our firing; for, after calling out, we listened attentively, and heard a very faint voice in answer; in that direction we walked, and at last, by frequent calling, and answering, we found the person out, who proved to be Peter White, sail maker of the Sirius, who had been four days lost, and when he set out from the ship had not more than four ounces of biscuit with him, one ounce of which he had still left; he was very faint, and appeared to us to be stupid and almost exhausted, for he staggered like a man drunk; we took him with us, and by giving him such provisions as we had, in small proportions, he was in a few hours a good deal recovered; but I think if he had not been found as he was, in twenty-four hours more he would not have been able to make any farther effort to save himself, and must have perished where he lay down. It is remarkable, that the flint of his gun being worn to a stump, he could not get fire out of it the whole of the day before, when trying to shoot some birds for his subsistence, until night came on, when it was necessary for him to have

fire to sleep by; he then tried it again with very little hope of succeeding, but contrary to his expectations he got a fire and sat by it the whole night; the next morning it failed again repeatedly, until he had occasion to answer our muskets, when it struck fire every time he wished to answer us, otherwise, in all probability, we should not have found him. This is exactly his own account."

There proved to be a large quantity of magnificent land on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and portions were shortly afterwards allotted to settlers. In addition to the encouraging prospects held out by the discovery of this fine district it was found that the farming operations at Parramatta were in such a promising condition that the erection of a large barn and granary was determined upon. Yet as the growing crops would all be required for seed for the following year, it was deemed, early in November, absolutely necessary to place the people again on short allowance. This was rendered the more imperative in consequence of the destruction occasioned by the numbers of rats with which the public store was over-run. The quantity of wheat produced at the Parramatta farm in the first crop was upwards of two hundred bushels; besides small portions of maize, barley, and oats.

Colonel Collins, speaking of the strictness of the regulations, and the consequent good order and regularity which prevailed at Sydney at the end of 1789—that is, somewhat less than two years from the formation of the settlement, says: "It might possibly have been asserted with truth, that many streets in London were not so well guarded and watched as the small but rising town of Sydney, in New South Wales."

In the month of December, this year (1789), an attempt was made to penetrate to the Blue Mountains, the tops of which were visible from the high grounds in and about Sydney. The party was under the command of Lieutenant Pawes, and returned, after an absence of nine days, without having accomplished its object. Great disappointment was felt at this result. The distant mountain chain, which bounded the view to the westward, and presented an apparently impassable barrier to those who wished to penetrate to the interior of the country, must have been regarded by these early settlers with a feeling akin to awe. That great blue curtain, hanging in heavy folds between them and the setting sun, seemed for a long period like the boundary of another world; for many years elapsed before any human being returned from beyond that dark range of mural

precipices and sombre overhanging woods, to reveal the secrets of the mysterious country which they guarded. Thus the Great South Land was still a terra incognita ; and the Australia of the imagination was still undiscovered, while that dark cloud continued to bound the western horizon and to intercept the view of the Canaan on the other side. Before those heights were scaled—before the blue pall which hid the western interior was lifted—what a field for wonder and for hope presented itself! Yet it is doubtful if the hopes of the most sanguine, or the imagination of the most credulous, pictured anything equal to what the reality has since disclosed. The golden treasures of the hills, and the fertility of the plains which lay behind those broken blue ramparts, have more than fulfilled the most extravagant anticipations. Gold in millions, and pastures the most fertile, have there rewarded the enterprise of the adventurous, and enriched the world. But to the colonists of 1790, and long after, the interior of the country, on whose fringe they had sought a home, was a sealed book. The Australia of the old navigators, the golden land of tradition, had yet to be discovered.

Towards the end of 1789 a remarkably singular physiological fact first attracted the attention of the settlers. It began to be noticed, with some degree of alarm, that the animals brought out for the purpose of breeding produced a much larger number of male than female progeny. As not only the prospects, but the very existence, of the colony depended on the multiplication of the live stock, the subject excited great attention, and for some time caused much uneasiness. Colonel Collins, in referring to the matter, says :—“As every circumstance became of importance that might in its tendency forward or retard the day whereon the colony was to be pronounced independent of the mother-country for provisions, it was soon observed with concern, that hitherto by far a greater proportion of males than females had been produced by the animals which had been taken out for the purpose of breeding. This in any other situation might not have been so particularly noticed ; but here, where a country was to be stocked, a litter of twelve pigs whereof three only were females became a subject for conversation and inquiry. Out of seven kids which had been produced in one month, only one was a female ; and many similar instances had before occurred ; but no particular notice was attracted until their frequency rendered them remarkable. This circumstance

excited an anxious care in every one for the preservation of the few females that were produced; and no person entertained an idea of slaughtering one of that sort; indeed, males were so abundant, that fortunately there was no occasion." This peculiarity in the breeding of newly imported animals, which created so much anxiety at first, became, after a few years, when the live stock of the colony had greatly increased in numbers, a most valuable quality. With sheep especially—and it was the same to some extent with horses and horned cattle—it was found that a deterioration took place without the frequent infusion of fresh blood; and when highly bred animals are procured from Europe, at great expense, it is obviously advantageous, as tending more completely and rapidly to fulfil the purpose for which they were imported, that their immediate progeny should be males. To whatever cause the remarkable fact in question is to be attributed, there seems no reason to doubt that the peculiarity is as strongly marked now as it was when the colony was founded. It is strange that such a singular natural problem—so remarkable a feature in animal physiology—has never been investigated.

The early part of 1790 was one of considerable anxiety. The stock of provisions was again becoming exhausted. The rations issued were so scanty that it is almost a wonder how health could be preserved. The weekly allowance for adults at this time was two pounds and a half of flour, two pounds of pork, a pint of peas, and a pound of rice. The Governor and the officers fared no better than others, so that the people should have no reason to grumble. What rendered the state of things at this time still more gloomy was, that the *Sirius* frigate, which had been sent to Norfolk Island, was wrecked there; and in addition to this disaster, although more than two years had now elapsed since the foundation of the settlement, no intelligence had been received from England, and the people were in a painful state of uncertainty as to whether any fresh supplies had been sent or when they might be expected. The most stringent regulations were again put in force to prevent waste, and constant endeavours were made to procure as much food as possible by fishing and shooting. The tender *Supply* was despatched to Batavia, under the command of Lieutenant Ball, who was directed to charter a vessel there and to load her as well as the *Supply* with full cargoes of provisions. He sailed on the 17th of April, Lieutenant King going with him on his way to

England as the bearer of despatches to the Home Government.

In May, 1790, the making of salt from sea water was commenced at what is now known as Dawes' Point, but which was then called Point Maskeleyne. Fishing lines were all made, in a way learned by some of the prisoners from the natives on the first arrival of the Europeans. It was fortunate that this art had been then acquired, for all attempts to regain the confidence of those people afterwards were useless. Several were captured, but although placed in fetters and guarded with great strictness, they soon succeeded in escaping.

On the 3rd of June, 1790, a sail was descried from the South Head. It was the first strange vessel which had been seen to approach Port Jackson since the foundation of the settlement; and when it was certain that the ship was making for the harbour, the joy of the people was almost unbounded. She proved to be the *Lady Juliana*, from London. She had sailed in July of the preceding year, and had consequently been eleven months on her passage. The ship *Guardian* had been despatched about the same time, with a large quantity of live stock and other supplies, but had struck on an iceberg and after having had most of her cargo thrown overboard succeeded in reaching the Cape of Good Hope, although in a sinking state. The *Lady Juliana*, a much smaller ship than the *Guardian*, had brought on part of the cargo and passengers of the latter vessel. The scale of rations was now slightly increased, as it was thought that the stock on hand would last until the return of the *Supply* from Batavia.

On the 20th of the same month an unexpected event occurred in the arrival from England of the store ship *Justinian*, after a passage of only five months. The shortness of the voyage renewed the hopes of those who longed to revisit their native land, and held out a prospect that the attainment of their wishes was not altogether impossible. A quantity of private property had come out in this ship, and as soon as her cargo was landed, the first shop ever opened in Sydney displayed its treasures before the admiring eyes of the people. The site selected for this forerunner of commercial enterprise was a place near the Cove which had been used by the crew of the tender *Supply* as a cook house. The venture was that of the Captain of the *Justinian*. The stock was miscellaneous, and formed perhaps one of the most absurd investments ever made. It mainly consisted of

linery, perfumery, and glassware. The prices at first were exorbitant, but as nobody bought anything, the porter was soon obliged to submit to what would now be deemed an alarming sacrifice.

The excitement occasioned by the arrival of the *Justinian* scarcely subsided when three other ships, the *Surprise*, the *Fortune*, and the *Scarborough*, transports, very unexpectedly made their appearance. They brought out, in addition to a large number of convicts, detachments of some companies which had been raised in England for the service of the colony, and called the New South Wales Corps. They were afterwards embodied as the 102nd Regiment. Several of the officers of this corps afterwards became very prominent and healthy colonists, the most remarkable case being that of Mr. John Macarthur, a man destined by his enterprise and foresight to exercise a most important influence on the progress and welfare of the colony. A very large number of the prisoners had died on the voyage, in consequence of the close and improper way in which they had been confined. These vessels were not regular transports, but private ships, whose owners had contracted to embark prisoners at £17 7s. 6d. a head, without any agreement for sufficient accommodation or proper control; nor were they even liable to any deduction for those who died on the voyage, so that the more deaths the more profit to the contractors. The passage, as might have been expected under such circumstances, was a most horrible one, and the wonder is not that nearly three hundred of these wretched criminals perished before the ships reached Port Jackson, but that any of them survived. In their desperation some of them made attempts to overpower the guards, and to get possession of the ships. In consequence of this they were afterwards all kept in irons; and the bodies of those who died in their fetters were permitted to remain and to fester and putrify for weeks. Some who survived until the ships anchored, died on the boats, as they were being landed, and the others exhibited such horrid spectacles as few had ever before seen. The number of those who expired after they were landed cannot be ascertained. Colonel Collins says: "All possible medical aid was used in getting the sick on shore, for even while they remained on board many died. The total number of sick on the last day of June was three hundred and twenty nine. The melancholy which closed the month of June appeared unchanged in the beginning of July. The morning

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generally opened with depositing in the burying ground miserable victims of the night."

In September, 1790, a circumstance occurred which tended at first to widen more than ever the breach between colonists and the natives. The Governor, in his endeavours to conciliate the aborigines, had about six months previously captured by stratagem two young men, intending to treat them kindly, and after a while to allow them to rejoin their friends, if they wished to do so, hoping their representations of the manner in which they had been treated would induce their companions to cultivate more friendly relations with the colonists. To keep these youths in captivity it was thought absolutely necessary to chain them, although in all respects they were shown the greatest indulgence and consideration; but, notwithstanding the means taken to prevent it, they managed to escape in a short time. Colonel Cook gives the following account of this circumstance:—

"The Governor, after the death of the native who was carried off by the small-pox, never had lost sight of a determination to procure another with the first favourable opportunity. A boat had several times gone down the harbour for that purpose; but without succeeding, until the 25th of the month, when the first lieutenant of the *Sirius*, accompanied by the master, fortunately secured two natives, both men and women, and took them up to the settlement. Being well known to the children, through their means every assurance was given them of their perfect safety. They were taken up to the Governor's, the place intended for their future residence, where such restraint was laid upon their persons as was judged requisite for their security.

"The assurances of safety which were given them, and the steps which were taken to keep them in a state of security, were not perfectly satisfactory to the elder of the two; he secretly determined to take the first opportunity offered of giving his attendants no farther trouble upon that account. The negligence of his keeper very soon gave him the opportunity that he desired; and he made his escape by taking with him into the woods the fetter which had been rivetted to his leg, and which every one who knew the circumstance imagined he would never be able to remove. His companion would have joined him in his flight, but he was detained a few minutes too late, and he was seized with tremblingly alive to the joyful prospect of escaping.

"The native who had been taken in November convinced his captors how far before every other consideration he deemed the possession of his liberty, by very artfully effecting his escape from the Governor's house, where he had been treated with every indulgence, and had enjoyed every comfort which it was in his Excellency's power to give him. He managed his escape so ingeniously, that it was not suspected until he had completed it, and all search was rendered fruitless. The boy and the girl appeared to remain perfectly contented among them, but declared that they knew their countryman would never return."

Governor Phillip, hearing some time afterwards that these young men were at Manly Beach, with a large number of other natives, proceeded there in hopes of inducing those he had treated so kindly to return with him. Several hundreds were congregated, and his Excellency went among them unarmed in order to gain their confidence. One of the youths, named Bennilong, promised to return in two days, and expressed a desire to introduce the Governor to his friends in the usual formal manner. His Excellency at this time was surrounded by twenty or thirty natives, and on Bennilong pointing out a man standing near, the Governor thinking he wished to be introduced, stepped towards him. The savage, not comprehending what was meant, and alarmed for his own safety, lifted a spear with his toes, and fixing his throwing stick, instantly darted it at the Governor, whom it struck with such force that the barbed point came through on the other side. Captain Hunter gives the following account of the affair:—"The spear entered the Governor's right shoulder, just above the collar bone, and came out about three inches lower down, behind the shoulder blade. Mr. Waterhouse, who was close by the Governor at the time, supposed that it must be mortal, for the spear appeared to him to be much lower down than it really was, and supposed from the number of armed men, that it would be impossible for any of the party to escape to the boat. He turned round immediately to return to the boat, as he perceived Captain Collins to go that way, calling to the boat's crew to bring up the muskets; the Governor also attempted to run towards the boat, holding up the spear with both hands to keep it off the ground; but, owing to its great length, the end frequently touched the ground and stopped him, (it was about twelve feet long). Governor Phillip, in this situation, desired Mr. Waterhouse to endeavour if possible to take the spear out, which he

immediately attempted, but observing it to be barbed, and barb quite through, he saw it would be impossible to draw out; he therefore endeavoured to break it, but could not while he was making this attempt, another spear was thrown out of the wood, and took off the skin between Mr. Warrhouse's fore-finger and thumb, which alarmed him a good deal. By this time the spears flew pretty thick, and while he was calling to the boat's crew, the Governor attempted to pull a pistol out of his pocket, but the spears flew so thick that it was unsafe to stop; however, he got it out, and fired it up, a supposition that their knowing he had some fire arms would deter them from any further hostility. The whole party got down to the boat without any further accident, and in two hours they arrived at the government house, when the surgeons were sent for. Mr. Balmain extracted the point of the spear and dressed the wound, and in six weeks the Governor was perfectly recovered."

This apparently untoward circumstance had an effect the very reverse of what was at first expected, for Bennilong, fearing the consequences to his unfortunate countrymen of the rash act committed in a moment of alarm by one of the number, with a degree of judgment and boldness which did him great credit, quickly sought an interview with the Governor, and did everything in his power to convince both him and the colonists that the affair was the result of a misunderstanding on the part of Willemering, the man who had thrown the spear. The explanations and the interchange of presents which followed soon brought about a feeling of greater confidence between the two races than had previously prevailed.

No rain fell in the settlement in this year (1790) from June to November, and the wheat harvest proved a partial failure. In October Lieutenant Ball returned from Batavia bringing a full cargo of provisions in the Supply, and reporting that he had chartered a Dutch ship, which was to follow him, also with a full cargo of provisions. Upon the receipt of this welcome news the whole settlement was put on full allowance. The conduct of the Governor and the officers, in sharing the reduced rations with the soldiers and prisoners, tended to prevent any expression of discontent during the long period in which they were obliged to live on the lowest quantity of food calculated to support life.

In January and February, 1791, the colonists experienced

several weeks of excessive heat, and the settlement was visited by myriads of flying foxes, which perished in such numbers, in and around the few places where fresh water was to be found, as to render it unfit for use. Hot winds also prevailed on several occasions about the beginning of the year, being the first visitation of the kind which the colony had experienced. Their effect was most distressing. Birds dropped dead from the trees, and almost every green thing was burnt up.

In March, 1791, a very gratifying indication of the result of successful industry, and the existence of a feeling of honourable independence on the part of one of the settlers, was afforded. James Ruse, the first man to whom land had been allotted, having been about fifteen months in occupation of his farm, intimated to the Governor that he now felt himself in a position to do without further assistance from the public store, and that in future he should depend upon the produce of his land. The Governor shortly afterwards, on being told that Ruse was starving, pressed him to accept assistance, but he positively declined, said he was determined to live on the produce of his own industry, and assured the Governor that he had sufficient maize and flour to last until more was grown.

Several daring and successful attempts having been made by convicts about this time to escape from the colony, by means of boats stolen from the settlers, an extraordinary order was issued limiting all boats to be built in future to so small a size as would deter the convicts from attempts to escape in them. What that size was is not recorded, but it must have been exceedingly restricted, seeing that some of the attempts to escape had been made in boats so miserably small and weak that they were swamped almost before they had cleared the Heads.

In August, 1791, the term for which many of the convicts had been sent out having expired, such of them as were well conducted and desired to remain in the colony were allowed to select allotments of land to clear and cultivate for their own use. The first party, twelve in number, were fixed at the foot of Prospect Hill, about four miles from Parramatta.

In November of this year the first of several absurd attempts to reach China overland was made by runaway convicts. They believed that somewhere, far to the north, New South Wales joined China, and the deluded people

hoped to be able to reach that country with the help of the small stock of provisions which had been served out for their usual weekly supply. Of twenty who made the first attempt seven perished miserably, and the remainder were brought back by persons who had been sent in pursuit. When discovered they were almost naked and dying of hunger. The fate of these people, however, did not deter others, for many similar attempts were made at various times, and of course with similar results. In January, 1792, it was found by the Commissary's report that, of the numbers who had left the settlement with the hope of being able to reach China, forty-four men and nine women were unaccounted for, and were believed to have perished, or to be still wandering in the woods subsisting on roots and berries.

The idea of the contiguity of China to Australia was possibly derived from an indistinct notion possessed by some of these ignorant people of the theory entertained by the old geographers that the Great South Land was connected with Asia. The illiterate classes of the last century, possessed, notwithstanding their want of book learning, a vast fund of tradition, in which fact and fiction were wonderfully intermingled. This kind of unwritten knowledge has now nearly died out in Great Britain, and is perhaps only to be found among some of the old folks of the remoter parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. It still exists, however, in all its strength in countries where book learning has not made much progress. In India and most eastern countries oral tradition continues to be the principal medium for the transmission of such knowledge as the natives possess. The notion about the junction of Australia with China, if derived from the source indicated, was, like the belief in the existence of the Great South Land and its golden treasures, an instance of traditional knowledge transmitted from times of very great antiquity, and was a part of that folk lore of which it is now, in most cases, difficult if not impossible to trace the origin. The Chinese, it should be remembered, had been accustomed to visit the northern coasts of Australia for ages, and they had numerous settlements in the Indian Archipelago in very remote times.

At the end of this year (1791), the land wholly or partially cleared and in cultivation at Sydney and Parramatta amounted to nearly a thousand acres. The live stock consisted of six horses, sixteen cows, fifty-seven sheep, and twenty-five pigs.

The number of prisoners who arrived in the colony this year was nearly two thousand. Of those who had left England more than two hundred had died on the passage. Of the number of free persons, military and civil, who arrived in the same period there is no record. Most of the marines who formed the first garrison had now left, and their places were filled by detachments of the corps raised expressly for service in the colony, and afterwards called the 102nd Regiment. So great was the horror which the name of Botany Bay inspired in England, at this time, that when its destination and purpose became known it was spoken of as "the condemned regiment," and this continued to be its common appellation for many years. Those of the marines, both officers and men, who had formed the first guard, if they wished to remain in the colony were allowed to do so, and had quantities of land assigned them in proportion to their rank. Major George Johnstone, and several others who availed themselves of this offer, became, in a few years, very wealthy colonists.

Instructions had been sent out from England with respect to the land to be granted to non-commissioned officers and soldiers on the expiry of their terms of service. These instructions did not embrace the cases of commissioned officers and free settlers, with whom special arrangements were made varying according to circumstances. The regulations for non-commissioned officers and privates were as follows:—"To every non-commissioned officer, an allotment of one hundred and thirty acres of land, if single; and one hundred and fifty, if married. To every private man, eighty acres of land, if single, one hundred, if married; and ten acres of land for each child at the time of granting the allotment; free of all taxes, quit-rents, and other acknowledgments, for the term of five years; at the expiration of which term to be liable to an annual quit-rent of one shilling for every fifty acres. As a further acknowledgment, a bounty was offered of three pounds per man to every non-commissioned officer and private man who would enlist in the new corps (to form a company to be officered from the marines); and an allotment of double the above proportion of land, if they behaved well for five years, to be granted them at the expiration of that time; the said allotments not to be subject to any tax for ten years. And at their discharge, at either of the above periods, they were to be supplied with clothing and one year's provisions, with seed-grain, tools, and implements of

agriculture. The service of a certain number of convicts was to be assigned to them for their labour when they could make it appear that they could feed and clothe them."

Notwithstanding the class of people who formed so large a portion of the population of the settlement, it is remarkable that up to this time hardly any serious crimes had been committed. It is true that several persons had been hanged for stealing food; but their offences were for the most part such as would be considered in the present day, or under other circumstances, of a very venial character, and when it is recollected that the whole settlement was frequently reduced to a state bordering on starvation, it is not surprising that persons accustomed to act from impulse, and without a consideration of consequences either to themselves or others, should have given way to temptation under such circumstances. During these periods of privation the number of deaths in proportion to the population was frightful. That this excessive mortality arose from an insufficiency of food there can be no doubt. Speaking of April and May, 1792, Colonel Collins says:—"The weakest of the convicts were excused from all kinds of labour; but it was not hard labour that destroyed them; it was an entire want of strength in the constitution, which nothing but proper nourishment could repair. This dreadful mortality was confined to this class of people; and the wretches who were detected were in general too weak to receive a punishment adequate to their crimes. Their universal plea was hunger; a plea which, though it could not be contradicted, imperious necessity deprived of its due weight, and frequently compelled punishment to be inflicted when pity was the prevailing sentiment."

In the month of July, 1792, the settlement was again placed upon full rations, consisting of four pounds of maize, three pounds of soujee, seven pounds of beef, three pints of peas, and half a pound of rice, weekly. Since the number of the natives had been so much thinned, either by disease or conflicts with the settlers, game had become more plentiful; and in some instances a sufficiency had been procured by those who were employed in shooting and fishing to provide the settlement with fresh provisions for several days at a time. Under a full ration, occasional supplies of fresh kangaroo or emu flesh, and a plentiful supply of vegetables, the health of the settlement rapidly improved. In the month of October it became evident that a very abundant harvest might be expected.

It was now apparent that most of the difficulties which met the settlers at first were in a fair way of being overcome; and with the prospect of leaving the colony under these favourable circumstances, Governor Phillip, whose health had suffered from privation, exposure, and anxiety, announced his intention of proceeding to England. He sailed on the 11th December, 1792, six years having elapsed since the date of his commission, and nearly five since his landing in the colony.

Arthur Phillip was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of his day, and was admirably adapted, both by nature and education, for the important duties with which he was intrusted. Kind and confiding, under ordinary circumstances, almost to a fault, where firmness and decision were required, where a warning was needed, where duty had been neglected, deceit practised, or the public interest jeopardised, he regarded leniency as a most culpable weakness. His punishments were not frequent, but prompt and terrible. With a man of less self-reliance, less decision of character, or less humanity, the shores of Sydney Cove would probably have witnessed, in the first year of the existence of the colony, more terrible scenes of vice and crime than any which history has recorded. Under his rule public order was never for a moment endangered; and, considering all the circumstances by which the people under his charge were surrounded, the offences committed were few and insignificant. He left the colony loaded with the blessings of those over whom he had ruled, and followed by earnest wishes for his safe return to England and speedy restoration to health. The first Australian governor in point of time, he must also be regarded as first in point of character and ability. The limited and remote sphere in which he exercised his talents, his death in a short time after his return to England, and the absorbing interest which attached at that period to the great events transpiring on the European continent, prevented that recognition of his services and that appreciation of his character which he certainly merited from the British Government and people, and which in more peaceable times and under other circumstances, he most assuredly would have received.

Governor Phillip, who had never relaxed in his efforts to benefit the aborigines, took with him to England two promising young men of that unfortunate race; one of them was Bennilong, who had become much attached to him; the other

was his companion, Yemmerawannie. They had acquired, from residing with the Governor, a knowledge of the usages of civilised life, and both were persons of more than ordinary sharpness and address. The latter died in England, but the former returned to the colony. He was, while in England, presented to George the Third, and introduced to most of the leading men of that day. He adopted the observances of society with remarkable readiness, and behaved on all occasions, while among strangers, with propriety and ease; yet soon after his return he threw off his fine clothes, and the restraints of civilised life, as alike inconvenient and distasteful, and, in spite of all persuasions to the contrary, reverted to his old habits and his old haunts.

The 1st of November, 1792, was remarkable as the date of the arrival of the first foreign trading vessel which ever entered Port Jackson. She was the Philadelphia, brigantine, from the United States. The Americans were then just beginning that career of enterprise which has since placed them in the position of one of the leading nations of the world. A captain Patrickson happened to be at the Cape of Good Hope when a ship bound for the new settlement of Sydney Cove touched there. The American skipper, thinking the new colony a likely place to afford a chance for doing a good stroke of trade, at once hastened home to Philadelphia, took on board a cargo which he thought suited to the market, and sailed for Sydney. When he arrived, the goods which formed his cargo were in great demand, and he soon disposed of the whole of them at a high profit.

One of the first warrants of emancipation ever issued in the colony was made out in this month (November, 1792), in favour of George Barrington, a person who had acquired great notoriety at home as a pick-pocket. He had gained admission, it is said, to the Vice-Regal circle in Dublin, and had mixed amongst wealthy people in London. At his trial he made a defence which rendered him famous. He was a man of fashionable exterior and most insinuating address, but not of much education. He has been made the hero of more than one work of fiction, and figures as a principal character in Lever's O'Donohue. Few men convicted of crime have ever succeeded in regaining the confidence of the world and the respect of society to such an extent as Barrington. His conduct, after he arrived in the colony, was most exemplary; and he endeavoured to atone, by his good example and the influence which his manners and attainments gave him with

his own class, for the errors of his past life. He lived for many years at Parramatta, where he is still remembered by some of the early residents as a very gentlemanly old man, scrupulously neat in dress, and courteous in deportment. Barrington was the author, or the reputed author, of the narrative of a voyage to New South Wales, and a history of the colony; but they are both very poor performances. As the supposed writer of an address delivered on the occasion of one of the first dramatic representations ever attempted in Sydney, he is generally thought to have been possessed of some literary ability. But no person who has read Barrington's history of the colony, and noticed its grammatical blunders, its absurd mistakes, and its slipshod English, could for a moment believe its author capable of writing the celebrated prologue referred to. It is due, however, to Barrington to say that he disclaimed the authorship of the history published in his name.

CHAPTER III.

FROM GOVERNOR PHILLIP'S DEPARTURE, IN DECEMBER, 1792, TO THE ARRIVAL OF HIS SUCCESSOR, CAPTAIN JOHN HUNTER, IN SEPTEMBER, 1795.

ON Captain Phillip's departure the Government devolved upon Major Francis Grose, the senior officer of the 102nd Regiment or New South Wales Corps. He was assisted by David Collins, Esq., Judge-Advocate, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, and two magistrates, Mr. Augustus Alt and Mr. Richard Atkins. Major Grose was, after a time, succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor by Captain Paterson, and during the principal part of the period of the rule of these two officers—nearly three years—the government of the settlement was practically a military despotism, of which the officers of the New South Wales Corps were the administrators. Major Grose's first "general order" was to the effect that all orders given by the captain in command respecting the convicts were to be obeyed, and that all complaints or reports that would be made to the Lieutenant-Governor, when present, were, in his absence, to be

communicated to any captain who might be on duty. It was also directed "That all inquiries by the civil magistrates were in future to be dispensed with, until the Lieutenant-Governor had given directions on the subject; and that convicts were not on any account to be punished, but by his particular orders." It is absolutely necessary, in order to understand the social, civil, and political condition of the colonists at this period, and for many years afterwards, to keep steadily in view this abolition of civil authority, and the substitution in its stead of what was at first virtually a military despotism, but which afterwards became a petty oligarchy. The officers of the New South Wales Corps held from this time forth the reins of power, and during the period that elapsed between Governor Phillip's departure in 1792, and the arrival of Captain Hunter as his successor in 1795, enjoyed such opportunities for aggrandisement, and fixed their influence so firmly on the infant colony, that they were long afterwards able to dictate their own terms, and to control, in the most absolute manner, the actions of successive governors for nearly twenty years. Governor Phillip had been very chary in alienating lands to private individuals; and the total quantity granted by him did not much exceed three thousand acres; but, on his departure, those who possessed the power at once commenced to divide the spoil, and in a short period had secured more than fifteen thousand acres for themselves and their immediate friends. This appropriation of the public lands, by a small but powerful class, went on for many years with a constantly increasing rapidity, and enabled those who took advantage of their position to become the founders of wealthy families; and—strange as it appears—to assume, even in the infancy of this then remote and insignificant dependency, the powers, privileges, and social and civil status of a landed aristocracy; an aristocracy—it seems absurd to say it of such people at such a time—impatient of the Vice-Regal power, and disdainful towards their less privileged fellow-colonists. It will be seen that this impatience of the Governor's power ultimately led them to open rebellion, and their contemptuous treatment of their fellow-colonists created a feeling of antagonism between classes which is hardly yet extinct. The leader of the class which assumed such privileges, and enjoyed such opportunities for aggrandisement, was Mr. John Macarthur. He arrived in the colony in 1789, as Captain and Paymaster of the New South Wales Corps, but quitted the service in a few years, and

became an extensive proprietor of land and stock, and largely engaged in mercantile pursuits. A knowledge of the position which the military and their immediate friends occupied from 1792 to 1810, affords a key to the whole history of the colony; and without this knowledge many important transactions, affecting the civil, social, and political interests of the community would appear almost incomprehensible.

In January, 1793, the fate of a party of convicts who had escaped about twelve months before was ascertained. The leader of the party was a man named Bryant, who, taking his wife and child, and a number of men whom he induced to join in the scheme, ran off with a fishing boat at night. It was supposed for a considerable time that the whole party had perished, but it appears that after almost incredible sufferings some of them had managed to reach Batavia, where Bryant and two of his companions died from the effects of the hardships they had undergone. His wife and child and four of the convicts were then taken on board an English ship, and the latter delivered up to the proper authorities. On their arrival in England, the story of their sufferings excited so much compassion, that on being brought up at the bar of the Old Bailey, they were merely ordered by the court to remain in Newgate until the period of their original sentences of transportation had expired.

On the 16th January, 1793, the ship *Bellona* arrived from England with a number of emigrant settlers. The conditions under which they came out were that they should be provided with a free passage, be furnished with agricultural tools and implements by the Government, have two years' provisions, and grants of land free of expense. They were likewise to have the labour of a certain number of prisoners, who were also to be provided with two years' rations and one year's clothing from the public stores. The situation of the land assigned to them by the Governor was eight or ten miles to the westward of Sydney, at a place before known as the Kangaroo Ground, but which the new settlers called Liberty Plains. Several of the military officers, and the clergyman, also selected grants of land there. Collins, in his *History*, says:—"They began their settlements in high spirits, and they were allowed each the use of ten convicts. From their exertions the Lieutenant-Governor was sanguine in being enabled to increase considerably the cultivation of the country. They got a great deal of work done by hiring gangs on those

days when the convicts on the public works did not work for the Government, the great labour of burning the timber after it had been cut down requiring some such extra aid." But notwithstanding these great advantages, and this very promising beginning, the Liberty Plains settlement did not prosper, owing principally to the inferior quality of the soil. As the country became opened up, it was seen that the alluvial lands at the Hawkesbury and other places offered much greater advantages than the land they had cleared, and Liberty Plains was, after a time, nearly abandoned.

In July of this year (1793,) the erection of the first place of worship ever built in the colony was commenced. The undertaking was carried out entirely by voluntary effort. The Rev. Mr. Johnson, the chaplain who had come out with the first fleet, had been zealous in his endeavours to induce the Government to build a church, but the urgent need for public stores and for dwelling places had prevented his request from being acceded to. Seeing no near prospect of the erection of a church by the Government, he at length resolved to make a commencement himself. The site selected was on the east side of the Cove; the design was cruciform, the dimensions of the central portion or nave were seventy-three feet by fifteen, with a transept of forty feet by fifteen. The materials used were posts, with wattles and plaster, the roof being of thatch. The cost of the building when completed was £40. Divine service was performed in it for the first time on Sunday, 25th August, 1793.

It was found on thrashing the wheat of last harvest that it produced, on an average, from seventeen to eighteen bushels an acre. The free settlers, after reserving a sufficiency for their own consumption and for seed, were able to supply the Government with twelve hundred bushels, for which they were paid at the rate of five shillings the bushel. This result of their operations was regarded as highly satisfactory; but a great drawback to their success still existed in the want of live stock. Every shipment of horned cattle for the first few years of the existence of the colony was unfortunate; many of them died on the voyage out, and many of those that were landed strayed and were lost. Sheep had not turned out much better. They had been placed in inclosures and so saved from loss by straying, but many had been killed by the natives or native dogs.

This and the two or three following years (1793-96) witnessed several well-organised, but unsuccessful, attempts



SCENERY OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS — VALLEY OF THE GROSE

from a sketch by Sir T. L. Mitchell

to cross the Blue Mountains. A recital here of these various attempts, although somewhat out of chronological order in respect to all but the first, will perhaps be most convenient, and will afford some idea of the importance with which the matter was regarded even by very early colonists, and show the great efforts they made to overcome the obstacle to the exploration of the country, which the barrier of the Blue Mountains presented. The most remarkable attempt in 1793 was made in August of that year by Captain Paterson, the well known African traveller. He, like many who had preceded him, endeavoured to reach the interior by means of the great natural valley or rather chasm which he named the Grose, and which runs westward from the valley of the Hawkesbury. His route was, however, so ill-chosen that he was obstructed by rapids and foiled by impassable precipices before he had gone a dozen miles from the junction of the Grose with the Hawkesbury. Similar unsuccessful attempts had previously been made by Lieutenant Dawes, Captain Tench, and others.

The great chasm of the Grose, as it ran at nearly right angles to the general trend of the mountain chain, appeared at first to offer remarkable facilities for penetrating through it. This appearance was, however, utterly deceptive. The deluded explorer, lured onwards by seeming openings through giant walls of rock, pushed forwards in the hope of quickly emerging from gullies almost dark from their very depth, to find himself, at each turn and as new vistas broke upon his view, as completely foiled as ever. It was the temptation offered by the flattering appearance of this singular chasm which led most of the early explorers astray, and diverted their attention from other more practicable, but, at first sight, less promising routes.

In the following year (1794) one Hacking, quarter-master of the *Sirius*, made a very bold and persevering attempt, but was driven back after having penetrated about thirty miles beyond the Hawkesbury River. In 1796, Mr. Bass, afterwards the discoverer of Bass's Straits, resolved to attempt to find a passage through these hitherto impenetrable barriers. He had constructed, previous to his departure, a number of iron hooks, with which to arm his feet and hands so as the better to climb precipices; he was also provided with ropes, ladders, cords, and every other appliance which the nature of the task he had undertaken could suggest. But all his efforts were fruitless. He and his companions, after fifteen days of

unparalleled fatigue and suffering from hunger and thirst, were obliged to relinquish the attempt and to pronounce its accomplishment impracticable. It was not until 1799 that the difficulty was overcome by a man named Wilson, a convict, but a man of some attainments, who had lived for several years with the blacks. He was accompanied by a free man, a servant to the Governor, and was allowed the assistance of four other convicts to carry provisions and otherwise to assist in the undertaking. The account Wilson gave to Governor Hunter, on his return, respecting the distance travelled, the nature of the country, and the general direction of the rivers he had crossed, although disbelieved then by all but the Governor himself, was afterwards found to be perfectly correct. That he penetrated so far as the Lachlan River hardly admits of doubt. He described the stream as almost as wide as the Hawkesbury in places, and sluggish, but running apparently from south-east to north-west. He estimated the most remote place which he reached as 130 miles south-west by west from Parramatta. At eighty miles south-west he found coal and limestone, and twenty miles beyond, to the north, an open and thinly wooded country. These particulars and others of a still more minute kind were verified many years afterwards, so that Wilson and his companions must be regarded as the first white men to cross, or at least to return with an intelligible story from beyond, the mountain chain which long after their time continued to be the western boundary of the settlement. It is to be regretted that no authentic narrative of the particulars of Wilson's exploration has been preserved, and that little or nothing, beyond the few facts above given, is now known of his successful attempt to achieve a task which many others with vastly greater appliances had failed in, and which continued to foil the most hardy and daring among the colonists for many years after his story was nearly forgotten. The very fact which caused that story to be discredited at the time—the direction in which he said he found a large river running—afterwards proved incontestably the truth of his statement, for the most ingenious deceiver would never have thought of inventing such an apparent absurdity as that he had discovered a large river running inland; and yet the fact was so. The truth was so strange that it was not credited.

It will be interesting to learn the opinions prevalent among the colonists respecting the Blue Mountains, and the mysterious country which was supposed to lie beyond them,

previous to the success of any attempt to reach it. The narrative of a French expedition for Southern discovery, hereafter more particularly referred to, shows what these opinions were. M. Peron, its author, who resided in Sydney for several months in 1802, while the ships were refitting, says:—

“In clear weather these mountains are readily distinguished from the upper part of Sydney Town, that is to say, the distance of fifty miles; they here present the appearance of a bluish curtain, raised but in a small degree above the horizon, and the uniformity of which scarcely admits suspicion of their consisting of different tiers. Seen from the heights of Castle Hill, that is to say, five-and-twenty miles away, their summits appear less regular: at intervals some bold peaks are perceived, and the different tiers appear like so many lines, rising in height as they advance deeper into the country, and the dull colour of which seems to indicate their being arid and bare.

“Viewed from the vicinage of the Hawkesbury, at the distance of but eight or ten miles, ‘they resemble,’ says Mr. Bailly, ‘a vast curtain, which limits the horizon on the north-west: no break, no peak, varies the outline: a horizontal line, above which is distinguished another regular tier of mountains of a browner shade, depicts the melancholy aspect of these mountains.’ On advancing to the foot of these same mountains, M. Bailly observed the same uniformity in their length, the same continuity in their summits; the only break they present, in fact, in this part, is that from which the river Grose precipitates; a river the source of which, as yet unknown, appears to be at distance in the interior of the mountains, and which, by its junction with the river Nepean, constitutes the famous Hawkesbury River, of which we shall have to say so much in the course of this history.

“Among the most interesting characters of this Austral colony must be placed Mr. Bass, surgeon to the *Reliance*, who, in a slight whale-boat dared to venture on an unknown sea, and discovered the famous strait to which his name was affixed by public gratitude. This extraordinary personage was also solicitous of attempting to pass the Blue Mountains; and in the year 1769 set off for that purpose, accompanied by a small number of men, on whose courage he could depend. Never in an attempt of this kind was such hardihood displayed. With his feet and hands armed with iron hooks, Mr. Bass several times climbed the most steep and horrible mountains. Repeatedly stopped by precipices, he caused himself to be

let down them with cords. Great as this zeal, it was of no consequence; and after fifteen days of fatigue, and unparalleled danger, Mr. Bass returned to Sydney, confirming further by his inefficiency the impracticability of penetrating beyond these singular mountains. From the summit of a very elevated peak, which he ascended, Mr. Bass discovered before him, at the distance of forty or fifty miles, another chain of mountains of a superior elevation to any of those he had hitherto passed, and the intermediate space presented obstacles and dangers equally great with those in his rear. In this perilous excursion the party suffered exceedingly from thirst, their provision of water being expended, and no means of recruiting it being found in these arid mountains. 'When,' said Mr. Bass to me, 'we by chance discovered any moist earth or mud in crevices of rocks, we applied our handkerchiefs to the crevice, and sucked as forcibly as possible, in order to imbibe the remaining moisture.'

"Such, to the period of our arrival at Port Jackson, had been the result of the different efforts to pass the Blue Mountains. Tired of the expense and fruitlessness of the enterprise, the English government for some years ceased to regard it as a matter of any consequence. My companions and myself, however, succeeded in persuading Governor King, towards the close of our stay, that is to say, in October, 1802, to issue orders for a renewal of the undertaking. The direction of the expedition was confided to M. Bareillier, a French emigrant, an engineer belonging to the colony, and aide-de-camp to the Governor. I was myself anxious to accompany this party, but Mr. King did not conceive himself justified in extending his complaisance so far as to grant me permission. To the different precautions used on anterior expeditions was super-added the ingenious plan of stationing small posts at various intervals, increasing in number in proportion to the advance into the interior of the mountains, and thus forming an active chain of communication between the advancing party and the nearest English establishment. The same fate which attended the others awaited the attempt of M. Bareillier; it does not even appear that he was able to penetrate so far as some of his predecessors. From this wearisome excursion he brought back only a small number of specimens of freestone, similar to that of the sea shore, and of the intervening space between it and the mountains.

"What is more singular in the history of these mountains, the natives of this country know as little of them as the

Europeans. All agree in the impossibility of clearing this western barrier; and what they relate of the country beyond proves it to be utterly unknown to them. There, say they, is an immense lake, on the banks of which are inhabitants fair as the English, drest like them, and like them building stone houses and large towns. We shall see in another part of this work that the existence of this large lake, this sort of Caspian Sea, is not less destitute of probability than the tale of the white inhabitants and their civilised condition; I shall merely remark, that it is very probable these ideas are of no older date than the settlement of the English colony, which appears to have inspired them.

“However, the savages on these shores have a sort of religious veneration for the Blue Mountains. Here, in their opinion, an evil spirit or malicious divinity resides, of which elsewhere we shall present several grotesque figures traced by the natives themselves. From the summit of these insurmountable rocks, this terrible god hurls his thunder, and sends forth the burning winds and floods which alternately lay waste the country. However ridiculous such belief, it yet has its origin in observations of the phenomena of nature; for, from the summit of these mountains it is that all the scourges noticed here descend. In this point of view, the majority of the religious opinions of different nations are equally worthy of the attention of the naturalist and the philosopher; in another place we shall produce additional interesting proofs of this useful truth.”

The English translator of the narrative of this French expedition, which was despatched by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1809, for the discovery of southern lands, gives, in a note to the eleventh volume of “Pinkerton’s Voyages and Travels,” the following statement respecting the crossing of the Blue Mountains by Wilson and his companions. As the work which contains this note was published long before the date of the successful expedition undertaken by Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxland, and others, who are generally regarded as the first explorers who succeeded in passing these great natural barriers, it affords a strong proof of the truth of Wilson’s story. The translator’s note in “Pinkerton’s Voyages and Travels” says:—

“Besides the different attempts noticed by M. Peron to pass the Blue Mountains, one was made in January and February, 1799, by a convict of the name of Wilson, a man accustomed to a savage life from having long resided with

and followed the manners of the natives ; he was attended by a freed man belonging to the Governor. Fifty miles south-west-half-south of Parramatta, Wilson discovered abundance of salt [? slate] ; at eighty miles south-west, saw a fine country and a mine of coal, with abundance of limestone ; when one hundred miles south-west quarter-west, the land was intersected by creeks, which appeared to receive rivers ; north of this last station the country was open and thinly wooded ; north-west it was mountainous, but with much good land ; at one hundred and thirty miles south-west-by-west of Parramatta he fell in with the head of a river nearly as large as the Hawkesbury, appearing to run from south-east to north-west. Now, should this river continue the course here described, and pass to the west of the mountains by some undiscovered fissure, it must either empty itself into a lake, or become absorbed. The truth of the remainder of Wilson's relation was not disputed by Governor Hunter, after having dispatched people to verify the existence of the salt described by him, who found it at the stated place."

The latter part of 1793 was another period of great privation. Some accounts say it was the worst time which the colonists ever endured : for although the crops of wheat and maize were tolerably good, there was not a pound of imported flour in the settlement, and the facilities for grinding were quite inadequate to supply the wants of the people. The weekly ration now consisted of nothing but the following cereals—three pounds of wheat, five pounds of maize, two pints of peas, and two of gram. Colonel Collins, speaking of the state of things at this period, says :—" This was universally felt as the worst ration which had ever been served from his Majesty's stores ; and by the labouring convict particularly so, as no article of grain was prepared for him so as to be immediately made use of. The quantity that was now to be ground, and the numbers who brought grain to the mill, kept it employed all the night as well as the day ; and as from the scarcity of mills, every man was compelled to wait for his turn, the day had broke and the drum beat for labour, before many who went into the mill-house at night had been able to get their corn ground." Privation, as usual, brought crime, and thefts of provisions again became frequent. On the departure of Governor Phillip, a similar notion became prevalent amongst the convicts, respecting the power of those who administered the government, as they had before enter-

tained about the Governor himself, viz., that they had not the legal power of inflicting the extreme penalty of the law. This delusion was most unfortunate, for nothing short of death could deter starving men from plunder; and it soon became absolutely necessary, if order was to be maintained, to convince them that they were mistaken. In compliance with this necessity, it was resolved in the beginning of December, that the next offender detected in stealing food should die. A few days afterwards a man was discovered, convicted, and promptly hanged. "The poor wretch," says Colonel Collins "cherished the idea to the last moment that he should not suffer; but to have pardoned him would only have tended to strengthen the supposition that the Lieutenant-Governor had not the power of life and death."

Up to this period it appears that no tame animal had been killed in the settlement for sale as food. The only fresh meat procurable was game, and this, from the number of persons constantly employed in shooting, or from some other cause, had again become very scarce. But at this time an event occurred which attracted much attention. This was no less an event than the killing of a sheep by a settler for sale to the public. The carcass was disposed of in small quantities, and realised about six pounds sterling. The price of live stock at this time was enormous. A cow, believed to be in calf, was sold for eighty pounds; and her calf, when it was born proving a male, was sold for fifteen pounds. "About the middle of the month," says Colonel Collins, (speaking of January, 1794,) "one small cow and a Bengal steer were killed; and this was the third time that fresh beef had been tasted by the colonists, once when the Lieutenant-Governor and the officers of the settlement were entertained by the captain of a Spanish ship which visited Port Jackson. At that time, however, had they not been informed that they were eating beef, they would never have discovered it by the flavour; and it certainly happened to more than one Englishman that day to eat his favourite viand without recognising the taste."

The harvest of 1793 was estimated to have yielded fourteen thousand bushels of wheat, about one half having been produced on the settlers' farms, and the remainder on the land cultivated by the prisoners for the government. This abundant return, and the high price paid by the government for the settlers' wheat and maize, induced a number of military officers and others to avail themselves of grants of land, which

had been liberally placed at their disposal by the Home authorities. No breadstuffs had been imported for nearly eighteen months, and the colony had now reached a condition, in the production of cereals, which, in the opinion of many, rendered it independent of foreign supplies. The great drawbacks to the prosperity of the settlers seemed still to be the difficulty experienced in introducing and preserving live stock. At the end of June, 1794, about six years and a half after the foundation of the colony, the horned cattle numbered only forty head; and the sheep but five hundred and sixteen. From that period, however, greater success appears to have attended the introduction of stock and the numbers rapidly increased.

In September, 1794, four gentlemen, generally known as the Scotch Martyrs, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, arrived in the colony as convicts; and a few months afterwards another, a Mr. Gerald, was sent to bear them company. The British Government had just before taken the alarm at the progress of what were thought revolutionary doctrines, and had put into operation laws which were a disgrace to any country. The gentlemen above named, persons of peaceable lives and most estimable characters, were among the earliest victims of the terror into which the English governing classes were thrown by the French revolution. The crime of which these prisoners had been convicted was sedition; and their so-called sedition was of such a character that it is difficult if not impossible in this day, and with the liberty which we now enjoy, to understand how it could be regarded as a crime calling for so heavy a punishment, or indeed for any punishment at all. The fate of four out of five of these Scotch Martyrs was very melancholy. Mr. Gerald, who was a man of refined manners and delicate susceptibility, died within about a year of his landing in the colony, having never recovered from the shock which his constitution had suffered when his sentence was pronounced. Three days after him Mr. Skirving also died, of a broken heart. Mr. Palmer, who had been a clergyman, lingered until the expiration of his sentence, but died on the homeward voyage. Mr. Muir, who had been an advocate at the Scotch bar, made his escape from the colony in an American vessel, called the *Otter*, which had been hired by some friends and admirers of his character for the express purpose of carrying him off. The *Otter* was wrecked on the west coast of America, and Mr. Muir suffered great hardships

and privations in endeavouring to reach Mexico, from which country he obtained a passage to Europe in a Spanish frigate. The frigate was, after a sharp conflict, captured by a British man-of-war. In the action Mr. Muir was desperately wounded in the head, and was lying apparently dead on deck when the frigate was boarded by the crew of the British vessel; he revived, however, after a short time, so far as to bear to be landed on the Spanish coast. After a time he partially recovered and succeeded in making his way to Paris, but gradually sank from the effects of his sufferings and his wounds, and died shortly afterwards. Mr. Margarot was the only one of the five who lived to return to his native country, which he did in 1813, after the expiration of his sentence. These gentlemen left behind them in the colony a most favourable impression of their characters and conduct, and were regarded by many of the colonists with the deepest sympathy.

In March, 1795, it was ascertained from descriptions given by the natives that large animals with horns existed somewhere in the interior. It was at once suspected, and with truth, that they were the offspring of the cattle which had disappeared so strangely soon after the settlement was formed. Efforts were soon made to discover their exact whereabouts, but for some time without success. About eight months afterwards, however, they were found at a place about fifty miles from Sydney, beyond the Nepean River, the number of the herd had increased to upwards of sixty. The place where they were discovered was named the Cowpastures and was the best grassed district which at that time had been discovered in the country. They were not interfered with, and consequently increased very rapidly, and formed the stock from which most of the wild cattle of the colony—now a nuisance—have sprung.

In August, 1795, a vessel which was driven by contrary winds to take shelter at Port Stephens found there four white men who were at first supposed to be shipwrecked seamen, but who turned out to be runaway convicts who had been missing for nearly five years, and were supposed to have perished. They were brought to Sydney, and gave a most favourable account of the treatment they had met with from the natives of that part of the coast. The blacks they said had given them food and shelter, and supported them for years with the most unvarying kindness, considering, as the convicts discovered when they had been there long enough to under-

stand the language, that they were unfortunate strangers thrown by misfortune upon their shores, and therefore entitled to assistance and protection. A contemporary account says :—"The ship *Providence*, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Broughton, from England, met with very bad weather on her passage from the Brazil coast, and was driven past the harbour of Port Jackson as far to the northward as Port Stephens, in which she anchored ; and where, to the great surprise of Captain Broughton, he found and received on board four white people, (if four miserable, naked, dirty, and smoke-dried men could be called white,) runaways from Parramatta in the month of September, 1790, by name John Tarwood, George Lee, George Connoway, and John Watson. Their fifth companion (Joseph Sutton) had died. They told a melancholy tale of their sufferings in the boat ; and for many days after their arrival they passed their time in detailing to the crowds, both of black and white people which attended, their adventures in Port Stephens, the first harbour that they made. Having lived like the savages among whom they dwelt, their change of food soon disagreed with them, and they were all taken ill, appearing to be principally affected with abdominal swellings. They spoke in high terms of the pacific disposition and gentle manners of the natives. Each of these had had a name given him, and given with several ceremonies. Wives also were allotted them, and one or two had children. They were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were in general supplied by the natives with fish or other food, being considered by them (for so their situation only could be construed) as unfortunate strangers thrown upon their shore from the mouth of the yawning deep, and therefore entitled to their protection. They told a ridiculous story, that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were undoubtedly the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again ; and one native appeared firmly to believe that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway, and took them to the spot where his body had been burnt. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated into other regions."

A few extracts from Collins will give an idea of the daily life of the colonists at this period:—"The permission given to officers to hold lands had operated powerfully in favour of the colony, which was, in the opinion of most people, now making rapid strides towards that independence so long, and hitherto so vainly, wished for. These gentlemen were liberal in their employment of people; and such had been their exertions, that it appeared by a survey taken in the last month, that nine hundred and eighty-two acres had been cleared by them since that permission had been received; and it further appeared, that there had been cleared since Governor Phillip's departure in December, 1792, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two acres. It must here be remembered, that the colony had been supplied with no other grain than that raised within itself from the 16th day of December, 1793.

"Some natives, who had observed the increasing number of the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and had learned that they were solicitous to discover other fresh-water rivers, for the purpose of forming settlements, assured them, that at no very great distance from Botany Bay, there was a river of fresh water which ran into the sea. As this was thought not to be improbable, two men of the military, who were deemed of sufficient judgment and discretion for the purpose, were sent out well armed and furnished with provisions for a week. They set off from the south shore, and were accompanied by a native, as a guide, who possessed a knowledge of the country, and named the place where the fresh water would be found to run. Great expectations were formed of this excursion, from the confidence with which the native repeatedly asserted the existence of a freshwater river. On the 20th, however, the party returned, with an account that the native had very soon walked beyond his own knowledge of the country, and trusted to them to bring him safe back; that having penetrated about twenty miles south of Botany Bay, they came to a large inlet of the sea, [Port Hackling] which formed a small harbour. The head of this they rounded, without discovering any river of fresh water near it. The country they described as high and rocky in the neighbourhood of the harbour, which, on afterwards looking into the chart, was supposed to be somewhere about Reed Point. The native returned with the soldiers, as cheerfully and as well pleased as if he had conducted them to the banks of the first river in the world.

"In addition to several most daring burglaries, a highway robbery had been committed in the course of the month. This was a species of depravity hitherto unknown in the country; and might, perhaps, be deemed one step toward refinement, as being at least a more manly mode of taking property, than that which the pilfering dark-loving knaves adopted. The present, like the meaner acts of villainy, had its source in the same vice, namely gaming, which was still pursued with the utmost avidity and the most dexterous management; insomuch that they almost constantly defeated the peace-officers.

"Some severe contests among the natives took place during the month of August (1794) in and about the town of Sydney. In fact, the inhabitants still knew very little of the manners and customs of these people, notwithstanding the advantage which they possessed in the constant residence of many of them, and the desire that they showed of cultivating their friendship. At the Hawkesbury they were not so friendly; a settler there and his servant were nearly murdered in their hut by some natives from the woods, who stole upon them with such secrecy as to wound and overpower them before they could procure assistance. A few days after this circumstance, a body of natives attacked the settlers, and carried off their clothes, provisions, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. The sufferers collected what arms they could, and, following them, seven or eight of the plunderers were killed upon the spot. This mode of treating them had become absolutely necessary, from the frequency and evil effects of their visits; but whatever the settlers at the river suffered was entirely brought on them by their own misconduct; there was not a doubt but that many natives had been wantonly fired upon; and when their children, after the flight of the parents, have fallen into the settlers' hands, they have been detained at their huts, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of their parents to have them restored.

"On the 26th, the *Dædalus* sailing with stores and provisions for Norfolk Island, two female natives, wishing to withdraw from the cruelty which they, with others of their sex, experienced from their countrymen, were allowed to embark in her, and were consigned to the care of the Lieutenant-Governor. One of them was sister to Bennillong; the other was connected with the young man his companion. Perhaps they wished to wait in peace and retirement the arrival of those who were bound to protect them.

"Some accounts were received from the Hawkesbury, which corroborated the opinion that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives; it being now said, that some of them had seized a native boy, and, after tying him hand and foot, had dragged him several times through a fire, until his back was dreadfully burnt, and in that state had thrown him into the river, where they shot at and killed him. Such a report could not be heard without being followed by the closest examination; when it appeared, that a boy had actually been shot when in the water, from a conviction, as they said, of his having been detached as a spy upon them from a large body of natives; and that he was returning to them with an account of their weakness; there being only one musket to be found among several farms. No person appearing to contradict this account, it was admitted as a truth; though many still considered it as a tale invented to cover the true circumstance, that a boy had been cruelly and wantonly murdered by them.

"The presence of some person with authority was become absolutely necessary among those settlers, who, finding themselves freed from bondage, instantly conceived that they were above all restrictions.

"At the commencement of January, 1795, from the great numbers of labouring convicts who were employed in sundry works in the town of Sydney, and at the grounds about Petersham; of others employed with officers and settlers; of those who, their terms of transportation being expired, were allowed to provide for themselves; and of others who had been permitted to leave the colony;—public field-labour was entirely at a stand. The present commanding officer, wishing to cultivate the ground belonging to Government, collected as many labourers as could be got together, and sent a gang, formed of bricklayers, brickmakers, timber-carriage men, &c., to Parramatta and Toongabbe, there to prepare the ground for wheat for the ensuing season. At the muster which had been lately taken, fifty people were found without any employment, whose services still belonged to the public; most of these were laid hold of, and sent to hard labour; and it appeared at the same time that some were at large in the woods, run-aways and vagabonds.

"On the day following, the colonial schooner sailed for the river, [the Hawkesbury,] having on board a mill, provisions, &c., for the settlers there. A military guard was also ordered,

the commanding officer of which was to introduce some regulations among the settlers, and to prevent, by the effect of his presence and authority, the commission of those enormities which disgraced that settlement.

"Some officers who had made an excursion to the Hawkesbury early in February, with a view of selecting eligible spots for farms, on their return spoke highly of the corn which they saw growing there, and of the picturesque appearance of many of the settlers' farms. Those people told them, that in general their grounds which had been in wheat had produced from thirty to thirty-six bushels an acre; that they found one bushel (or on some spots five pecks) of seed sufficient to sow an acre; and that, if sown as early as the month of April or May, they imagined the ground would produce a second crop, and the season be not too far advanced to ripen it. Their kitchen gardens were plentifully stocked with vegetables.

"No doubt remained of the ill and impolitic conduct of some of the settlers towards the natives; as, in revenge for some cruelties which the savages had experienced, they threatened to put to death three of them by name, and had, through mistake, actually attacked and badly wounded others. These particulars were obtained through the means one of Wilson,* a wild idle young man, who, his term of transportation being expired, preferred living among the natives in the vicinity of the river, to earning the wages of honest industry by working for settlers. He had formed something of an intermediate language between his own and theirs, with which he made a shift to comprehend most of what they wished to communicate; for they did not conceal the sense they entertained of the injuries which had been done them. As the gratifying of an idle wandering disposition was the sole object with Wilson in herding with these people, no good consequence was likely to ensue from it; and it was by no means improbable, that at some future time, if disgusted with the white people, he might join the blacks, and assist them in committing depredations, or make use of their assistance to punish or revenge his own injuries. Mr. Grimes, therefore, proposed taking him with him in the schooner to Port Stephens.

"There were at this time several convicts in the woods subsisting by theft; and it having been reported, that three

* This man, James Wilson, is the person mentioned in a preceding page as the first who succeeded in crossing the Blue Mountains.

of them had been met armed, it became necessary to secure them as soon as possible. People were sent out immediately; and one of the wretched runaways was soon met with in the act of robbing a garden, and, refusing to surrender, was shot. The knowledge of his fate drove the others to a greater distance from the settlement.

"About the latter end of the month the natives adjusted some affairs of honour in a convenient spot near the brick-fields. Those who lived about the south shore of Botany Bay brought with them a stranger of an extraordinary appearance and character, even his name had something uncommon in the sound, Gome-boak. He had been several days on his journey from the place where he lived, which was far southward. In height he was not more than five feet two or three inches; but by far the most muscular, square, and well-formed native that had been seen in the country. He fought well; his spears were remarkably long, and he defended himself with a shield that covered his whole body. The inhabitants of Sydney had the satisfaction of seeing him engage with some of their friends, and of observing that neither their persons nor reputations suffered anything in the contest. When the fight was over, on some of the gentlemen praising to them the martial talents of this stranger, the strength and muscle of his arm, and the excellence of his sight, they admitted the praise to be just; but hinted, that, with all these excellencies, when opposed to them, he had not gained the slightest advantage; and unwilling to have him too highly thought of, they with horror in their countenances, assured those with whom they talked, that Gome-boak was a cannibal.

"On the 21st of April the colonial schooner returned from the Hawkesbury, bringing upwards of eleven hundred bushels of remarkably fine Indian corn from the store there. The master again reported his apprehensions that the navigation of the river would be obstructed by the settlers, who continued the practice of falling the trees and rolling them into the stream. He found five feet less water at the store-wharf than when he had been there in February, owing to the dry weather which for some time past had prevailed.

"At that settlement an open war seemed about that time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers; and word was received over-land, that two of the latter had been killed by a party of the former. The natives appeared in large bodies, men, women, and children, provided with

blankets and nets to carry off the corn, (of which they appeared as fond as those natives who lived at Sydney,) and seemed determined to take it whenever and wherever they could meet with opportunities. In their attacks they conducted themselves with much art; but where that failed, they had recourse to violence; and on the least appearance of resistance made use of their spears or clubs. To check at once, if possible, these dangerous depredators, Captain Paterson directed a party of the corps to be sent from Parramatta, with instructions to destroy as many as they could meet with of the wood tribe (Be-dia-gal); and in the hope of striking terror, to erect gibbets in different places, whereon the bodies of all they might kill were to be hung. It was reported that several of these people were killed in consequence of this order; but none of their bodies were found (perhaps if any were killed they were carried off by their companions): some prisoners, however, were taken and sent to Sydney; one man (apparently a cripple), five women, and some children. One of the women, with a child at her breast, had been shot through the shoulder, and the same shot had wounded the babe: every care was taken of them that humanity suggested. The cripple in a short time found means to escape, and by swimming reached the North Shore in safety, whence no doubt he got back to his friends. Captain Paterson hoped that by detaining the prisoners, and treating them well, some good effect might result; but finding, after some time, that coercion, not attention, was more likely to answer his ends, he sent the women back. While she had been at the settlement the wounded child died; and one of the women was delivered of a boy, which died immediately. On the soldiers withdrawing, the natives attacked a farm nearly opposite Richmond Hill, and put a settler and his son to death; the wife, after receiving several wounds, crawled down the bank, and concealed herself among some reeds half immersed in the river, where she remained a considerable time without assistance: being at length found, this poor creature, after having seen her husband and her child slaughtered before her eyes, was taken into the hospital at Parramatta, where she recovered, though slowly, of her wounds. In consequence of this horrid circumstance, another party of the corps was sent out; and while they were there the natives kept at a distance. This duty now became permanent; and the soldiers were distributed among the settlers for their protection: a protection, however, that many of them did not merit."

Such privations and sufferings as were endured by the settlers on several occasions during Governor Phillip's period of rule, as well as after he had left the colony, have seldom been exceeded, and certainly never surpassed, in the experience of British colonists. Dr. Lang, in his Historical and Statistical Account, says that a wealthy and respectable inhabitant of Sydney, a free settler, who arrived during Governor Phillip's time, told him that his ration for a long period was but a single cob of corn a day, and that for three years he lived in the constant fear that he should one day perish of hunger. Many of the animals, which had been imported at great trouble and expense, principally from the Cape of Good Hope, were killed for subsistence in periods of scarcity, so that when Governor Phillip left in 1792 there were but 23 head of horned cattle in the settlement; of sheep there were at that time 105, pigs 43, and 11 horses. The land in cultivation was 1703 acres; and the population, exclusive of Norfolk Island, about 3500. The three years which elapsed, however, between that time and the arrival of his successor witnessed a more encouraging degree of progress. During that period the horses increased to 57, the horned cattle to 229, the sheep to 1553, the pigs to 1869, and there were 1427 goats. The addition to the land in cultivation was proportionally great. At the end of 1795 it amounted to upwards of five thousand acres. Much of this progress was undoubtedly due to the position in which circumstances had placed the officers of the New South Wales Corps. It is highly creditable to the sagacity and energy of Captain John Macarthur and others that even at that early period—marked as it was by depression and privation—they were able to see the magnificent capabilities of the country, and to seize, when circumstances left them in command of the settlement, the splendid opportunity which presented itself for pushing their fortunes by developing its latent but great resources. And if, in grasping at the advantages thus placed within their reach, they acted with much selfishness, it was, on the whole, a selfishness of an enlightened character. However much they may be censured for overlooking, in some of their acts, as hereafter more fully related, those maxims of fairness and justice which it is desirable all men should practice, it is impossible not to recognise the great ability, energy, and enterprise which they manifested on many occasions, and which ultimately not only led them on to wealth but ensured the prosperity of their fellow-colonists.

The condition of the settlement when the officers of the New South Wales Corps first found themselves in control of its affairs, although there existed no immediate prospect of absolute want, was deplorable enough. Nearly every man, woman, and child was victualled from the public stores; and although almost all the prisoners, who then formed probably three-fourths of the population, were ostensibly engaged on public works or in clearing or cultivating the land, the daily labour expected from each individual was absurdly small and insignificant; and paltry as it was in amount, it was seldom fully performed, or, if performed nominally, was executed in such a careless and improper way as to be almost useless. The labour was present, and the land on which to employ it profitably was not wanting, but there was no machinery to control and enforce the one, and in its absence no sufficient motive on the part of the convicts to take advantage of the fertility of the other. The abundance of land at the disposal of the soldier settlers was accompanied by an equally ready command of labour. Before they seized the opportunity of turning both to profit, the land was useless and the labour idle. Suddenly finding themselves in command of both, they promptly took advantage of the circumstance to benefit themselves; and as in benefiting themselves they advanced the interests of the whole community, few will, in the present day, be inclined to look very closely into their motives. If they helped each other to grants of land and assigned to each other gangs of men to cultivate it, they acted selfishly, no doubt, but still not illegally. There was at once, when they found themselves in the position of rulers, a motive brought into play which did not before exist—the motive of private emolument—for compelling the prisoners to work and to learn habits of thrift and industry. They were taught to work in a rude way, it is true—under fear of the lash generally—but anything was better than the lazy, aimless, vicious existence which most of the convicts would otherwise have dragged out. Those who work hard, whether from choice or compulsion, cannot be very bad men. That idleness is the parent of vice is a maxim as true as it is old, and particularly true with regard to the criminal class. And labour, even if enforced, has its benefits, under such circumstances, apart altogether from the wealth it produces. Habits of regularity, patient endurance, and order, are induced; evil practices checked, skill acquired, experience gained, and vicious thoughts curbed or eradicated. Land and labour were both unproductive while they remained the property of the State,

but, directly they came under the control of individuals, the stimulus of private gain caused them to produce fruit.

If the officers of the New South Wales Corps and their friends had confined themselves to grasping at as much land as they could possibly cultivate, and compelling their convict servants to cultivate all they could procure, they would not deserve half the hard things which have been said and written of them. But, unfortunately, human cupidity is almost insatiable, and the conduct of the gentlemen in question did not prove an exception to the general rule. In addition to monopolising most of the available land and labour, they took advantage of their position to control for their own benefit the rising commerce of the settlement; they became dealers and hucksters—it would be absurd to call them merchants under such a state of things as then existed. They monopolised almost every species of traffic. The non-commissioned officers of the corps were licensed to retail the spirits which their superiors purchased or distilled, and every petty dealer was obliged to buy his goods of them or through them at their own prices. This state of things commenced in the period now referred to—1792-95—but it did not end then. On the contrary, it endured for nearly twenty years, and its effects were visible for a much longer period. What those effects were, and what were the particular forms of monopoly and the practices resorted to, will be shown in succeeding chapters.

The writer has thought it necessary to enter at this length into an explanation of the position in which the officers of the New South Wales Corps and their immediate friends and connexions were placed, because the steps they then took and the privileges they secured for their order exercised a very great influence on the after progress of the colony and the character of its people and institutions.

For a period of two years—viz., from the departure of Governor Phillip, in December, 1792, to December, 1794, the office of Lieutenant-Governor was filled by Major Grose, who then left for England, and Captain Paterson succeeded him. The latter gentleman was Lieutenant-Governor for about nine months—viz., from Major Grose's departure to the arrival of Governor Hunter in September, 1795.

Some small progress had been made in Australian discovery since the period when the colony was founded. Captain Vancouver, of the British Navy, had discovered the splendid harbour of King George's Sound near the south-

western extremity of the continent, in 1791; and in the following year the French Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, who had been sent out in search of the unfortunate De la Peyrouse and his companions, made some not very important discoveries on the same part of the coast, and also on the coast of Van Diemen's Land. He gave his name to the channel which he found between Bruné Island and the mainland of Tasmania. Both Vancouver and D'Entrecasteaux confirmed the general accuracy of the statements respecting the southern coast, which had been published so early as 1627, on the authority of Pieter Nuyts, or whoever was the writer of the account of the voyage of the Dutch ship *Gulde Zeepard*, in that year.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR HUNTER, IN SEPTEMBER, 1725, TO HIS DEPARTURE IN SEPTEMBER, 1800.

On the 7th September, 1795, the new Governor-in-Chief, Captain John Hunter, arrived, and a few days afterwards entered upon his duties. He had originally come out with Governor Phillip, as captain of the *Sirius* frigate, and had gone to England, in 1791, with despatches to the Home Government. On Governor Phillip's relinquishing the charge of the settlement, Captain Hunter had been chosen to succeed him, and probably no better choice could have been made than that of a man who had taken a prominent part in founding the colony, and who felt a personal interest in its success. On his return to Sydney he found that although considerable progress in material advancement had been made during his absence, and that many of the difficulties which at first beset the infant settlement had disappeared, others of almost as formidable a character had arisen in their place. The military and their immediate friends and connexions had become a dominant class; they had been entrusted with the control of the government for three years, and during that period, they had usurped not only the functions properly belonging to civil

authority, but had secured for themselves a monopoly of land, labour, and traffic. Worse than this, many of them had taken advantage of their power and position to set almost all the rules of decorum and morality at defiance by forming illicit connexions with female convicts. There was no public opinion to control them, and vice of the most open and unblushing kind was practised by those whose duty it was to have set the highest example to the ignorant and fallen class which formed so large a proportion of the population. If the foundation of the fortunes of a few families was laid during this period of military rule, the seeds of vice were undoubtedly sown to a wide extent at the same time. The persons who suffered most during the existence of the military despotism were the class of small settlers. They were few in number, quite unable to make their power felt, and were therefore made the victims of great exactions—of such enormous charges for everything they required to purchase, that they were almost reduced to starvation and despair. Nothing was allowed to be bought, either from the public store or from the private ships which visited the port, without passing through the hands of a set of greedy and grasping officials.

The arrival of Governor Hunter was hailed with joy by all the inhabitants of the settlement, except the military officers and their friends, whose iron rule and crushing monopoly had made them exceedingly unpopular with the rest of the community. In a letter dated Sydney, September 15, 1795, written by the Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer, one of the so-called Scotch Martyrs whose severe sentence and melancholy fate are recorded in the previous chapter, the conduct of the men who had ruled the colony for nearly three years is spoken of as grasping and tyrannical in the extreme. Mr. Palmer's letter was addressed to another clergyman, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, M.A., the celebrated minister of Essex-street Chapel, London, and refers to the faithful conduct of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the colonial chaplain, in reproving in the most fearless manner the tyranny of the military and the gross immorality of which they had been guilty. "On the first Sunday after Governor Hunter's arrival," says Mr. Palmer, "the Rev. Mr. Johnson, in his sermon, exposed the last government, their extortion, their despotism, their debauchery, and ruin of the colony, driving it almost to famine by the sale of goods at 1200 per cent. profit. He congratulated the colony at the abolition of the military government and the restoration of a civil one, and of the laws; and orders are this

day given out that no officer shall sell any more liquor." Mr. Palmer had been accompanied in his banishment by two devoted, although humble, friends, named Ellis and Boston, who, out of affection and sympathy, resolved to follow him to the antipodes, and to take up their abode in the colony as free settlers. Their connexion, however, with a man transported for the crime of sedition, brought the displeasure of the little military despots upon their heads, and when they landed in Sydney they were interdicted from following any calling by which they could support themselves. In this position, being without means, they were reduced to great straits. "After such kindness as theirs," said Mr. Palmer in the letter before quoted, "it followed of course that we lived together, and that they shared what I had. It was fortunate for them that I had something left from the plunder of C. and his crew. The destructive and oppressive monopoly of the military officers forbade every one to purchase of the ships that came to this harbour. The military officers alone bought and resold to all the colony at 1000 per cent. profit, and often more. Messrs. Ellis and Boston, however, firmly, but in guarded language, insisted on the rights of British subjects to carry on any trade not prohibited in one of his Majesty's harbours. This irritated the whole governing despotic power of the settlement against them. They were refused a grant of land and servants, and never employed, though by making salt and curing fish they could have saved the colony from a famine. Where everything is so immensely clear, you may guess that it was laid heavy on me; but my money could not have been so well employed, and the worst is now over. Governor Hunter, who is, I hear from all hands, a good man, and their friend, is arrived, and the despotism and infamous monopolies of the last government are no more."

The conduct of the two young men in question towards Mr. Palmer affords one of the most remarkable instances of affectionate devotion and self-sacrificing sympathy ever recorded. The ship *Surprise*, the vessel in which they accompanied their friend to the colony, was commanded by a man of the most infamous character, who, knowing that Mr. Palmer was possessed of money and in weak health, used every means in his power to bring about his death; in which event that gentleman's effects would fall into his possession. The *Surprise* touched at Rio Janeiro, and remained there for a considerable time, during which period the captain made

repeated attempts to get rid of Mr. Palmer's faithful friends and guardians. He tried to prevail upon them to stop at Rio, and introduced them to the Viceroy as persons of great mechanical ability who could be of use in instructing others. "The Viceroy," says Mr. Palmer, in the letter to the Rev. T. Lindsey, before referred to, "paid them every attention, kept a splendid table for them, had men of rank to attend them, set them to work, and when convinced of their ability, offered them any sum to set up in business and £300 per annum to settle in Rio. They here gave another proof of their friendship for me. Though both were without a shilling, they firmly rejected the offer, and every solicitation made use of for their compliance, as it was their firm belief that C. would have murdered me in their absence."

After the arrival of Governor Hunter in the colony, Messrs. Ellis and Boston established themselves in business in Sydney as brewers and manufacturers of vinegar, salt, soap, &c. When the term of Mr. Palmer's sentence had expired, Mr. Ellis, still as devoted as ever, fitted out a small vessel to convey himself and his beloved friend and pastor to England. Their little craft was neither large enough nor strong enough to attempt the passage round Cape Horn, and the funds at their disposal were scarcely equal to providing for the long voyage by the route of the Indian Archipelago, without the assistance of traffic by the way. In carrying out their plans they touched at some of the islands of the South Seas, and their little craft, after some narrow escapes, was ultimately wrecked on one of the Ladrone islands, where they were taken prisoners by the Spaniards, and Mr. Palmer, debilitated by hardship and suffering, caught a fever and died. This unfortunate victim to advanced political opinions, although one of the so-called "Scotch Martyrs," from having been tried and convicted in Scotland, was not a Scotchman by birth. He was a native of Bedfordshire, and descended from an opulent family long settled in that county. He was educated at the University of Cambridge, and was a fellow of Queen's College, but, in consequence of perusing the writings of Dr. Priestley, had embraced Unitarian opinions, and in 1792 became the minister of a church of that denomination at Dundee. He was a man of excellent understanding, unimpeachable morals, and great simplicity of character; and being an ardent friend to liberty, he, perhaps somewhat incautiously considering the circumstances of the times, took some part in republishing an old

"Address to the People of Scotland concerning the Reform of Parliament." For his connexion with this matter he was tried by the Circuit Court of Justiciary; and, being convicted, a sentence was passed upon him of seven years "banishment." This the Government interpreted to mean transportation to Botany Bay. He was treated with the greatest barbarity both while in gaol and on the voyage; the conduct of those in power towards him having probably been exasperated by the great excitement which his case created and the efforts made by the reform party in his favour. A public subscription, amounting to several hundred pounds, was raised for him and his fellow-reformers when they were transported; and it is due to Governor Hunter to state, that on his arrival he took means to ameliorate their condition, and to render their exile as little painful as possible.

In this age and country it is, happily, extremely difficult to comprehend the reasons which prompted such treatment as Mr. Palmer and his political associates experienced at the hands of the authorities, both in England and during the first part of their residence in the colony. The crime for which they were tried and transported was merely an attempt to bring about a reform in Parliament; and the next generation effected all they had ever contended for: but at the end of the last century the recent and terrible events of the French Revolution had impressed on the English ruling classes an absolute horror of change—a perfect dread of novelty, whether in religion or politics; and it is possible that Mr. Palmer and his fellow-exiles were punished as much for their want of orthodoxy in faith, as for their advocacy of parliamentary reform. Church and State was the watchword of the day. To touch either was like touching the Ark of the Covenant. The wealthy classes had as great a horror of catching revolution as their ancestors of the previous century had of catching the plague. They looked upon all innovation as revolution, and once changes commenced there was no telling where they would end. In their opinion, there was but one way to escape from danger. "Semper eadem" was their maxim; or, as a late writer has happily expressed it, with as much truth as sarcasm, "Stay still, don't move; do what you have been accustomed to do, and consult your grandmother on everything." In 1794 every man of wealth in England was a firm believer in this principle. "If," said they, "we do not resist the spirit of innovation in the first attempt, if we admit the smallest change in our parlia-

mentary system, we are lost. If the institutions of the country are tampered with on the pretence of admitting the truth of principles just in theory, we shall soon witness consequences most pernicious in practice. If we permit the smallest encroachment on the time-honoured observances of our forefathers, we shall be answerable to our country and to posterity. We remember the proud fabric of the French monarchy. A few years ago it stood, as it seemed, on the rock of time, force, and opinion, supported by the Church, the Nobility and the Parliament. Now it has crumbled into dust: vanished from the earth. If such a warning has no effect on men of property and position, if it does not open their eyes, they will deserve their fate if they submit to the slightest change in their laws, or in their form of government." This was the style of reasoning, and these were the sentiments of the English ruling classes in 1794. Mr. Palmer had shocked the prejudices of his class, had scandalised his clerical brethren by leaving the Established Church and becoming the pastor of a Unitarian congregation. This mere change of opinion in religious matters involved nothing penal, it is true; but it made him a marked man; and when, two years after, it was discovered that he had taken some part in the republication of a paper advocating Parliamentary Reform—his fate was sealed. The crime of which he was convicted was what is in Scotch law technically called, "leasing-making"—that is libelling, or speaking ill of the government. He appears to have had no other object in view than a reform, by proper and constitutional means, of the glaring abuses connected with the British representative system. Messrs. Muir, Gerald, and Skirving, were men of a very similar stamp to Mr. Palmer; but old Mr. Margarot was altogether a different person. He was a man of ultra opinions, a violent republican, and lost no opportunity of advocating the most extreme principles. There was no sympathy whatever between his fellow-exiles and himself, and his behaviour towards them was not such as to make them desirous of his company. He was a rough physical force man, an admirer of the French revolutionists, while they were gentlemen of education and refined manners, who desired the enfranchisement of the great mass of their countrymen, but loathed violence and bloodshed, and would have shrunk from advocating revolutionary doctrines.

It is quite impossible to suppose that several gentlemen of such character and attainments as Messrs. Muir, Palmer,

Skirving, and Gerald, could have lived for many years in a small community, like that of Sydney at this period, without effecting by the influence of their example and the high tone of their moral character a considerable amount of good. But their position, so far as they themselves were concerned, was a very painful one. Cut off by education, habit, and feeling, from the general mass of the community into which they were thrown, and separated by the very fact of being convicts, from the society of the few men of education and character in the settlement, they found themselves at first, not only surrounded by hardships and sufferings, but objects of the most unfounded suspicion, and almost without the sympathy of a single friend. The news of the French Revolution had reached the remote shores of Port Jackson with all its horrors magnified, if that were possible; and these unfortunate victims of unfounded political fears were at first looked upon almost as if they had been participators in the worst atrocities of that bloody time. At such a distance from England, even the best informed person in the settlement probably knew little as to the real circumstances of the offence for which these gentlemen had been transported, and therefore very naturally concluded that a crime punished with such severity must have been of a very dreadful kind. Hence the strong feeling against them, manifested by the military officers who then ruled the settlement. They, no doubt, looked upon these harmless, inoffensive men as traitors of the blackest stamp, as conspirators against their king and country—renegades almost unfit to live. It was a natural feeling in men of military habits occupying their position. The conduct of these unfortunate political exiles, however, was such as in a short time to gain them the respect and sympathy of all who had an opportunity of knowing them, and their memory was regarded by many with affection long after the grave had closed over them.

What, after Mr. Palmer's death, became of Mr. Ellis, his devoted friend and disciple, the writer has been unable to ascertain. His other self-sacrificing follower, Mr. Boston, who was a married man, did not, it is probable, accompany Messrs. Palmer and Ellis in their somewhat rash attempt to return to England. The conduct of these devoted men affords a remarkable contrast to the cruelty, grasping selfishness, and money-making avidity which characterised many colonists of that period; and almost redeems from shame one of the darkest periods of Australian history.

Concerning Mr. Muir, the most remarkable and talented of these political exiles, a few particulars have been given in a previous chapter. But his story is so sad and so remarkable, and the facts connected with his conviction and his escape from the colony so extraordinary, as to deserve a more lengthened notice. Mr. Muir was born in Glasgow, in 1765, of highly respectable parentage; he was educated for the Bar, and admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1787. He was a young man of most exemplary conduct, polished manners, and great ability. About 1790 an association for bringing about a reform in Parliament by constitutional and legal means had been formed in London, under the name of the "Friends of the People." This society issued a large number of tracts and addresses advocating the political changes which they desired to see brought about. In the latter part of 1792 a similar society was formed in Glasgow, of which Mr. Muir became a prominent member. It will sufficiently prove the perfectly peaceable and constitutional nature of this association, to state that its members were obliged, previous to admission, to subscribe a declaration of adherence to the government as by law established; that every precaution was taken to prevent persons of immoral character or the advocates of violent measures from joining the society; and that the utmost reforms contended for stopped far short of the measures advocated by Pitt, the then Prime Minister, a few years previously. The Glasgow association appears to have adopted the publications of the London reformers, and it was for recommending and circulating these documents that Mr. Muir was accused of sedition. These reform associations, in a short period, became numerous and influential throughout the country, and their proceedings highly distasteful to the Pitt administration. Hence the extraordinary efforts made by the government to crush those who took a leading part in their establishment. The occurrence of the French Revolution at this particular period threw the ruling classes of Great Britain into such a panic that they lost all moderation and almost all sense of justice, and the alarm thus created enabled the Tory party to carry out their wish to crush the reformers in the most high-handed and arbitrary manner. Mr. Muir was put upon his trial on the 30th August, 1793, before the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh. The Judges present were the Lord Justice Clerk (M'Queen,) Lords Henderland, Dunsinnan, Swinton, and Abercrombie. The jury was packed in the most infamous manner, more than half of their number being

persons in the pay of the government; and the proceedings throughout the trial of the case were disgraceful in the highest degree to the authorities. Mr. Muir defended himself in a very able and eloquent manner, in a speech of nearly three hours' duration, and concluded with the following words:—"Were I to be led this moment from the bar to the scaffold, I should feel the same calmness and serenity which I now do. My mind tells me that I have acted agreeably to my conscience, and that I have engaged in a good, a just, and a glorious cause,—a cause which sooner or later must and will prevail, and, by a timely reform, save this country from destruction." When he had finished, a unanimous round of applause burst from the audience. The packed jury of course found him guilty, and the court at once passed sentence of fourteen years' transportation, with the penalty of death if he returned before the expiration of the term; Lord Swinton remarking that torture having been abolished, there was no punishment in the Scotch law sufficient for the crime! Mr. Muir's treatment after his conviction was of the most barbarous character. He was placed in irons and sent to the hulks at Woolwich, and while waiting for the transport to take him to New South Wales, was kept at hard labour on shore with three hundred convicts, and treated with every indignity it was possible to inflict. He was the only child of his parents; and the parting scene broke his father's constitution; the old gentleman was struck with a shock of palsy, from which, although he lingered for several years, he never recovered; and his aged mother perilled her life by proceeding to sea in an open boat, in severe weather, to catch a last glimpse of her beloved child. Mr. Muir's case excited the utmost indignation in England, and on the 10th March, 1794, the Right Hon. William Adam, afterwards Lord Chief Commissioner of the Jury Court in Scotland, brought the matter before the House of Commons, in an eloquent speech of three hours' duration, in which he reprobated the whole proceedings against Mr. Muir, and concluded by moving an address to the Crown on his behalf. His motion was seconded by Mr. Fox in a long and brilliant address. But the government were too strong, the motion was defeated, and the infamous sentence passed upon an innocent man was allowed to be carried out in all its severity. It seems scarcely credible, but the fact is substantiated by the strongest testimony, that a cold-blooded, premeditated attempt was made by the captain and officers of the vessel, to murder Mr. Muir and his fellow-exiles on the voyage

out, under the wholly unfounded pretence that they contemplated a mutiny. After Mr. Muir's arrival in the colony, (September, 1794,) his treatment was far better than he had anticipated. He was no longer kept in irons, or forced to labour, and shortly after his arrival he purchased, with the intention of cultivating it with his own hands, some land on the north shore of the Parramatta River, and named the place Hunter's Hill, after his patrimonial estate in Scotland. The locality, now a beautiful and populous suburb of Sydney, still bears the name he conferred, and serves as a memorial of one of the noblest men that ever landed on Australian shores. From the time of his arrival in Sydney he devoted all his energies to the good of his fellow-creatures. He took pleasure in improving the minds and alleviating the bodily sufferings of the wretched criminals around him, and applied most of his narrow means to the amelioration of human misery. He was a devoutly religious man, and wrote out many of the most beautiful passages of the Bible for the use of those who were able to read them; and after Governor Hunter's arrival, and the setting up by his Excellency of a small press, he frequently employed himself in printing with his own hand select passages from the Holy Scriptures to circulate among the prisoners. The effect of such efforts at a time when there was scarcely a Bible or a religious book in the colony, and very little care taken for the spiritual welfare of the prisoners, can hardly be overestimated.—The story of Mr. Muir's trial and his sufferings had excited the attention and aroused the sympathy, not of Englishmen only, but of lovers of liberty in all parts of the world. In America it caused a profound sensation; the Great Washington interested himself in his behalf, and a project was set on foot to rescue him from captivity. A vessel called the Otter was fitted out at New York, placed under the command of a Captain Dawes, and despatched to Sydney for that purpose. She anchored in Port Jackson, in January, 1796. The captain pretended he had put in for fuel and water, and his proceedings excited no suspicion. After about a fortnight's stay, he succeeded in obtaining an interview with Mr. Muir, and made known the errand on which he had come. The proposal was instantly embraced. Mr. Muir succeeded in getting on board unobserved, and the vessel at once put to sea. This was on the morning of the 11th February, 1796. In order to avoid suspicion, Mr. Muir took nothing with him except his pocket Bible, made no disposal of his effects, and probably had no opportunity of

making his friends aware of the unexpected means provided for his escape. He left a letter for the Governor, expressing his grateful thanks for the kindness with which his Excellency had treated him, and intimated that he was on his way to America. Now commences a series of, perhaps, the most remarkable circumstances on record. After a voyage of about four months, the *Otter* made the west coast of North America, near Nootka Sound; she there struck on a sunken rock, and quickly went to pieces. Every soul on board, except Mr. Muir and two sailors, perished; they reached the shore more dead than alive, and after wandering about for some days in a starving condition, were captured by a tribe of Indians. Mr. Muir, who was soon separated from his companions, endeavoured to please his captors by painting and decorating his body and following their customs. The savages were delighted, and contrary to his expectations, he was treated by them with the greatest kindness. In three weeks he managed to escape. He had nothing in his possession but a few dollars and his pocket Bible, and no means of directing his course. He travelled, however, down the western coast of North America, a distance of nearly four thousand miles, enduring the most frightful sufferings from hunger, thirst, and nakedness, but without much interruption, and at last reached the city of Panama in the most abject and forlorn condition. He made his way to the presence of the Governor, with scarcely a stitch of clothes on his body, and his feet bleeding from the effects of his long journey; being able to speak a little of the Spanish language, he related his melancholy story, and was at once offered clothes and nourishment. After a short stay, having recruited his strength, he again started on foot, across the Isthmus of Panama to the city of Vera Cruz, a distance of a thousand miles. The Governor of that city, after hearing his singular story, offered to send him to the Havannah. Mr. Muir accepted the offer, but, before the vessel was ready to sail, he was attacked by the yellow fever and laid on a bed of sickness, a stranger and penniless. The Spaniards, although their country was at war with England at the time, acted with humanity and kindness, but the Governor with some degree of treachery, for on Mr. Muir's recovery, although he fulfilled his promise of sending him to the Havannah, he sent him as a prisoner, with a recommendation to the authorities there to send him to Spain, in order that the Government might decide as to what should be done with

him. On reaching Cuba, he was placed in a loathsome prison, called *La Principe*, and was again attacked by severe illness. His wish was, of course, to reach the United States, but that country had no consul or agent at Havannah to whom he could apply for relief. After a delay of several weeks he was placed on board a Spanish frigate, called the *Nymph*, which, with another frigate, was about to return to Europe with treasure. On board this ship he was obliged to work as a common sailor. The *Nymph* and her consort made the land near the harbour of Cadiz, on the morning of the 26th April, 1797. Two English frigates, the *Emerald* and *Irresistible*, part of Sir John Jervis's squadron, were on the look out for the Spanish treasure ships, and when they sighted them at once gave chase. The Spaniards came to an anchor in Canille Bay, the English frigates anchored abreast of them, a mile from the shore, and a desperate conflict ensued, which lasted for two hours. The Spanish ships were vanquished, and, by the last shot fired from the *Irresistible*, Mr. Muir was desperately wounded in the head. As soon as the Spaniards struck, the *Nymph* was boarded by the officers and crew of the *Irresistible*, when, on looking at the dead and dying, they were struck by the singular position in which one of the bodies lay. It was lying in a pool of blood; the face presented a horrid spectacle, one of the eyes having been knocked out and carried away, with the bone and part of the cheek; but the hands were clasped as if in prayer, and a small book (a pocket Bible) was between them. The Spanish sailors, believing the man dead, were about to throw him overboard, but in the act of lifting him up he uttered a deep sigh, and the book fell from his hands. One of the English officers snatched it up, and on glancing at the first page found there written the name of Thomas Muir, a man who had been his early schoolfellow and companion, and with whose severe sentence, and subsequent escape from Port Jackson, he was well acquainted. Taking out his handkerchief, he wiped the blood from the apparently dying man's face, and although so much disfigured, at once recognised the well-known features. He did not breathe a word of the discovery he had made, but assisted to convey his old friend on shore to the hospital at Cadiz, where the British Commander had given permission that the wounded Spaniards should be sent. Mr. Muir lay there, apparently at the point of death, for two months, but at the end of that time, although suffering extreme agony, was able

to speak so as to make himself understood. By some means his situation was made known to some friends in Paris, by whom the story of his wrongs and sufferings was communicated to the French Directory, who regarding him as an oppressed and persecuted man, driven from his own country for his fearless advocacy of the cause of truth and liberty, immediately offered him an asylum in Paris. He accepted the offer, and the French Government at once made a demand on the government of Spain that Mr. Muir should be given up. This request was readily complied with, and having partially recovered, he proceeded to Paris by slow and easy stages. On his entrance into France, such was the sensation and the sympathy excited by the extraordinary circumstances of his case, that on reaching Bordeaux, the first considerable town after crossing the Spanish frontier, he was invited to a banquet by upwards of five hundred gentlemen. The Mayor of the city presided, and the most unbounded enthusiasm was displayed. But the fatigue he had undergone, and the excitement, in his then enfeebled state, were too much for his strength, and when he attempted to rise to return thanks, he fainted in the arms of the American Consul, who sat at his side. He reached Paris on the 4th February, 1798. His company was courted by the most eminent men in France, and everything that the most devoted kindness and medical aid could suggest was done to relieve his sufferings; but all was useless. His wounds were incurable, and, after lingering for a few months, he expired at Chantilly, near Paris, on the 27th September, 1798, and was interred there, at the expense of the French nation, with every mark of respect. Before his death he sealed up the Bible which had been his constant solace and companion in all his dangers and trials, requesting that it might be forwarded to his aged parents in Scotland. They lived to receive their beloved son's bequest, but the shock of his death completed what his wrongs had left unfinished, and they both died shortly afterwards.

Of the melancholy fate of Mr. Muir's fellow-exiles mention has already been made. Mr. Gerald, a man of great ability and of the most amiable and refined manners, soon succumbed to the hardships of his lot. But before his death he purchased a small piece of ground at Farm Cove (now part of the Sydney Botanic Gardens,) one of the most beautiful spots in Australia. He cultivated this little plot of ground as a garden, and when he died was, in accordance with his often expressed wish, buried there. Mr. Skirving only survived Mr. Palmer three

days. A contemporary account says: "A dysentery was the apparent cause of his death, but his heart was broken. Among us he was a pious, honest, worthy character. In this settlement his political principles never manifested themselves; but all his solicitude seemed to be to evince himself the friend of human nature. Requiescat in pace." Mr. Margarot, as before remarked, was made of sterner stuff, and a man of a very different stamp. He survived his period of exile, went home in 1810, and gave important evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, in 1812, on the state of the colony. Most homeward-bound ships at that period touched at Rio Janeiro, and to that place many persons who had been transported for political offences betook themselves on the expiration of their sentences, as the most convenient port for obtaining a passage to the United States, where they preferred proceeding rather than to Great Britain. Amongst others who landed in Rio was old Mr. Margarot, at a period when Lord Strangford was the representative of England there. His lordship, after his return, speaking of British subjects he had met at Rio, said: "My only acquaintance in the traitor line, whom I remember, was old Margarot, the Scotchman, one of our aboriginal reformers. I saw much of him, on his return, with his wife, and an old cat, which had accompanied him from Scotland, and been the companion of his exile." Mr. Margarot's evidence before the House of Commons, which will be given in a subsequent chapter, exercised an important influence in reforming the glaring abuses which had grown up in the colony in connexion with the monopolising and trafficking proceedings of the military officers and their friends.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson, the first colonial clergyman, and at this time the only one, to whose faithful discharge of his duty and fearless denunciation of the vices of the military rulers of the colony, Mr. Palmer bears testimony in the letter before quoted, although a minister of the Church of England, had embraced the peculiar views of the Moravian Methodists. He was a Cambridge man, of Magdalen College, and was an excellent and zealous pastor, but of too retiring, quiet, and meek a character to exercise much personal influence on the men who had the control of affairs at the period in question. In addition to the discharge of his duties as chaplain to the settlement, he devoted considerable attention to horticulture, and was the first to introduce the culture of the orange into the colony. His orchard was at Kissing Point, and his trees were grown from seeds which he had procured at Rio Janeiro

on the voyage out; it is said that they produced an abundance of very fine fruit, and that his oranges frequently sold as high as a shilling each. His horticultural operations were, after a time, carried out on a somewhat extensive scale, and were so remarkably successful in a money-making point of view, that when he left the colony, after a residence therein of twelve or fourteen years, he took with him a considerable fortune. From his quiet and inoffensive character, very little is said respecting him in the accounts of early writers on the colony, but it may be taken for granted that such a man did not pursue the even tenor of his way in such a community, for nearly half a generation, without doing much good. The fact of his having erected a church by voluntary effort, at such a period, and under very difficult and discouraging circumstances, goes far to prove his piety and zeal; and the testimony borne by Mr. Palmer as to the way in which, on the arrival of Governor Hunter, he reprobated the debauchery and tyrannical conduct of those who for a period of three years had administered the government of the colony, and who were yet in a position to injure him, if so minded, affords a guarantee for his faithfulness and courage. His congratulations on the occasion referred to were, however, somewhat premature. Those whom he denounced for their oppression and vice had fixed themselves too firmly, their wealth and influence were too powerful, for Governor Hunter's interference to be of much avail. They already occupied almost every avenue to office and trade, and formed, even at that early period, a very powerful if not a very numerous class. Let it not be imagined, however, that the result of their influence was entirely prejudicial to the colony. Far from it. The wealth they accumulated was for the most part spent in such a manner as to be highly beneficial to the community. They imported valuable stock and implements, they opened up channels for commerce, they saw the great latent resources of the country and endeavoured to develop them, they set an example of energy to a before apathetic and frequently starving community, their wealth soon enabled them to live in a style of comfort which forcibly contrasted with the wretchedness and squalor which characterised the huts of the poorer class of free settlers as well as the convicts; the example of their success not only exercised a powerful influence on those by whom they were surrounded, but drew to the colony many men of intelligence and means, who made the resources and prospects of the country known in India and Europe. All the benefits arising from the presence

of a wealthy class were not, of course, felt for years after the period to which reference is now made, but the opportunity for laying the foundation of the fortunes of many of the principal colonial families, for opening up a traffic with other countries, and for proving to the world that Australia was worthy of some higher destination than remaining a mere receptacle for felons, arose at this time and were promptly taken advantage of.

Almost the first act of Captain Hunter, after assuming the government, was the establishing of a small printing office. The press and types had been brought out originally by Governor Phillip, but had never been used for want of some one who understood the art of printing. A printer was, however, at last found. He was a young man of the name of Howe, a creole of St. Christopher's, in the West Indies, who had lately arrived in the colony. The press was at first employed in printing official notices only, but in the course of time the office was extended, and about eight years afterwards a small newspaper, the Sydney Gazette, was established, which continued, under Mr. Howe's control, to be the official organ of the Government for upwards of thirty years.

Governor Hunter brought back with him from England Bennilong, one of the natives who had been taken home by Governor Phillip. Colonel Collins gives the following account of Bennilong's conduct on his return, and his gradual relapse into savage habits. "On his first appearance, he conducted himself with polished familiarity towards his sisters and other relations; but to his acquaintance he was distant, and quite the man of consequence. He declared, in a tone and with an air that seemed to expect compliance, that he should no longer suffer them to fight and cut each other's throats, as they had done; that he should introduce peace among them, and make them love each other. He expressed his wish, that when they visited him at Government-house, they would contrive to be somewhat more cleanly in their persons, and less coarse in their manners; and he seemed absolutely offended at some little indelicacies which he observed in his sister Car-rang-ar-rang, who came in such haste from Botany Bay, with a little nephew on her back, to visit him, that she left her habiliments behind her. Bennilong had certainly not been an inattentive observer of the manners of the people among whom he had lived; he conducted himself with great propriety at table, particularly in the observance of those attentions which are chiefly requisite in the presence of women.

His dress appeared to be an object of no small concern with him ; and every one who knew him before he left the country, and who saw him on his return, pronounced, without hesitation, that Bennilong had not any desire to renounce the habits and comforts of the civilised life which he appeared so readily and so successfully to adopt.

"His inquiries were directed, immediately on his arrival, after his wife Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo ; and he found her with Caruey. On producing a very fashionable rose-coloured petticoat and jacket made of a coarse stuff, accompanied with a gipsy bonnet of the same colour, she deserted her lover, and followed her former husband. In a few days, however, to the surprise of every one, the lady was seen walking unincumbered with clothing of any kind, and Bennilong was missing. Caruey was sought for ; and it was then discovered that he had been severely beaten by Bennilong ; who retained so much of English customs that he made use of his fists instead of the weapons of his country, to the great annoyance of Caruey, who would have preferred meeting his rival fairly in the field armed with the spear and the club. Caruey being much the younger man, the lady, every inch a woman, followed her inclination, and Bennilong was compelled to yield her without any further opposition. He seemed to have been satisfied with the beating that he had given Caruey, and hinted that, resting for the present without a wife, he should look about him, and at some future period make a better choice. His absence from the Governor's house now became frequent, and little attended to. When he went out he usually left his clothes behind, carefully resuming them on his return, before he made his visit to the Governor."

Some prisoners, in 1789, had obtained permission to celebrate, by a dramatic performance, the King's birth-day and the timely arrival of the ship *Sirius* with provisions at a period when the settlement was in danger of starvation. The attempt was not so successful as to call for its repetition at that time. Soon after his arrival, however, Governor Hunter granted leave to several of the more decent class of convicts to erect a temporary structure to be used as a play house. It was opened on the 16th January, 1796. The opening performances were "The Revenge" and "The Hotel." The manager's name was Sparrow, and the actors were Messrs. Green, Fowkes, Hughes, Chapman, and Mrs. Davis. George Barrington, a person who has already been noticed in these pages, appears to have taken an active share in the business, and

probably for that reason he is generally believed to have been the author of the well-known prologue which was spoken on the occasion.* But this prologue is so far superior to anything

* PROLOGUE.

From distant climes, o'er wide spread seas we come,
Though not with much eclat, or beat of drum ;
True patriots all, for, be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good :
No private views disgrac'd our generous zeal,
What urg'd our travels, was our country's weal ;
And none will doubt, but that our emigration
Has proved most useful to the British nation.

But, you inquire, what could our breasts inflame,
With this new passion for theatric fame ;
What, in the practice of our former days,
Could shape our talents to exhibit plays ?
Your patience, Sirs, some observations made,
You'll grant us equal to the scenic trade.

He, who to midnight ladders is no stranger,
You'll own will make an admirable Ranger.
To seek Macheath we have not far to roam,
And sure in Filch I shall be quite at home.
Unrivalled there, none will dispute my claim
To high pre-eminence and exalted fame.

As off on Gadshill we have ta'en our stand,
When 'twas so dark you could not see your hand,
Some true-bred Falstaff we may hope to start,
Who, when well-bolster'd, well will play his part,
The scene to vary, we shall try in time
To treat you with a little pantomime.
Here light and easy Columbines are found,
And well-tried Harlequins with us abound ;
From durance vile our precious selves to keep,
We often had recourse to th' flying leap ;
To a black face have sometimes ow'd escape,
And Hounslow Heath has proved the worth of crape.

But how, you ask, can we e'er hope to soar
Above these scenes, and rise to tragic lore ?
Too oft, alas ! we've forced th' unwilling tear,
And petrified the heart with real fear.
Macbeth a harvest of applause will reap,
For some of us, I fear, have murdered sleep ;
His lady too with grace will sleep and talk,
Our females have been used at night to walk.

Sometimes, indeed, so various is our art,
An actor may improve and mend his part ;
" Give me a horse," bawls Richard, like a drone,
We'll find a man would help himself to one.
Grant us your favour, put us to the test,
To gain your smiles we'll do our very best ;
And, without dread of future Turnkey Lockits,
Thus, in an honest way, still pick your pockets.

else which has been ascribed to Barrington, or that he could have written, if the *Voyage to New South Wales* and the *History of the Colony*, which pass under his name, are to be taken as fair samples of his literary acquirements, that no one who has read them could for a moment believe him to be the author of the prologue. And, apart altogether from its literary excellence, there is abundant internal evidence to raise strong doubts as to its being the production of a man of Barrington's antecedents, or of any person of his class. The cutting, unconcealed sarcasm, and broad allusions to the previous character, not only of a large part of the population of Sydney at that period, but of the actors themselves, could never have come from one who himself had belonged to the prison class. It is well known that no persons are more sensitive on subjects of such a nature than reformed criminals;—we know that Barrington's character was without blemish in the colony, and the very fact that Governor Hunter gave these performers liberty to get up a dramatic entertainment is sufficient to prove that they had to some extent retrieved theirs. Persons of that class might, as a matter of policy, in order to secure the patronage of an influential man, consent to such a prologue being spoken, but they would never have adopted language of that kind of their own choice. The writer was, perhaps, Colonel Collins, the Judge-Advocate, a man of considerable literary taste and ability; or, if not Collins, some other gentleman occupying an official position, but who, not wishing to appear to be connected in any way with the class of persons of whom the players were exclusively composed, quietly allowed the general opinion that Barrington was the author to remain uncontradicted. Barrington himself, if he was the author of the history which bears his name, says nothing about having written the prologue. He merely notices it as "a curious prologue spoken at the theatre," and does not in any way allude to its authorship. The rates of admission to the play house were singular. There was little or no money in the colony at that time, and the circulating medium most in use was rum. The price of a seat in the gallery, the most commodious and fashionable part of the house, was fixed at a shilling's worth of spirits, flour, meat, or any other article of general use. The passion for play-going had been kept in abeyance for a long time, by the absence of what it fed on, but it broke out with great fury on the first opportunity. Every device was practised by the worst class of convicts to

obtain the means of admission. One fellow killed a fine greyhound belonging to an officer, and, after skinning it, succeeded in palming off its joints for kangaroo flesh, at the rate of ninepence a pound. The increase of crime was so great and so marked after the opening of the theatre, that the Governor was soon obliged to issue orders for levelling the place with the ground; and that high-handed course met with the general approval of the more respectable people of all classes of the community.

In June, 1796, the first coal discovered in the colony was brought to Sydney by some men who had been employed in fishing, and had taken shelter in what they described as "a bay near Port Stephens," evidently meaning the entrance to the river Hunter, afterwards called Port Hunter or Newcastle Harbour. About the same time coal was also found at the Coal Cliff at Bulli by part of a shipwrecked crew, and the seams there traced for several miles by an officer and some men who had been sent in search of them. The first natural produce of the country ever turned to profit, as an export, was a quantity of coals consisting of 44 tons, dug from the cliff at Newcastle, which was exchanged for some nails and old iron with the master of an American ship. The first regular export of coal was in the year 1801, when a small brig called the *Anna Josepha*, which had been built in the colony, was freighted with colonial timber and coals, and despatched to the Cape of Good Hope. Both the coals and the timber met with a ready market there. The coals were sold at £6 a ton.

The accounts of the years 1796 and 1797 are full of stories of conflicts between the settlers and the natives, in which very little mercy appears to have been shown on either side. It is difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at anything like a correct estimate of the number of settlers killed by the blacks, but there is every reason to believe that it was scarcely a tithe of the number of the aborigines whose lives were sacrificed in return. The natives, in many of their attacks, evinced great daring, and were often successful in carrying off large quantities of plunder. On several occasions they boarded at sea, in their canoes, the vessels employed in bringing grain and other produce from the Hawkesbury. In one at least of these piratical attacks they succeeded, after overpowering and killing the crew, in getting possession of the vessel and cargo. In other attempts they were beat off, with great loss, and ample vengeance was afterwards exacted. They were believed to

have been encouraged in these crimes by runaway convicts, many of whom were living with them, and who were for the most part beyond the reach of the law. Collins, in his history, gives accounts of many affrays between the settlers and the blacks, but they were most of them so very similar in character that the following account of one which took place in March, 1797, will serve as a specimen of the whole:—"The people at the Northern Farms [Kissing Point district] had been repeatedly plundered of their provisions and clothing by a large body of savages, who had also recently killed a man and woman. Exasperated at such cruel and wanton conduct, they armed themselves, and, after pursuing them a whole night, came up with a party of more than a hundred, who, on discovering that their pursuers were armed, fled; leaving behind them a quantity of Indian corn, some musket balls, and other things which they had plundered. They continued to follow, and traced them as far as the outskirts of Parramatta. Being fatigued with their march, they entered the town, and in about an hour after were followed by a large body of natives, headed by Pemulwy, a riotous and troublesome savage. These were known by the settlers to be the same who had so frequently annoyed them, and they intended, if possible, to seize upon Pemulwy; who, in a great rage, threatened to spear the first man that dared to approach them, and actually did throw a spear at one of the soldiers. The conflict now began, a musket was levelled at the principal, which severely wounded him. Many spears were then thrown, and one man was struck in the arm, upon which the superior effect of the fire-arms was shown them, and five were instantly killed. Unpleasant as it was to the Governor that the lives of so many of these people should have been taken, no other course could have been pursued with safety; for it was their custom, when they found themselves more numerous and better armed than the white people, to demand with insolence whatever they deemed proper; and, if refused, to have recourse to murder. This check, it was hoped, would have a good effect; and Pemulwy, who had received seven buckshot in his head and different parts of his body, was taken extremely ill to the hospital. This savage was first known in the settlement by the murder of John M'Intire in the year 1790; since which he had been a most active enemy to the settlers, plundering them of their property and endangering their personal safety."

The preceding instance affords an example of the frequently recurring conflicts between the settlers and the natives, and will serve to show the relative positions in which the two races stood to each other during the first ten or twelve years after the settlement was founded. The most frequent cause of quarrel between them was the plundering of the growing maize crops by the blacks; and to such an extent was this carried on some of the more outlying farms that some of the settlers on the Hawkesbury had to abandon their lands in 1797, after they had devoted several years to the labour of clearing and cultivation. The truth is, that the fire-arms of the whites had so thinned and frightened the game on which the unfortunate natives had been accustomed to rely for food, that they were driven by starvation to prey upon the crops of the settlers; while the scarcity of animal food among the latter compelled them to adopt every means in their power to eke out their scanty rations with game and fish.

About the middle of September, 1797, the Hunter River was discovered by Lieutenant Shortland. He had been sent in pursuit of a party of convicts who had run off with the best boat in the colony while on her passage to the Hawkesbury. He was unsuccessful in his pursuit of the pirates, but more than compensated for that misfortune by the discovery of one of the finest rivers of eastern Australia, which he named the Hunter in honor of the Governor.

The harvest of 1797 was a very abundant one; and as the live stock had lately done well, and was fast increasing, particularly the sheep and pigs, the prospects of the settlement, which had now been founded nearly ten years, were considered to be rapidly improving. In January, 1798, the land under cultivation with wheat and maize amounted to nearly five thousand acres; the sheep numbered about two thousand five hundred, the pigs upwards of four thousand, and the horned cattle three hundred and twenty-seven.

It seems to have been Governor Phillip's practice, in granting lands, to give a farm to an emancipated convict of good character for every one granted to a free settler. Thus, up to the 8th of August, 1791, three years and a half after the formation of the settlement, forty-three grants, containing 2660 acres, had been issued to free settlers; and forty-four grants, containing 1500 acres, conferred on emancipated

convicts. It is believed, although there are no returns as to the exact numbers, that about the same proportion was observed by Governor Hunter; and the course pursued towards well-conducted men who had been convicts operated as a strong inducement to reformation on the prisoners generally; for the knowledge on their part that if they behaved well they had every prospect, on the expiration of their sentences, of being restored to society and placed in a position almost as favourable as if they had never fallen from the path of honesty and virtue, must have exercised a most powerful influence for good on their character and conduct.

Governor Hunter being anxious to discover the truth of the rumours respecting the herd of wild cattle said to exist in the interior, despatched a person in the direction where the cattle were supposed to be, and the information he obtained from the blacks and the indications he saw, were sufficient to induce his Excellency to head a party, in person, to set the matter finally at rest. The narrative of his journey says:—“The Governor set off for Parramatta, attended by a small party; and, after travelling two days in a direction S.S.W. from the settlement at Prospect Hill, crossed the river named by Mr. Phillip, the Nepean; and, to his great surprise and satisfaction, fell in with a very fine herd of cattle, upwards of forty in number, grazing in a pleasant and apparently fertile pasturage. The day being far advanced when he saw them, he rested for the night in the neighbourhood, hoping in the morning to be gratified with a sight of the whole herd. A doubt had been started of their being cattle produced from what had been brought into the country by Governor Phillip from the Cape; and it was suggested that they might be of longer standing. The Governor thought this a circumstance worth determining, and directed the attendants who were with him to endeavour to get near enough to kill a calf. This they were not able to effect; for while lying in wait for the whole herd to pass, which now consisted of upwards of sixty young and old, they were furiously set upon by a bull, which brought up the rear, and which in their own defence they were obliged to kill. This, however, answered the purpose perhaps better than a calf might have done; for he had all the marks of the Cape cattle when full grown, such as wide-spreading horns, a moderate rising or hump between his shoulders, and a short thin tail. Being at this time seven or eight and thirty miles from Parramatta, a very small quantity

of the meat only could be sent in ; the remainder was left to the crows and dogs of the woods, much to the regret of the Governor and his party, who considered that the prisoners, particularly the sick at the hospital, had not lately received any meat either salt or fresh.

"The country where they were found grazing was remarkably pleasant to the eye ; everywhere the foot trod on thick and luxuriant grass ; the trees were thinly scattered, and free from underwood, except in particular spots ; several beautiful flats presented large ponds, covered with ducks and the black swan, the margins of which were fringed with shrubs of the most delightful tints, and the ground rose from these levels into hills of easy ascent.

"The question how these cattle came hither appeared easy of solution. The few that were lost in 1788, two bulls and five cows, travelled without interruption in a western direction until they came to the banks of the Nepean. Arrived there, and finding the crossing as easy as when the Governor had forded it, they came at once into a well-watered country, and amply stored with grass. From this place they had no inducement to move. They were in possession of a country equal to their support, and in which they remained undisturbed. The settlers had not till then travelled quite so far westward ; and but few natives were to be found thereabouts ; they were likely, therefore, to remain for years unmolested, and securely to propagate their species.

"It was a most pleasant circumstance, to have in the woods of New Holland a thriving herd of wild cattle. Many proposals were made to bring them into the settlement ; but in the day of want, if these should be sacrificed, in what better condition would the colony be for having possessed a herd of cattle in the woods ?—a herd which, if suffered to remain undisturbed for some years, would, like the cattle of South America, always prove a market sufficient for the inhabitants of that country ; and, perhaps, not only for their own consumption, but for exportation. The Governor saw it in this light, and determined to guard against any attempts to destroy them."

In the meantime, while a privileged few of the officials and their friends, the more wealthy of the colonists, were making fortunes by the monopoly of convict labour and a complete control of the traffic of the colony, the smaller class of agricultural settlers, the victims of their exactions, were suffering

severe hardships. They were plunged in debt to these official hucksters to such an extent, and obliged to pay so high a price for labour, that they became dispirited and almost reckless. Every official who occupied land employed on it a number of convicts, who were clothed and rationed at the expense of the Government, while the produce of their labour was taken into the public store at a high rate. The Government fed, maintained, and clothed the hands that wrought the ground, and at the same time purchased the results of their toil, while public works stood still for want of labourers. The small settlers, on the contrary, had not only to pay highly for labour, but not having sufficient influence to get their produce taken into store, were obliged to part with it at almost a nominal price to those who had. Collins says :—"The delivery of grain into the public storehouses, when open for that purpose, was so completely monopolised, that the settlers had but few opportunities of getting the full value of their crops. A few words will place this iniquitous combination in its proper light. The settler found himself thrust out from the granary, by a man whose greater opulence created greater influence. He was then driven by his necessities to dispose of his grain for less than half its value. To whom did he dispose of it?—to the very man whose greater opulence enabled him to purchase it, and whose greater influence could get it received into the public store! Order after order had been issued on this very subject, the storekeepers being most pointedly directed to give the preference to the man whose grain was the produce of his own labour; and, if any favour were shown, to let it be to the poor but industrious settler. But these necessary and humane directions had been too often frustrated by circumstances which were carefully kept from the knowledge of the Governor; it was, however, proved to him, that on the occasion of the store at the Hawkesbury being opened for the reception of 1500 bushels of wheat, the whole was engrossed by two or three of these opulent traders, to the exclusion and injury of others, and of the petty farmers in general."

Barrington's History, referring to the position of the small settlers just previous to the time now spoken of (1797), says :—"A petition was presented from them in April, expressive of the distress they were under, both from the high wages they gave for working their ground, and the immense price paid for all articles requisite to carry on business. Another evil oppressed them, which was an unbounded rage for traffic.

Even the delivery of grain into the public storehouses was completely monopolised, and settlers had few opportunities of getting anything near the value of their crops, being obliged to dispose of it to those whose greater influence could get it received into the public store. Orders had been often issued on this subject, directing the storekeepers to give the preference to those whose grain was the produce of their own labour, and to let favour be shown to the poor settler. These directions had been often frustrated, from the knowledge of which the Governor was completely kept. On the 5th of March, a court was held at Parramatta. The business consisted chiefly respecting debts contracted between the dealers and the settlers; and as a proof to what height this business had arrived, it is only to state, that an appeal was made to the Governor in one cause for a debt of the very serious sum of £868 16s. 10d., which was withdrawn on the defendant consenting to pay it. The Governor having received from the settlers, by means of two gentlemen he sent to them (the Rev. Mr. Marsden and Mr. Arndell,) a statement of their grievances and distresses, informed them that he was sorry to see the effects of them at each civil court held. The debts with which they were so frequently burdened, through imposition and extortion, committed by dealers who infested the colony, added to the difficulties under which an industrious man laboured, showed there wanted some mode of providing the necessaries required; these were grievances of which he determined to get the better, and he resolved to adopt every means in his power to give them relief."

This sad condition of things appears to have acquired its greatest intensity under Governor Hunter, who, although a man of the greatest kindness of heart, and of the highest honour and integrity, seems to have been thwarted or very easily hoodwinked by the adroit schemers by whom he was surrounded. His unsuspecting nature and easiness of disposition were almost proverbial, and were frequently taken advantage of by designing persons. He issued repeated orders and used all his influence to suppress the gross impositions practised on the mass of the community by the privileged few, but his efforts were generally fruitless, and things went on from bad to worse, until they became almost intolerable.

About the middle of February, 1797, a ship called the Sydney Cove, belonging to Messrs. Campbell and Company,

while on a voyage from India to New South Wales, was wrecked at Furneaux's Islands, near Bass's Straits. Mr. G. A. Hamilton, the master, and part of the crew, remained at the place where the wreck occurred for a period of about ten months. Mr. Clarke, the supercargo, with the chief officer and fifteen men, endeavoured to reach Sydney in the long-boat, but were driven on shore somewhere to the south of Cape Howe, from whence they attempted to travel northward, and so reach the settlement by land. The distance was very great—nearly four hundred miles, and the difficulties they had to encounter of the most formidable character. They persevered manfully for a time, but at length began to drop one by one, and lost each other daily. Their number, on reaching the Illawarra district, was reduced to five. Most of the tribes of natives they had met with before they arrived there had been friendly, but now they had the misfortune to fall in with two half civilised blackfellows from Botany Bay—the men who had endeavoured to entrap Mr. Bass and Lieutenant Flinders a short time before, when on their first voyage of discovery in a little boat called the *Tom Thumb*. These scoundrels killed the chief mate and carpenter, leaving only Mr. Clarke, one English sailor, and a lascar. They succeeded at last, after undergoing the most frightful sufferings, in reaching Watta-mowlee, a little inlet on the coast about midway between Botany Bay and Wollongong, and the place where Messrs. Flinders and Bass had found shelter some time before from the storm which threatened to destroy their tiny craft. At Watta-mowlee Mr. Clarke and his companions were discovered by some fishermen, who gave them a passage to Sydney, where they arrived on the 17th April, having been two months on their perilous journey. The Governor, on learning the situation of Captain Hamilton and the remainder of the crew, despatched, in the following month, a schooner called the *Francis* to their assistance. They were all at length rescued, and a considerable part of the cargo of the Sydney Cove recovered, about ten months after her wreck. The extraordinary journey of Mr. Clarke and his companions is the more noteworthy from the fact, that they were the first to discover and to give information respecting the existence of coal in the cliff at Bulli. Captain Hamilton, the unfortunate commander of the Sydney Cove, survived his arrival in Sydney but a short time. He never got the better of the distress he suffered from the loss of his ship and the hardships he encountered during

the long period of his enforced residence on the island where she was wrecked.

The absurd attempts to reach China overland, which were referred to in a previous chapter as having taken place shortly after the foundation of the settlement, continued to be repeated for many years. In 1798, when the colony had been in existence more than ten years, these misdirected efforts were as numerous as ever. Barrington's History, under date May 2nd, 1798, says:—"Some of the Irishmen who had for some time been searching for a road to China, were brought in by the settlers near George's River. They had wandered through the woods till nearly perished for want of food, when they were discovered in an unexpected way. Some people going from Botany Bay up George's River, had lost themselves by following an arm of that river never before looked into. During this mistake, they met these people, whose want of knowledge of the country led them down on a point of land placed between two waters, where they remained nine days, unable to return, and must have perished had not an accidental mistake led the people in the boat to them. The narrative given of their travels and sufferings was the same as of other similar adventures, and added one more to the many already recounted to prove that daring folly and extreme ignorance must be acting in strong conjunction over the minds of those who made such attempts."

Collins, writing in January, 1798, respecting these singularly absurd attempts to reach China, says:—"Occasional desertions of one or two people at a time had occurred from the first establishment of the colony; but the first Irish convicts that arrived from Ireland in the year 1791 went off in numerous bodies, few of whom ever returned. They too were prepossessed with a notion of the possibility of penetrating through the woods to China, and imparted the same idea to all their countrymen who came after them, engaging them in the same act of folly and madness. It was not then to be wondered at, that Wilson, who had returned from living in the woods, should, among other articles of information, mention his finding more than fifty skeletons, which the natives assured him had been white men, who had lost their way and perished. This account was corroborated by different European articles which were found, such as knives, old shoes, and other things which were known not to belong to the natives."

On the 14th April, 1798, the settlement received a small

but very valuable addition to its population by the arrival from Tahiti of a number of missionaries who had been driven by the violence of the natives to seek refuge in the nearest British settlement. The vessel in which they reached Sydney was a small brig called the *Nautilus*, a wretched worn-out craft, incapable of accommodating the whole of the party, so that six or seven had to be left behind. Most of those who arrived determined to settle in the colony. They must have been a great accession to the society of the settlement at that period; and the effect of the examples they afforded of integrity and moral character, in a community in which these attributes were by no means universal, can hardly be overestimated. These gentlemen had been sent out from England to the Society Islands, in the ship *Duff*, by the London Missionary Society, under circumstances which were generally considered at the time of their departure singularly auspicious. It was the first great missionary effort ever made by a Protestant association; and its promoters, as well as the missionaries themselves, being alike inexperienced and enthusiastic, appear to have formed the most mistaken notions relative to the character and condition of the savage tribes whose conversion they wished to accomplish. On the eve of their departure from England, when the ship was ready for sea, Dr. Haweis, a celebrated London clergyman of those days, preached before the Society, exhorting them to attempt great things and to expect great things. He described to his delighted audience and the enthusiastic missionaries the romantic beauty, the delightful climate, and the teeming fertility of the countries which they were going to evangelise; he painted in glowing colours the countless islands which lay like emeralds upon the calm bosom of the Pacific sea; and he confidently anticipated the conversion of their highly favoured inhabitants as soon as they heard the glad tidings of the Gospel. Listening to this high-flown language, the missionaries and their friends, in the exuberance of their zeal and the loftiness of their faith, cast aside all the teachings of experience and rejected as cold and wordly the advice of those who recommended a less obtrusive and pretentious commencement, and a more cautious approach to the outworks of the strong fortress of paganism. It was urged by those who judged calmly and reasonably, that one or two missionaries might be received by the Tahitians—who, like all savages, were suspicious of strangers—without much danger of arousing their animosity or exciting their cupidity; but the manner in

which they would regard a whole shipload, accompanied by their domestic appliances and household gear, as if they had come to invade and to take permanent possession of the country, was likely to be very different. The faith and zeal of the promoters of the undertaking were, however, beyond the reach of reason, and superior to the cold dictates of prudence. The ship *Duff* sailed from Tower-wharf, London, amidst the cheers of thousands of spectators, with flags flying and banners streaming, as if going forth conquering and to conquer. But the enterprise, although the ship arrived safely at her destination, proved one of the most unsuccessful ever attempted by enthusiasts. In their missionary efforts they met with nothing but disappointments and disasters. They found themselves, after the ship had left Tahiti, cooped up together in a small space, and in danger of their lives if they weakened their numbers by separating. They hailed with joy the appearance at Tahiti of the *Nautilus*, small, half-rotten, and ill-found as she was, and all who could possibly be accommodated bargained with her master to be taken to Sydney. They were received by the Governor and principal colonists with kindness, and grants of land and other inducements to remain were offered them. A few months after their arrival, however, one of their number, a Mr. Clode, met with a fate quite as dreadful as that which he had fled from Tahiti to avoid. He was murdered, in July, 1799, by a soldier, named Thomas Jones. While leaning over a table writing a receipt for some money, which he had just received, he was felled by the blow of an axe; his throat was then cut, and his body buried in a saw-pit, by his assassin, with the assistance of two accomplices, a man and a woman, both belonging to the free part of the population. The culprits, having been discovered and convicted, were all executed two days afterwards, on the very spot where the crime had been committed. The two men were hung in chains, the body of the woman given to the surgeons for dissection, and the house in which the murder was perpetrated burned to the ground.

Although these refugee missionaries formed a welcome addition to colonial society, their conduct in leaving Tahiti was very strongly condemned by many, and reports of the misconduct of some of their number and the quarrels of others occasioned probably more anxiety and pain to those who were instrumental in sending them out, than even their want of success. Among those in the colony who

spoke strongly of their unfitness and incapacity was the Rev. Samuel Marsden, a clergyman who had been sent out by the Home Government as assistant to the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the first colonial chaplain, and who had been from the time of his arrival, in 1794, stationed at Parramatta. The London Missionary Society consulted Mr. Marsden by letter as to his opinion of the conduct of their missionaries and the causes of their want of success. The reasons he gave in his reply were curious, and exceedingly characteristic, but utterly at variance with the unworldly notions held respecting missionary enterprise by many of those whose enthusiastic religious feelings led them to expect great results from ardent zeal and simple faith without the use of carnal means and worldly appliances. Mr. Marsden was of opinion that spiritual weapons were all very well in their way, but that they were not fully equal to the conversion of the South Sea Islanders. His opinion of the savage races of the Pacific differed somewhat from that of the Rev. Dr. Haweis and other enthusiasts in England; and he answered them very plainly that if the directors of the London Missionary Society were determined to establish missions in the Society Islands on a large scale, they ought to send out a sufficient body of missionaries, practised in the use of warlike weapons, and well armed, so as to be able and fully prepared to defend themselves. "Unless," said he, "the missionaries are able to protect themselves from the violence of the natives, they will be in constant danger of being cut off by them. Their lives, if unprotected by their own strength, will hang sometimes perhaps upon the fate of a single battle between two contending chiefs. This must and will be the case unless the missionaries are furnished with the means of self-defence, and are able to convince the natives of their superiority in point of skill and protection." Another reason which Mr. Marsden thought had operated almost as strongly against the success of the gentlemen sent out as their want of warlike weapons and appliances and a readiness to use them, was their deficiency in polish of manners, in ease and affability of address, and in worldly knowledge. They might have done very well, he intimated, if they had been sent to convert the Esquimaux or the Negroes; but, although they ate each other, and would probably eat a missionary if they had the chance, the South Sea Islanders were, so far as their manners were concerned, very gentlemanly fellows indeed, and would treat with the utmost contempt a stranger

who was not an easy, affable, and courtly man in address, and well educated to boot. Mr. Marsden's sentiments on missionary qualifications are given here at some length because they afford an insight into his own character—a very remarkable one—and because he occupied for forty years or more a very prominent place in colonial society, and exercised great influence in forming the character of a young and rising community. His opinion that the refugee missionaries did not possess sufficient worldly knowledge to convert the savages appears the more remarkable in face of the fact that several of them made very successful colonists in New South Wales, and quickly accumulated wealth in a community by no means remarkable for simplicity of character or want of sharpness in their dealings. A very short experience of the realities of missionary life seems to have cured most of them of their high-flown enthusiasm and effectually damped the fires of their zeal for the conversion of savages; but as, for the most part, they made very good colonists, and filled with credit to themselves and benefit to the community the less trying condition in which it pleased Providence afterwards to place them, it is highly probable that neither religion nor civilisation suffered any great loss by their desertion of their dangerous post at Tahiti and seeking a home on the more peaceful shores of Australia. Some of these gentlemen lived to a very great age, and one of their number, Mr. Henry, (who went again to the Islands as a missionary, and remained there for many years, but eventually returned to the colony) even survived the first half of the present century. This venerable colonist died at Kissing Point, Parramatta River, a few years since, having attained the age of nearly ninety years.

On the evening of the 1st October, 1798, the little church, of the erection of which by voluntary effort, and chiefly by the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, previous mention has been made, was discovered to be on fire. Barrington's account says:—"In the evening, the church on the east side of the Cove was discovered to be on fire. Every assistance was given, but ineffectually; for as the building was covered with thatch, which was exceedingly dry, it was completely consumed in an hour. This was a great loss, and calculated to impede the progress of morality, as during the week it was used as a school, for 200 children to be educated, under the Rev. Mr. Johnson. As the church stood alone, and no person was suffered to remain in it after the school hours, there was

no doubt that it was the effect of design, in consequence of the late order to enforce attendance on divine service which had been rigidly executed ; with a view of rendering, by the destruction of the building, the Sabbath a day of as little decency and sobriety as any other. The perpetrators were, however, disappointed ; for the Governor, justly deeming this to have been the motive, and highly irritated at such a shameful act, resolved, if no convenient place could be found for the performance of public worship, that Sunday, instead of being employed as each thought proper, the labouring gangs should be employed that day in erecting another church. However, as a large store-house was just finished, it was fitted up as a church ; and thus not one Sunday did this wicked design affect the regular performance of divine service. A reward of £30 was offered for the discovery of the offender, with emancipation to the informer if a convict, and a recommendation to the master of a ship to take him or her from the settlement. But rewards and punishment alike failed to effect any good among the convicts."

The employment of convicts on the Sunday, even in the erection of a church, was not very likely to give them a very high idea of the sanctity of the day of rest. The burning of the church, if it was the work of an incendiary, which seems doubtful, was the act probably of a single individual, and to make all the prisoners labour on the Sunday for the crime of one of their number, and as a punishment for their reluctance in attending divine worship, is rather a proof of the length to which irresponsible power will lead those who are entrusted with it, than an evidence of any regard on their part for the sacredness of the Sabbath.

Several successful acts of piracy were committed by prisoners in the years 1798 and 1799. In the early part of the latter year the *Venus*, a brig belonging to Messrs. Robert Campbell and Co. laden with a quantity of provisions and stores to supply the settlements to the northward, and a very handsome brig, called the *Harrington*, from Madras, were seized and taken off. The former, when she had reached the place of her destination, after coming to an anchor, and landing the master with despatches for the Lieutenant-Governor, was seized by some convicts who had been placed on board under confinement, aided by part of the crew, and was carried beyond the reach of re-capture. The latter was cut out of Farm Cove, and was carried out to sea, before any information was received on the subject. This transaction was planned

in a very secret manner ; so that all the convicts boarded her about twelve o'clock at night ; and although the vessel lay in sight of some part of the town, and within the fire of two batteries, yet nothing was discovered of the circumstance till the following morning. Upon representation being made to Colonel Johnson, that officer ordered several boats to be manned immediately, and a party of the New South Wales Corps, with a number of inhabitants who had volunteered their services to use every means to retake the vessel, put to sea ; but after rowing and sailing about for several hours, they were obliged to return without ever coming in sight of the Harrington. Other means were subsequently tried for the recovery of the vessel, but all to no effect ; the convicts had managed their matters with such secrecy, promptitude, and skill, as totally prevented every endeavour to counteract their intentions.

One of the first attempts made in the colony to produce a textile fabric is thus noticed in Barrington's History :—"The want of clothing, during April, 1799, stimulated several experiments to be made, to remedy what indeed there seemed no other way of getting the better of. An end of a linen web, produced from flax of the country, was crossed with thread, made of the bark of a tree, and a web from the bark was crossed by a thread of wool. Specimens of these were sent to England, and at least served to shew, that with proper tools, and proper hands, much might be done ; nor must be forgot, the discovery of a strata of coal, or the iron ore, which on being smelted has been found at least equal to the Swedish iron."

In March, 1799, the Hawkesbury district was visited with severe floods, in which a very great destruction of property took place and some lives were lost. This flood of 1799 was wholly unexpected. No rain having fallen in the district for a considerable time, and no calamity of the kind having been previously experienced, the inundation appeared to the settlers perfectly inexplicable. The river rose suddenly to the height of fifty feet, and swept away the Governnmet House, as the residence of the agricultural superintendent was called. Large quantities of live stock, grain, and implements were also destroyed. The rain which caused the disaster must have fallen far in the interior, no indications of the approach of wet weather having been observed by the settlers, although it was said that some of them had been warned by the aborigines of what was coming.

In June, 1799, the first public meeting ever held in the colony took place. The object in view was to raise funds, by voluntary assessment of the inhabitants, for building a more secure and substantial gaol. The meeting was convened by the Governor, and was attended by most of the civil and military officers, and the principal inhabitants and landholders. A good deal of public spirit appears to have been manifested on the occasion. The proposal for raising the funds required for erecting the building by assessment was readily agreed to by the meeting, many of those who were in a position to do so promising to give labour and materials as well as their proportion of the expense in money. The gaol was accordingly built by the inhabitants, at their own cost, the ironwork only having been supplied from the King's stores. This building—the earliest evidence of civic spirit displayed by the people of Sydney—stood in what is now Lower George-street, and, with some considerable alterations and additions, served the purpose for which it was built for more than forty years.

The feeling of animosity between the settlers and the aborigines had, about the end of the century, reached such a degree of intensity that acts of the most wanton violence and deeds of the darkest cruelty were frequent. Some of the details are of the most harrowing description. Take the following:—"The natives having murdered two men who had farms at the Hawkesbury, a few of the settlers in the neighbourhood determined, like the native savages of the country, to revenge their death by retaliation. There were three native boys living with some settlers, and these innocent and unoffending lads were selected as the objects of their reveng by these white savages. Having told them they thought they could find the guns of the white men, they were sent for that purpose, and soon brought them in. The cruel men now began to execute their infernal work of vengeance; for which purpose they drove them into a barn, and after tying their hands behind them, the cowardly miscreants stabbed them, till two died beneath their hands. The third made his escape, by jumping into the river, and though to assist him in swimming he could only make use of his feet, yet with this disadvantage, and the savage murderers or his companions firing constantly at him, he reached the opposite bank alive, and soon joined his own far more innocent people. The Governor, on being informed of this circumstance, with his usual goodness, sent directly to the place, where the bodies of these poor victims were found buried in a garden, stabbed

in several places, and their hands tied as described. The murderers were taken into custody, and a court being assembled, they were tried for the wilful murder of the two native boys. The evidence produced to the court perfectly established that the deceased had died by means of the prisoners; and the members of the court were unanimously of opinion, that they were 'guilty of killing two natives;' but instead of passing a sentence of death, a special reference was made to his Majesty's ministers, and the prisoners were admitted to bail. By way of a defence, the prisoners brought forward a cloud of witnesses to prove that a number of white people had been killed by the natives; but most undoubtedly could these people have been properly understood, proofs had not been wanting of the wanton and brutal manner in which by far too many of them had been expelled existence."

The natives, on the other hand, were by no means idle in the work of plunder or the destruction of life and property. Collins states that "when spoken to, or censured, for robbing the maize grounds, these people, to be revenged, were accustomed to assemble in large bodies, and burn the houses of the settlers if they stood in lonely situations, frequently attempting to take their lives; yet they were seldom refused a little corn when they would ask for it. It was imagined that they were stimulated to this destructive conduct by some runaway convicts, who were known to be among them at the time of their committing these depredations. In order to get possession of these pests, a proclamation was issued, calling on them by name to surrender themselves within fourteen days; declaring them outlaws if they refused; and requiring the inhabitants, as they valued the peace and good order of the settlement, and their own security, to assist in apprehending and bringing them to justice. The Governor also signified his determination, if any of the natives were taken in the act of robbing the settlers, to hang them in chains near the spot as an example to others. Could it have been foreseen that this was their natural temper, it would have been wiser to have kept them at a distance, and in fear; which might have been effected without so much of that severity which their conduct had sometimes caused to be exercised toward them. But the kindness which had been shown them, and the familiar intercourse with the white people in which they had been indulged, tended only to make them acquainted with those concerns in which they were the most vulnerable, and brought on all the evils that they suffered from them."

Governor Hunter embarked for England on September 28, 1800. "His departure," says Barrington's History, "was attended with every mark of respect and regret. The road to the wharf was lined with troops, and he was accompanied by the officers of the civil and military departments, with a concourse of inhabitants, who showed by their deportment the high sense they entertained of the regard he had ever paid to their interests, and the justice and humanity of his government."

The Rev. Dr. Lang, in his Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, speaking of Governor Hunter's conduct as a ruler, and his character as a man, says:—"The second Governor of New South Wales was John Hunter, Esq., Post-captain in the Royal Navy. Captain Hunter was a native of Scotland, and had been appointed, in virtue of a special Order in Council, second captain of the *Sirius* frigate, in the year 1787; Captain Phillip having the temporary command of that vessel during the voyage to New South Wales, as well as the general command of the expedition for the establishment of the colony. In this capacity, Captain Hunter had made great exertions and undergone great privations; and the experience he had thus acquired was well calculated to qualify him for the more important charge with which he was afterwards entrusted. During his government, the first free settlers, who emigrated to New South Wales in pursuance of Governor Phillip's recommendations, arrived in the territory; and one of their number—a Scotchman from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, whose sons are now substantial landholders in different parts of the territory—has told me, that the Governor went with him in person to superintend the measurement of his land, and to ascertain in what way he could promote his settlement, and render it as comfortable as possible. Indeed, Governor Hunter appears to have been a man of sound judgment, of strictly virtuous principles, and of warm benevolence; and had he not been counteracted by the influence and the practices I have already described, the colony would have prospered greatly under his administration, and profligacy would have hidden her head and been ashamed."

The material progress which the colony had made under Captain Hunter's rule may be judged of to some extent from the increase in live stock and land in cultivation. When he left there were 203 horses, 1044 head of horned cattle, and 6124 sheep. The land under crop was 7677 acres in wheat,

maize, and barley, alone, exclusive of what was applied to the growth of potatoes and other produce. The population, including 961 at Norfolk Island, numbered 6508. In the means of moral advancement some progress had also been made. Several schools had been established, and on breaking up for the holidays at the last Christmas which his Excellency spent in the colony, upwards of a hundred well-dressed boys and girls came with their teachers to Government-house to pay their respects. The Governor was highly gratified at such a proof of social and moral progress, and examined the young colonists as to their proficiency in various branches of study. Some of the settlers had at this time very large quantities of land under cultivation. Mr. Palmer, the head of the Commissariat Department, had between two and three hundred acres in wheat alone. One of the Hawkesbury settlers, originally a convict, had nearly as much, and several other farmers upwards of a hundred acres each.

Shortly after Captain Hunter's arrival in England he was appointed to the command of the *Venerable*, 74. While in that position circumstances occurred which brought out his simple, generous, humane, and self-sacrificing character in the strongest light. While cruising in the channel a seaman fell overboard, and Captain Hunter, although his ship was in a dangerous position, ordered her to be put about to pick him up. In attempting to accomplish this, she unfortunately missed stays, ran ashore, and was wrecked. Captain Hunter was thereupon tried by court-martial; and on being asked what had induced him to order the ship to be put about under such dangerous circumstances, replied that "he considered the life of a British seaman of more value than any ship in his Majesty's navy."

CHAPTER V.

DISCOVERIES OF LIEUTENANT FLINDERS AND MR. BASS—THEIR VOYAGE IN THE *TOM THUMB*—DISCOVERY OF BASS'S STRAITS—VOYAGE ROUND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE years 1796, 1797, and 1798, were remarkable for successful explorations both of the coast and the interior. In the month of March of the former year, Mr. Bass, surgeon of the *Reliance*, and Mr. Flinders, a midshipman who had arrived in

the colony with Governor Hunter, had gone about fifty miles down the coast in a little boat, only eight feet in length, named the Tom Thumb. In their excursion in this tiny craft they were accompanied by only one person, a boy, who had scarcely entered his teens. In this voyage, owing to the insignificant nature of their barque, they had been driven farther to the southward than they had intended to go; but in seeking shelter from the weather discovered Illawarra, one of the finest districts in the country. The voyage was one of the most remarkable on record, and the details are best given in Mr. Flinders' own words:—

“In Mr. George Bass, surgeon of the *Reliance*, I had the happiness to find a man whose ardour for discovery was not to be repressed by any obstacles, nor deterred by danger; and with this friend a determination was formed of completing the examination of the east coast of New South Wales, by all such opportunities as the duty of the ship, and procurable means, could admit.

“Projects of this nature, when originating in the minds of young men, are usually termed romantic; and so far from any good being anticipated, even prudence and friendship join in discouraging, if not in opposing them. Thus it was in the present case; so that a little boat of eight feet long, called *Tom Thumb*, with a crew composed of ourselves and a boy, was the best equipment to be procured for the first outset.

“We sailed out of Port Jackson early in the morning of March 25, and stood a little off to sea to be ready for the sea breeze. On coming in with the land in the evening, instead of being near Cape Solander [South Head of Botany], we found ourselves under the cliffs near Hat Hill, [Mount Keira] six or seven leagues to the southward, whither the boat had been drifted by a strong current. Not being able to land, and the sea breeze coming in early next morning from the northward, we steered for two small islets, six or seven miles further on, in order to get shelter; but being in want of water, and seeing a place on the way, where, though the boat could not land, a cask might be obtained by swimming, the attempt was made, and Mr. Bass went on shore. Whilst getting off the cask, a surf arose further out than usual, carried the boat before it to the beach, and left us there with our arms, ammunition, clothes, and provisions thoroughly drenched, and partly spoiled. The boat was emptied and launched again immediately; but it was late in the afternoon before everything was rafted off, and we proceeded to the islets [the Five Islands].

It was not possible to land there ; and we went on to two larger isles lying near a projecting point of the main, which has four hillocks upon it presenting the form of a double saddle, and proved to be Captain Cook's Red Point [near Wollongong]. These isles were as inaccessible as the others ; and it being dark, we were constrained to pass a second night in the Tom Thumb, and dropped our stone anchor in seven fathoms, under the lee of the point.

"The sea breeze, on the 27th, still opposed our return ; and learning from two Indians [native blacks] that no water could be procured at Red Point, we accepted their offer of piloting us to a river which, they said, lay a few miles further southward, and where not only fresh water was abundant, but also fish and wild ducks. These men were natives of Botany Bay, whence it was that we understood a little of their language, whilst that of some others was altogether unintelligible. Their river proved to be nothing more than a small stream, which descended from a lagoon [now known as Tom Thumb lagoon] under Hat Hill, and forced a passage for itself through the beach ; so that we entered it with difficulty even in Tom Thumb. Our two conductors then quitted the boat to walk along the sandy shore abreast, with eight or ten strange natives in company.

"After rowing a mile up the stream, and finding it to become more shallow, we began to entertain doubts of securing a retreat from these people, should they be hostilely inclined ; and they had the reputation at Port Jackson of being exceedingly ferocious, if not cannibals. Our muskets were not yet freed from rust and sand, and there was a pressing necessity to procure fresh water before attempting to return northward. Under these embarrassments, we agreed upon a plan of action, and went on shore directly to the natives. Mr. Bass employed some of them to assist in repairing an oar which had been broken in our disaster, whilst I spread the wet powder out in the sun. This met with no opposition, for they knew not what the powder was ; but when we proceeded to clean the muskets, it excited so much alarm that it was necessary to desist. On inquiring of the two friendly natives for water, they pointed upwards to the lagoon ; but after many evasions our barica [water-cask] was filled at a hole not many yards distant.

"The number of people had increased to near twenty, and others were still coming, so that it was necessary to use all

possible expedition in getting out of their reach. But a new employment arose upon our hands: we had clipped the hair and beards of the two Botany Bay natives at Red Point; and they were showing themselves to the others, and persuading them to follow their examples. Whilst, therefore, the powder was drying, I began with a large pair of scissors to execute my new office upon the eldest of four or five chins presented to me; and as great nicety was not required, the shearing of a dozen of them did not occupy me long. Some of the more timid were alarmed at a formidable instrument coming so near to their noses, and would scarcely be persuaded by their shaven friends to allow the operation to be finished. But when their chins were held up a second time, their fear of the instrument,—the wild stare of their eyes—and the smile which they forced,—formed a compound upon the rough savage countenance, not unworthy the pencil of a Hogarth. I was almost tempted to try what effect a little snip would produce; but our situation was too critical to admit of such experiments.

"Everything being prepared for a retreat, the natives became vociferous for the boat to go up the lagoon; and it was not without stratagem that we succeeded in getting down to the entrance of the stream, where the depth of water placed us out of their reach.

"Our examination of the country was confined, by circumstances, to a general view. This part is called Alowrie, by the natives, [afterwards corrupted to Illawarra by the colonists,] and is very low and sandy near the sides of the rivulet. About four miles up it, to the north-west, is the lagoon; and behind stands a semi-circular range of hills, of which the highest is Hat Hill. The water in the lagoon was distinctly seen, and appeared to be several miles in circumference. The land round it is probably fertile, and the slopes of the back hills had certainly that appearance. The natives were in nothing, except language, different from those at Port Jackson; but their dogs, which are of the same species, seemed to be more numerous and familiar.

"Soon after dark the sea breeze was succeeded by a calm; and at ten o'clock we rowed out of the rivulet, repassed Red Point, and at one in the morning came to an anchor in five fathoms, close to the northernmost of the two first rocky islets. In the afternoon of the 28th, we got on shore under the high land to the north of Hat Hill, and were able to cook provisions

and take some repose without disturbance. The sandy beach was our bed; and after much fatigue, and passing three nights of cramp in Tom Thumb, it was to us a bed of down.

"The shore in this part is mostly high and cliffy; and under the cliffs were lying black lumps, apparently of slaty stone, rounded by attrition. These were not particularly noticed, but Mr. Clarke, in his disastrous journey along the coast, afterwards made fires of them; and on a subsequent examination, Mr. Bass found a stratum of coal to run through the whole of these cliffs.

"March 29.—By rowing hard we got four leagues nearer home, and at night dropped our stone under another range of cliffs, more regular but less high than those near Hat Hill. At ten o'clock, the wind, which had been unsettled and driving electric clouds in all directions, burst out in a gale at south, and obliged us to get up the anchor immediately, and run before it. In a few minutes the waves began to break, and the extreme danger to which this exposed our little barque was increased by the darkness of the night, and the uncertainty of finding any place of shelter. The shade of the cliffs over our heads, and the noise of the surfs breaking at their feet, were the directions by which our course was steered parallel to the coast.

"Mr. Bass kept the sheet of the sail in his hand, drawing in a few inches occasionally, when he saw a particularly heavy sea following. I was steering with an oar, and it required the utmost exertion and care to prevent broaching to; a single wrong movement, or a moment's inattention, would have sent us to the bottom. The task of the boy was to bale out the water which, in spite of every care, the sea threw in upon us.

"After running near an hour in this critical manner, some high breakers were distinguished a-head, and behind them there appeared no shade of cliffs. It was necessary to determine on the instant what was to be done, for our barque could not live ten minutes longer. On coming to what appeared to be the extremity of the breakers, the boat's head was brought to the wind in a favourable moment, the mast and sail taken down, and the oars got out. Pulling then towards the reef, during the intervals of the heaviest seas, we found it to terminate in a point, and in three minutes were in smooth water under its lee. A white appearance further back kept us a short time in suspense, but a nearer approach shewed it to be the beach of a well-sheltered cove, in which we

anchored for the rest of the night. So sudden a change, from extreme danger to comparatively perfect safety, excited reflections which kept us some time awake; we thought Providential Cove a well-adapted name for this place, but by the natives, as we afterwards learned, it is called Watta-mowlee."

Mr. Bass some months after his return from this singular attempt at discovery and exploration in the Tom Thumb, induced the Governor to grant him the use of a whale boat, and six weeks' provisions for a crew of six volunteers who offered their services as his crew. He set sail on the 3rd December, 1797. It was the opinion of Cook, and likewise of Captain Hunter, the Governor, that Van Diemen's Land was separated by a strait from the Australian continent. Mr. Bass determined if possible to solve this question before his return. Shortly after passing the spot to which his previous explorations in the Tom Thumb had extended, he discovered a river, having its mouth in a shallow harbour, which he named Shoalhaven. Proceeding southwards he entered Jervis Bay, Bateman's Bay, and Twofold Bay; and after doubling Cape Howe and passing Wilson's Promontory, the extreme southern point of the Australian continent, discovered Western Port on the 4th January, 1798. He had thus, without however being quite certain that he had done so, passed through the Straits separating Van Diemen's Land from the mainland of Australia, when his scanty supply of provisions necessitated his return without proceeding further. He reached Port Jackson in safety on the 24th February, after an absence of about twelve weeks, having by the help of birds, fish, and seals' flesh made his stock of provisions last twice as long as they were originally calculated for. His scanty supplies had prevented his penetrating any considerable distance from the coast at the places where he touched, and consequently his report as to the fertility of the country to the southward was generally unfavourable, as he was able to speak only of the bleak and rocky or sandy country facing the ocean. On this expedition he picked up on an island in Bass's Straits seven men, who were discovered in a most deplorable state from want of food: they proved to be runaway convicts who had been left by their companions to perish. As his boat was not large enough to enable him to give them all a passage to Sydney, and his stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, he placed five of them on the mainland, persuading them to endeavour to reach the settlement overland. Two, who were much more

exhausted than their companions, he took with him in the boat, and brought them to Sydney. The fate of the others is doubtful; some accounts say they reached the settlement several months afterwards, and on being tried for piracy in running away with a boat belonging to a settler, were found guilty, and two out of the five hanged; but Flinders, in his account, says, that up to the year, 1803, when he left the colony they had never been heard of.

Lieutenant Flinders was soon afterwards despatched to Bass's Straits to bring to Sydney the remainder of the cargo of a vessel, called the Sydney Cove, which had been wrecked there. Some of the details of the narrative of his voyage are exceedingly interesting. Speaking of the numbers and the habits of the marine animals and birds on the islands and rocks of Bass's Straits, which, until then, had never been disturbed by the presence of man, he says, February 16, 1798 :—

“These rocks were also frequented by seals, and some of them (the old males) were of an enormous size, and of extraordinary power. I levelled my gun at one, which was sitting on the top of a rock with his nose extended up towards the sun, and struck him with three musket balls. He rolled over, and plunged into the water; but in less than half an hour had taken his former station and attitude. On firing again, a stream of blood spouted forth from his breast to some yards distance, and he fell back, senseless. On examination, the six balls were found lodged in his breast; and one, which occasioned his death, had pierced the heart; his weight was equal to that of a common ox.

“On Cone Point, the number of seals exceeded everything we had, any of us, before witnessed; and they were smaller, and of a different species from those which frequented Armstrong's Channel. Instead of the bull-dog nose, and thinly-set sandy hair, these had sharp-pointed noses, and the general color of the hair approached to a black, but the tips were of a silver grey, and underneath was a fine, whitish, thick fur. The commotion excited by our presence in this assemblage of several thousand timid animals, was very interesting to me, who knew little of their manners. The young cubs huddled together in the holes of the rocks, and moaned piteously; those more advanced scampered and rolled down to the water with their mothers, whilst some of the old males stood up in defence of their families until the terror of the sailors' bludgeons became too strong to be resisted. Those who have

seen a farm yard well stocked with pigs, calves, sheep, oxen, and with two or three litters of puppies, with their mothers in it, and have heard them all in tumult together, may form a good idea of the confused noise of the seals at Cone Point. The sailors killed as many of these harmless, and not unamiable creatures as they were able to skin during the time necessary for me to take the requisite angles, and we then left the poor affrighted multitude to recover from the effect of our inauspicious visit.

"Some of the trees on Preservation Island had partly undergone a peculiar transformation. The largest of them were not thicker than a man's leg, and the whole were decayed; but whilst the upper branches continued to be of wood, the roots at the surface, and the trunks up to a certain height, were of a stony substance resembling chalk. On breaking these chalky trunks, which was easily done, rings of the brown wood sometimes appeared in them, as if imperfectly converted; but in the greater number, nothing more than circular traces remained. The situation in which these trees were principally found, is a sandy valley near the middle of the island, which was likewise remarkable for the quantity of bones of birds and small quadrupeds, with which it was strewed. The petrefactions were afterwards more particularly examined by Mr. Bass, who adopted the opinion that they had been caused by water.

"The sooty petrel, better known at sea under the name of sheerwater, frequents the tufted, grassy parts of all the islands in astonishing numbers. It is known that these birds make burrows in the ground like rabbits, that they lay one or two enormous eggs in these holes, and bring up their young there. In the evening they come in from sea, having their stomachs filled with a gelatinous substance gathered from the waves, and this they eject into the throats of their offspring, or retain for their own nourishment according to circumstances. A little after sunset, the air at Preservation Island used to be darkened with their numbers, and it was generally an hour before their squabbings ceased and every one had found its own retreat. The people of the Sydney Cove had a strong example of perseverance in these birds. The tents were pitched close to a piece of ground full of their burrows, many of which were necessarily filled up from walking constantly over them; yet, notwithstanding this interruption, and the thousands of birds destroyed, for they constituted a great part of their food during more than six months, the returning

flights continued to be as numerous as before ; and there was scarcely a burrow less, except in the spaces actually covered by the tents. These birds are about the size of a pigeon, and when skinned and dried in smoke we thought them passable food. Any quantity could be procured, by sending people on shore in the evening. The sole process was to thrust in the arm up to the shoulder, and seize them briskly ; but there was some danger of grasping a snake at the bottom of the burrow, instead of a petrel.

“A large flock of gannets was observed at daylight to issue out of the great bight to the southward, and they were followed by such a number of the sooty petrels as we had never seen equalled. There was a stream of some fifty to eighty yards in depth, and of three hundred yards, or more, in breadth ; the birds were not scattered, but flying as compactly as a free movement of their wings seemed to allow ; and during a full hour and a half, this stream of petrels continued to pass without interruption, at a rate little inferior to the swiftness of the pigeon. Taking the stream to have been fifty yards deep by three hundred in width, and that it moved at the rate of thirty miles an hour, and allowing nine cubic yards of space to each bird, the number would amount to 151,500,000. The burrows required to lodge this quantity of birds would be 75,750,000 ; and allowing a square yard to each burrow, they would cover something more than $18\frac{1}{2}$ geographical square miles of ground. On the lowest computation, I think the number could not have been less than a hundred millions ; and we were thence led to believe, that there must be, in the large bight, one or more uninhabited islands of considerable size.

“Mr. Bass returned at half-past two, with a boat load of seals and albatrosses. He had been obliged to fight his way up the cliffs of the island with the seals, and when arrived at the top, to make a road with his clubs amongst the albatrosses. These birds were sitting upon their nests, and almost covered the surface of the ground, nor did they any otherwise derange themselves for the new visitors, than to peck at their legs as they passed by. This species of albatross is white on the neck and breast, partly brown on the back and wings, and its size is less than many others met with at sea, particularly in the high southern latitudes. The seals were of the usual size, and bore a reddish fur, much inferior in quality to that of the seals at Furneaux's Islands.”

On the 7th October, 1798, Lieutenant Flinders, accompanied by Mr. Bass, and provided with a larger vessel, (the schooner

Norfolk,) and more adequate means, sailed upon another voyage of discovery to the southward. On the 17th, the islands of Kent's Group were discovered, and on the 3rd of November the entrance to the river Tamar, afterwards named Port Dalrymple, by Governor Hunter. In sailing up this river the explorers were much gratified with the appearance of the country on the banks, where smooth and grassy slopes were intermingled with well-wooded patches extending down to the water side. The bright and luxuriant foliage of the trees gave a charm to the scenery which was highly gratifying and refreshing to those who had been so long accustomed to the more brown and sombre vegetation of the mainland. Leaving the Tamar, and proceeding westward, they soon found the coast turn to the south, and from the heavy swell rolling in, and other indications, they did not hesitate to conclude that they had passed through the straits and had entered the Southern Indian Ocean. On the 13th December, 1798, they passed the south-west and south capes of Van Diemen's Land, before generally regarded as the southern extremity of New Holland. Having examined the River Derwent, and made excursions in several directions in order to ascertain the quality of the soil, they again steered to the northward, and reached Port Jackson on the 12th of January, 1799. The Derwent river had been visited, named, and partially examined, a few years previous to this voyage of Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, by Captain John Hayes, who sailed up it with two ships, the *Duke* and *Duchess*, in 1794. Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, also had visited the place when on his voyage in search of *La Peyrouse*, and had very inappropriately bestowed upon it the name of the *Riviere du Nord*. The little vessel in which this circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Land was accomplished was of colonial construction, and built of Norfolk Island pine.

Lieutenant Flinders, in his narrative of the voyage of the *Norfolk*, says:—"In September, 1798, his Excellency Governor Hunter, had the goodness to give me the *Norfolk*, a colonial sloop of twenty-five tons, with authority to penetrate behind Furneaux's Islands; and should a strait be found, to pass through it and return by the south end of Van Diemen's Land; making such examinations and surveys on the way as circumstances might permit. Twelve weeks were allowed for the performance of this service, and provisions for that time were put on board. I had the happiness to associate my friend Bass in this new expedition, and to form an excellent crew of

eight volunteers from the king's ships. My report of the seals at Furneaux's Islands had induced Messrs. Bishop and Simpson, the commander and supercargo of the snow *Nautilus* to prepare their vessel for a sealing speculation to that quarter ; and on October 7 we sailed out of Port Jackson together."

On the 9th they reached Twofold Bay, and were engaged in making a survey, when, says the narrative, "Our attention was suddenly called by the screams of three women, who took up their children and ran off in great consternation. Soon afterward a man made his appearance. He was of a middle age, unarmed, except with a whaddie, or wooden scimitar, and came up to us seemingly with careless confidence. We made much of him, and gave him some biscuit ; and he in return presented us with a piece of gristly fat, probably of whale. This I tasted ; but watching an opportunity to spit it out when he should not be looking, I perceived him doing precisely the same thing with our biscuit, whose taste was probably no more agreeable to him, than his whale was to me. Walking onward with us to the long beach, our new acquaintance picked up from the grass a long wooden spear, pointed with bone ; but this he hid a little further on, making signs that he should take it on his return. The commencement of our trigonometrical operations was seen by him with indifference, if not contempt ; and he quitted us, apparently satisfied that, from people who could occupy themselves seriously in such a manner, there was nothing to be apprehended.

"I was preparing the artificial horizon for observing the latitude, when a party of seven or eight natives broke out in exclamation upon the bank above us, holding up their open hands to show they were unarmed. We were three in number, and, besides a pocket pistol, had two muskets. These they had no objection to our bringing, and we sat down in the midst of the party. It consisted entirely of young men, who were better made, and cleaner in their persons than the natives of Port Jackson usually are ; and their countenances bespoke both good will and curiosity, though mixed with some degree of apprehension. Their curiosity was mostly directed to our persons and dress, and constantly drew off their attention from our little presents, which seemed to give but a momentary pleasure. The approach of the sun to the meridian calling me down to the beach, our visitors returned into the woods, seemingly well satisfied with what they had seen. We could perceive no arms of any kind amongst them ; but I knew these

people too well not to be assured that their spears were lying ready, and that it was prudent to keep a good look out upon the woods, to prevent surprise whilst taking the observation."

They sailed from Twofold Bay on the morning of the 14th October, and after visiting several islands in Bass's Straits, discovered the entrance of the river Tamar on the 3rd November. Mr. Flinder's narrative of this discovery says :— "On each side of a ridge there were several smokes, which induced me to suppose the flat lands might contain lakes of fresh water. A low head, seemed to be the termination of another branch from the inland mountains ; round it there was some appearance of an opening, and at two o'clock this excited so much hope that I ventured to bear away before the wind. We advanced rapidly with the flood, and at four had passed Low Head and were steering SE. by S., up an inlet of more than a mile wide. Some shoals, not quite covered, we left on the starboard hand ; keeping a straight course for the entrance of a basin or bay, at which the inlet seemed to terminate. This course took us over some strong rippings of tide, on none of which, however, there was less than five fathoms ; and so soon as they were passed, thirteen fathoms did not reach the bottom. We could not but remark the contrast between the shores of this inlet, covered with grass and wood down to the water's edge, and the rocky sterile banks observed in sailing up Port Jackson : it spoke favourably for the country, and added to the satisfaction we felt in having made the discovery. There was, however, little time for meditation ; the tide drove the sloop rapidly onward to the basin ; and the evening coming on, I pushed between some dry rocks and a point on the western side, and anchored in two fathoms, on a bottom of sand and mud.

"There were many recent traces of natives on the shore ; and after returning to the sloop, we saw, on the opposite side of the arm, a man who employed or amused himself by setting fire to the grass in different places. He did not stay to receive us, and we rowed down to Middle Island where a smoke was rising. The natives shunned us there also ; for soon after landing, I saw three of them walk up from the shoal which joins Middle Island to the opposite low, sandy point. The party appeared to consist of a man, a woman, and a boy ; and the two first had something wrapped round them which resembled cloaks of skins."

They remained in this harbour, detained by contrary winds, for nearly a month, and finally quitted it, after making one or two unsuccessful attempts, on the 3rd December. It was shortly after named Port Dalrymple as a mark of respect to Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., the then hydrographer to the Admiralty. The name of the Tamar was conferred on the river by Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, who was sent from Port Jackson to settle a new colony there in 1804. The sources of the river were then explored. The first town established was York Town, at the head of the Western Arm, but this proving inconvenient, it was removed to Launceston, which was intended to be the capital of the new colony, at the junction of the North and South Esks, up to which the Tamar is navigable for vessels of 150 tons. The tide reaches nine or ten miles up the North Esk; but the South Esk descends from the mountains by a cataract, directly into the Tamar, and, consequently, is not accessible to navigation of any kind.

“Port Dalrymple and the river Tamar occupy the bottom of a valley betwixt two irregular chains of hills, which shoot off north-westward from the great body of inland mountains. In some places these hills stand wide apart, and the river then opens its banks to a considerable extent; in others, they nearly meet, and contract its bed to narrow limits. The Tamar has, indeed, more the appearance of a chain of lakes, than of a regularly-formed river; and such it probably was, until, by long undermining, assisted perhaps by some unusual weight of water, a communicating channel was formed, and a passage forced out to sea.”

On December 7, having kept on to the westward, they found that they had passed through the straits dividing Van Diemen's Land from the Australian continent. Lieutenant Flinders says:—“Mr. Bass and myself landed immediately to examine the country and the coast, and to see what food could be procured; for the long detention by foul winds had obliged me to make a reduction in the provisions, lest the object of our voyage and return to Port Jackson should not be accomplished in the twelve weeks for which we were victualled. At dusk, we returned on board, having had little success as to any of the objects proposed; but with the knowledge of a fact from which an interesting deduction was drawn: the tide had been running from the eastward all the afternoon, and contrary to expectation, we found it to be near low water by the shore; the flood, therefore, came from the west, and not from the

eastward, as at Furneaux's Isles. This was considered to be a strong proof, not only of the real existence of a passage betwixt this land and New South Wales, but also that the entrance into the Southern Indian Ocean could not be far distant."

They soon afterwards passed the north-west cape of Van Diemen's Land, which from its stern, steep, dark appearance, was named Cape Grim; and on the 11th of the month, sighted two mountains on the west coast, which proved to be the first land seen by Tasman, on November 24, 1642. Off this coast, says Flinders, "The heavy south-west swell, which had met us at the entrance of the Indian Ocean, still continued to roll in, and set dead upon this coast; and the wind blew fresh at W. N. W. Under these circumstances, we looked out for some little beach, where, in case of necessity, the sloop might be run on shore with a prospect of safety to our lives; for should the wind come three or four points further forward, there was no probability of clearing the land on either tack. No such beach could, however, be discovered; and we therefore carried all possible sail to get past this dreary coast."

On the 13th, they were off the south-west cape of Van Diemen's Land, and on the 23rd entered the Derwent. The account says:—"On the 23rd, the wind being fair, we ran upwards between shores which were sometimes steep, but generally of a gradual ascent, and well clothed with grass and wood. At nine miles from the entrance lies Sullivan Cove, on the west side, where a settlement has since been established by Colonel Collins; and here the width of the river is suddenly contracted from one mile and a half to less than three-quarters of a mile, but the depth is not diminished. Four miles higher up we found Risdon Cove, and anchored there in four fathoms, with the intention of filling our empty water casks at the Risdon River of Mr. Hayes; but finding it to be a little creek, which even our boat could not enter, I determined to seek a more convenient watering place higher up the Derwent."

The Sullivan's Cove, mentioned in the above paragraph, is the site of the present city of Hobarton. The first settlement of Van Diemen's Land (1803) was not, however, made there, but at Risdon Cove—which spot was selected by Captain John Bowen, of the Navy, who had been sent from Sydney for that purpose, by Governor King; but on the arrival of the first Governor of Van Diemen's Land—Colonel Collins, in 1804,—

he selected Sullivan's Cove as a more suitable situation, and to that spot the settlement was at once removed. Lieutenant Flinders describes the Derwent as follows:—"The width of the Derwent is contracted in the south-west reach to little more than a quarter of a mile, and we had not rowed far up it before the water became perfectly fresh. The land on both sides rises to hills of moderate elevation, and the rather steep acclivities being well clothed with verdure, they had an agreeable appearance. Our attention was suddenly called from contemplating the country, by the sound of a human voice coming from the hills. There were three people; and as they would not comply with our signs to come down, we landed and went up to them, taking with us a black swan. Two women ran off, but a man, who had two or three spears in his hand, staid to receive us, and accepted the swan with rapture. He seemed entirely ignorant of muskets, nor did anything excite his attention or desire except the swan and the red kerchiefs about our necks; he knew, however, that we came from the sloop, and where it was lying. A little knowledge of the Port Jackson and of the South Sea Island languages, was of no use in making ourselves understood by this man; but the quickness with which he comprehended our signs spoke in favour of his intelligence. His appearance much resembled that of the inhabitants of New South Wales; he had also marks raised upon the skin, and his face was blackened and hair ruddled as is sometimes practised by them. The hair was either close cropped, or naturally short: but it had not the appearance of being woolly. He acceded to our proposition of going to his hut; but finding from his devious route and frequent stoppages, that he sought to tire our patience, we left him delighted with the certain possession of his swan, and returned to the boat. This was the sole opportunity we had of communicating with any natives of Van Diemen's Land.

"The banks of the Derwent are not remarkably high, but the country in general may be termed mountainous. Mount Table, [afterwards named Mount Wellington] at the back of Sullivan Cove, is supposed to be three-quarters of a mile in height; nor do I think, from having seen it beyond the distance of thirty miles from the sloop's deck, that it can be much less. The publication of Mr. Bass' remarks upon the soil and productions of this part of Van Diemen's Land were so favourable as to induce the establishment of a colony on the banks of the Derwent four years afterwards."

The youthful navigators sailed from Storm Bay (as the estuary of the Derwent had been named), on the 3rd January, 1799, and reached Port Jackson on the 11th of the same month. Lieutenant Flinders concludes his account of this remarkable voyage with a generous recognition of his young companion's claims to the honour of being the first discoverer of the strait which bears his name:—"To the strait which had been the great object of research, and whose discovery was now completed, Governor Hunter gave, at my recommendation, the name of Bass's Strait. This was no more than a just tribute to my worthy friend and companion, for the extreme dangers and fatigues he had undergone in the first entering it in the whale boat, and to the correct judgment he had formed from various indications of the existence of a wide opening between Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales."

[END OF THE SECOND PART.]

AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION.—PART III.

CHAPTER I,

THE ABORIGINES—THEIR ANTIQUITY, THE RACES OF MANKIND TO WHICH THEY ARE RELATED, THEIR LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS, SUPERSTITIONS, WEAPONS, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, AND RAPID EXTINCTION.

HAVING given, in preceding chapters, an account of the settlement of the first civilised community on Australian shores, and chronicled its progress during the first decade of its history, it will not perhaps be considered out of place here to direct the reader's attention for a short time to the unfortunate race which, before the coming of the colonists, had—probably for countless ages—been the sole human occupants of the Great South Land. It can hardly be uninteresting to inquire into the history of such a people,—what was their probable origin, with what sections of the human race they were connected by blood, language, or customs,—what state of development they had reached, and whether their rapid disappearance from the land of which they were once the sole possessors is attributable to causes which might have been prevented or greatly modified, or is the inevitable consequence of the occupation of their country by a superior race. Yet, however interesting the subject, the history of a nation which has no past, whose origin and progress are not illumined by a solitary tradition, can be at best but a series of ingenious conjectures, deductions from analogy, and conclusions based on existing circumstances.

At the period of Governor Phillip's landing, Australia was the only country in the world of any considerable extent whose aboriginal inhabitants were still the undisputed possessors of the soil. The primeval races of Europe and Asia had disappeared, long ages before, from all but the most remote and inaccessible parts of the two continents; every country of Africa afforded abundant evidence that its earliest inhabitants had given place to conquering intruders; the aborigines of America—if even the men who formed the mighty mounds in the valley of the Mississippi, the people

who raised the great pyramids in the plains of Mexico, and those who built the Cyclopean walls of Palenque, were aborigines—all these had vanished before intrusive races; and probably ere Columbus crossed the Atlantic and the destroying white man set his foot upon the shores of the New World, the wild red men of the northern continent had exterminated an older stock which once spread its branches from the great lakes to the Mexican Gulf, and the effete Mexicans and Peruvians of Central and South America had long blotted out all but the last vestiges of the existence of earlier and perhaps mightier peoples. In the remotest islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans—in Madagascar as in New Zealand—there exist abundant traces that earlier races than the Hovas and the Maoris had once possessed the land—races in all probability near akin to the Australian aborigines. Over the Indian Archipelago successive waves of intruders had rolled for thousands of years, and the remains of the primitive inhabitants were only to be discovered in the deepest recesses of the forests or in the fastnesses of the most inaccessible mountains.

Amidst all these changes—the rise and fall of empires, the waxing and waning of various races of mankind—the aborigines of the Australian continent alone remained undisturbed, and their country almost unknown and unvisited. Here, as might have been anticipated, Man was found in his most primitive condition, Nature in her most unaltered state. No remains which have been disinterred by the zeal of antiquarians—no evidences of the existence of prehistoric man which chance or prying curiosity may have wrested from the grasp of forty centuries,—no arrow-heads of flint or hatchets of stone—no remains of Swiss Lake habitations or Irish cranogues, afford glimpses of a race of men living under more primitive circumstances than were the aborigines of the southern continent when the first colonists landed on the shores of Sydney Cove.

It is vain to seek for the origin of such a people as the aborigines of Australia. The light of history fails to throw even a single ray backward into the dark obscurity which envelopes them. Almost all that is certain is of a negative kind. That no earlier people ever possessed the country,—that no vestige of any other race has ever been discovered within the wide extent of the Great South Land—this we know and little else. Their total ignorance of the use of metals proves that they had never advanced beyond the age

of stone. Their mogo or hatchet was almost an exact counterpart of the stone implement of the aborigines of Europe, but it was almost the only weapon—the solitary evidence of art—which connected them with the rest of the world. The flint arrow-heads, found in such abundance on the sites of the dwelling-places of the people of the old world, are wholly unknown in Australia, for the aboriginal Australian knew not even the use of the bow and arrow,—perhaps the most universal of all weapons used either in war or the chase. The boomerang, the most singular, and, in some respects, the most simple, instrument of offence which the wit of man has ever devised, was peculiar to the Australian savage. It is said indeed that the figure of a similar weapon has been found depicted on the walls of ancient Egyptian tombs, but the resemblance is, perhaps, only a fanciful one, for the shape of the boomerang is so nearly that of the scimitar or curved sword that the representation of one might well be taken for that of the other. At all events there is not so much certainty about the identity of the things represented as to justify the supposition that the slightest connexion existed between the Australian aborigines and any people depicted on the tombs of ancient Egypt.

If the Australians had no peculiar tools or weapons which served to connect them with any particular race of mankind, still less had they any traditions, religious or otherwise, which could be said to do so. It is to their language and their social customs alone that we must look for traces of their kindred with other branches of the human family. Philology, the science which has done more than any other, or than all others combined, to gather up, to disentangle, and to join the scattered and broken threads which connect the widely separated branches of mankind, will, it is hoped, when properly invoked and applied, confer a like service on the Australian to that which it has already conferred on many other races. It is a significant and pregnant fact that the grammatical structure of all the languages of Australia is the same, although there is so great a diversity in the words that only the names of the most familiar objects are common to any considerable number of tribes. There are a few words however, which, if they indicate anything, show a connection with the Aryan rather than the Tauranian race; that is, with the peoples speaking the Indo-European rather than the Mongolian or Tater languages; and are, in fact, all more or less allied both in sound and meaning to words used by nations

deriving their speech from the Sanscrit. A few of these generally used Australian aboriginal words will suffice as an example:—

GIN, or **GUN**, a woman. Greek γυνή, (guné), and derivative words in English such as generate, generation, and the like.

JOEN, a man. Persian, juen. Latin, juven-is.

GIBBER, **KIBBA**, or **KEPA**, a rock. Arab, kaba. Moorish giber, as in Gibraltar. Hebrew, kefas.

COBBERA, or **COBRA**, the head. English, cob. Spanish, cobra. German, kopf. **TIORA**, land or country. Latin, terra. French, terre. English, territory.

HIELEMAN, a shield. Saxon, heilan. English, helm or helmet, (a little shield for the head).

MORAY, or **MURRY**, great, large, or much. Celtic, mor or more. English, more, the comparative of much.

GNARA, a knot or tangle. English, gnarled, (full of knots).

KIRADJEE, a doctor. Greek, χειρουργος. Persian, Khoajih. English, surgeon. Old English (obsolete) chirurgeon.

CABOHN, good, true, great. Words of the same or similar meaning, of which "bon" is the root, are found in most of the European (Latin) languages.

YARRA, flowing. Wallo-yarra, the beard (hair flowing from the chin.) The names of several British rivers such as the Yare, the Yarrow, and others, as well as many Australian streams, as the Yarra-yarra (flowing-flowing) seem to have had a common origin. The word "hair" is perhaps another form of the same word; as well as arrow, the bolt shot from a bow.

MAR-REY, wet. **MER** or **MAR**, water. This root occurs in the names of numbers of waters, streams, and rivers in Australia, as well as in Europe; in the latter generally applied to the sea or a large body of water, as in Boulogne-sur-mer, Weston-super-mare, Windermere, &c. Hebrew or Phœnician, mara. Latin, mare, the sea or a great river.

Bo'YE or **BOGY**, a ghost or an object of terror. English, boggy, bugaboo.

KALAMA, a reed, the rod or staff of a spear. Greek, καλάμος. Latin, calamus. Hindostanne, callum.

GUNYA, a place for shelter. Persian or Arabic, gunn.

MAH to strike. Hindostanne, mah.

PILAR, a spear. Latin, pilum (plural, pila.)

PIDNA, the foot. Latin, ped, and English derivative words as pedestrian.

Many other words might be added which afford traces of resemblance between the languages of the Australian aboriginal tribes and the tongues spoken by the various Aryan nations. But whether they indicate a common origin, or merely suggest the probability of a small infusion of words of Sanscrit derivation through the occasional visits of Arabs or Malays, it is difficult to say. The latter supposition appears not improbable. It has been asserted that if three words coincide in two different languages the probability of their original identity is as ten to one. But this can hardly apply, where, as in the case of Australia, it is likely that from time

to time, during the lapse of ages, a considerable number of men of Malay origin or speaking some dialect of the Arab tongue must have visited the northern coasts of the country. Horne Tooke says that "from the language of every nation we may with certainty collect its origin." But Baron Humboldt asserts that "neither the analogy or affinity of languages can suffice to solve the great problem of the filiation of nations."

The great verbal diversity of the Australian languages, notwithstanding their unity in grammatical construction, is a strong proof of the high antiquity of the aboriginal race. Philologists would probably infer the lapse of many scores of centuries since the period when the almost numberless aboriginal dialects, or rather languages, which present such serious diversities in words, were identical; for notwithstanding the long ages necessary to produce the diversity which now exists, it is all but certain—looking at the peculiarities and uniformity of structure—that all the tribes must have originally spoken the same tongue, or have derived their languages from a common source.

The vast differences in the vocabularies of the various Australian tribes have been said to be mainly owing to the fact that on the death of a friend or relative his name is never again mentioned by the other members of the tribe; and that, as their names are generally those of familiar and common objects, the decease of every individual necessitates the change of the word by which some animal, bird, peculiarity, or thing had before been known or expressed; and hence the great differences in the most common words even of neighbouring tribes. This statement, although founded in a partial truth, is wholly untrue in its application. The disuse of the term by which a deceased person was known only lasts for a short period, that is, during the time of mourning; when that time has expired the word or words which formed the name are again restored to use. The same change, or rather temporary disuse, of the word or words forming the name of the mother of a girl by the man who seeks her daughter in marriage is observed in many tribes. The lover, during the period of courtship, must neither look at his intended mother-in-law nor utter her name; and has to substitute some other term when speaking of any person or thing with a similar appellation. But this, like the disuse of the names of deceased persons, is only a temporary and ceremonious observance which has little or no influence in permanently changing the

language. The causes of the great verbal differences which prevail must therefore be sought elsewhere.

Concerning their numbers at the time the country was first colonised nothing much better than a random guess is possible. Governor Phillip, judging from what he saw at first, thought that only about fifteen hundred aborigines were to be found on the shores of Port Jackson between Botany Bay and Broken Bay. He afterwards, from careful observation and repeated inquiries, saw reason to change his opinion, and then came to the conclusion that they were about double as many. The area over which his calculation extended could hardly have been more than about two hundred square miles, but as it embraced the shores of three large harbours, all affording excellent facilities for fishing, the district was no doubt capable of supporting a much larger number than could generally be found in similar extents of even coast country. In districts bordering the ocean fish appears to have been the staple article of food, and such districts were consequently far more densely peopled than the rest of the continent. In fact, in the interior, there were many large tracts of country almost incapable of supporting men even in a savage state—rocky and sandy wastes, and impenetrable scrubs, where the human foot had never trod, and where animal life could be scarcely said to exist. Taking all things into consideration it is probable that a million would be an exceedingly high estimate of the numbers of all the aboriginal race when the white intruders first landed on their shores. That so small a population should have been found scattered over so vast an extent of country,—a country which had been in their undisturbed possession for perhaps hundreds of centuries—seems at first almost unaccountable. But when all the conditions to which they were subject, and all the circumstances by which they were surrounded, are taken into consideration, the difficulty entirely disappears.

There are good reasons for supposing that the aboriginal population of Australia, although so few in number, had long been pressing upon their means of existence. It should be remembered that their weapons, means, and appliances for the capture of the larger kinds of game, like the kangaroo and emu, were of the most primitive kind, although from the marvellous dexterity to which they had attained in using them, their success was far beyond anything which civilised man could hope to achieve under similar circumstances. They had probably increased to the full extent of the food at their com-

mand thousands of years before the old Dutch and Spanish navigators sighted their shores. Many aboriginal laws and customs, which at first look most unreasonable and absurd, viewed in connexion with the supposition that they were dictated by stern necessity, cease to excite surprise or to occasion disgust. The customs of uncivilised tribes have their origin in natural laws; and, after long continuance, habit becomes as fixed as an instinct. Under such circumstances it may even happen that if the necessity which originated the observance should disappear, the custom will continue and be submitted to with unquestioning obedience for ages after.

All the Australian tribes taboo or interdict certain descriptions of food to women and young people. Only children of tender years and the old men of the tribe are allowed to make use of all kinds of animals and fish. In most tribes the young men might not eat the flesh of the young kangaroo, the bandicoot, or the opossum. Young girls were not allowed to take the young from the pouch or eat the flesh of the old wallaby. Married young women were not to eat emu's eggs or the young of any animal. No female could eat fish caught in places where they spawn. There were many other similar customs. Their laws respecting food were probably designed to serve a twofold purpose. In the first place, to compel the young and energetic members of the tribe to hunt the animals most difficult to capture, and to leave the food most easily procurable to be obtained by those who were incapable of contending with the more serious tasks of fishing or the chase; and, in the second, to prevent all unnecessary destruction of young and breeding animals, so that the supply of food should be diminished as little as possible.

Then, again, their customs with respect to marriage probably originated in a strong necessity for repressing the numbers of the population. History teaches that in countries where polygamy is encouraged population seldom increases. The Australian aborigines not only practised polygamy, and surrounded marriage with all possible difficulties, but their customs were such as were calculated to render the offspring of those who were married as few as possible. When a female infant was born, if her life was preserved (which was very frequently not the case, for infanticide was general) she was promised as a wife to one of the men of the tribe,—very often to an old man who was already the possessor of two or three gins. Most of the young and many of the middle aged men were consequently doomed to remain bachelors, unless they

could steal or otherwise procure a wife from another tribe, a thing which was generally an exceedingly difficult matter to accomplish, seeing that unmarried females were almost equally scarce in all the tribes. Either a desire to avoid the charge of too numerous a progeny, or the impossibility of procuring a supply of food suitable for very young children, or perhaps both these causes combined, prolonged the time during which aboriginal mothers suckled their children to the unusual period of three, four, and sometimes even five years. Other children were often born during this period—for gestation did not in their case interfere with lactation—but these were almost invariably sacrificed. Custom in this case appears to have sanctioned what necessity demanded. The natural food which the mother could provide was barely enough for the unweaned child already dependent upon it, and there was no artificial means of supplementing it so as to render it sufficient for two. Another hindrance to the increase of population existed in the singular laws which regulated the marriage of relatives. What these laws were may be gathered from the perusal of a little work by the Rev. W. Ridley, M.A., a gentleman who from his long personal intercourse with the aborigines as a missionary, is perhaps better able than any other writer to explain their peculiar customs. Their laws of pedigree and marriage prescribe a complete classification of the people of the nature of caste. By means of family names they are divided into four classes. Ippai, Murri, Kubbi, and Kumbo, are the names of the men; and their sisters are respectively Ippata, Mata, Kapota, and Buta. In one family all the males are called ippai, the females ippata; in another all the males are murri, the females mata; in a third all the males are kubbi, the females kapota; and in a fourth all the males are kumbo, all the females buta. Every family in all the Kamilroy tribes, over a large extent of country, including Liverpool Plains, the Namoi, the Barwan, and the Bundarra, is distinguished by one of these four sets of names. The names are hereditary; but the rule of descent differs from any other ever heard of. The sons of Ippai (if his wife be Kapota) are all Murri, and his daughters Mata; the sons of Murri are Ippai and the daughters Ippata; the sons of Kubbi are Kumbo, the daughters Buta; the sons of Kumbo are Kubbi, the daughters Kapota. The law of marriage is founded on this system of descent. They have no law against polygamy; but while their law is not careful about the number of a man's wives, it denounces capital punishment

against any one who marries one of the wrong sort. The rule is this:—Ippai may marry Kapota, and any Ippata but his own sister; Murri may marry Buta only; Kubbi may marry Ippata only; Kumbo may marry Mata only. In some respects, for instance in the larger marriage choice, Ippai is a favoured class; but many who exercise a kind of authority are Kumbo, and in the course of a few generations every man's descendants come into the class of Ippai as well as into that of Kumbo.

These rules of marriage, the infraction of which was punished with death, prevented a man from marrying, not only his sister, his aunt, and his niece, but all such first cousins as were the daughters either of his father's brother or his mother's sister. Customs like these, in such limited communities as the Australian aboriginal tribes, must have acted in an exceedingly restrictive manner; and it is almost impossible to conceive the adoption of such stringent laws except from the dire necessity of preventing an increase in their numbers, and this necessity can have arisen from no other cause than a heavy pressure of the population upon the means of existence.

Conclusive evidence that such a pressure actually existed is found in the fact, that throughout the Australian continent, so far as can now be ascertained, every acre of land capable of supporting life was parcelled out among the various tribes, the extent and boundaries of the possessions of each tribe defined with the strictest accuracy, and any infringement punished in the most severe manner. In fact the boundaries of one tribe are never crossed by another without the most elaborate negotiations and a punctilious adherence to ceremonious observances. Is it not evident from such facts as these that the supply of food was below the wants of the population, and that nothing but absolute necessity could have scattered such a handful of men as the Australian aborigines over so wide an extent of the surface of the earth, defined the limits of the land belonging to each tribe with such extreme exactness, and upheld their territorial rights with such remarkable tenacity? No tribe could increase its numbers without increasing the extent of its hunting grounds and fishing rights, and many circumstances go to prove that, at the time of the arrival of the first colonists, little or no changes had taken place for many ages in the positions of the various tribes. Their quarrels, although frequent, were not often fatal, and their fights, always conducted according to strict rule and precedent, partook more of the nature of tournaments, or trials

of skill and courage, than of deadly feuds or contests for territorial aggrandisement.

The segregation of the aboriginal tribes—greater probably than that of any other race of mankind—certainly much greater than that of any other people whose separation was not due to natural boundaries—affords a strong proof of the high antiquity of the race. The constant tendency of savage nations seems to be towards the isolation of small communities; while the tendency of civilisation is to combine and fuse them together. The consequences of separation are ever-widening disparities in language, customs, and mental and physical attributes; and these disparities are so great and so marked in the various Australian tribes as to countenance the belief that their separation or divergence from a common source dates from exceedingly remote times. The uniformity of the structure of their languages may, as before remarked, be taken as a conclusive proof of their identity in origin, while their wide verbal variations, the vast differences in their physical appearance, the striking contrasts in their craniological development, the wonderful dissimilarity in their features, in the texture of their hair, and the colour of their skin, notwithstanding the existence of a strong family likeness in all the tribes from Swan River to Cape Danger, and from Wilson's Promontory to Port Essington, all point to the fact that untold ages had elapsed since their descent from a common stock or dispersion from a common centre.

The shape and capacity of the skull differ quite as widely in individuals of the Australian as of any other race. Indeed there is, perhaps, no race in which such contrasts prevail. The heads of some, particularly the females, are little superior in figure or capacity to the well-known Neanderthal fossil, figured in Sir Charles Lyell's late work; while numerous instances are seen among them of heads quite equal in every respect to those of the average European. The few specimens of the Australian skull which have reached Europe seem to have been carefully selected to support the old theory of their great inferiority to the rest of mankind,—a theory which, to anything like its full extent, few persons who have had a fair opportunity of judging the Australian race will be inclined to admit.

In reading the accounts of the early voyagers, nothing is more striking than the disparity of their relations concerning the hair of the Australian race. People with woolly hair, resembling in every respect the hair of the African negro, were

found among the aborigines of Tasmania, as well as on several parts of the mainland. This fact, although doubted at first, seems to have been settled beyond dispute. The testimony on which it rests is conclusive, although the woolly haired people were such remarkable exceptions to the general rule that many persons who have had opportunities of visiting various parts of the coast have never seen a single instance.

On the contrary, the hair of most of the aborigines is, when allowed to grow, long and wavy or flowing, although somewhat coarser than that of Europeans. In a large majority of instances it is quite black, although hair of a reddish cast is by no means unusual. But while that of most of them has a natural tendency to grow long and wavy, if permitted to do so, many individuals are to be found with hair more or less curly, crisp, frizzly, or close, and presenting every variety of difference between the wool of the negro and the long hair of other races. Indeed in no other nation are such striking contrasts to be met with in the hair as amongst the aboriginal Australians. Families, if not whole tribes, are to be found in the northern interior who have no hair whatever, either on the head or any part of the body. Some individuals with this peculiarity have been brought to Sydney, so that the fact is beyond doubt. They are very small men, with a Mongolian cast of features, not quite black, but very dark. In contrast to this hairless race are to be found others at no great distance from them to the south-west, on some of the northern branches of the Darling, who are perhaps the most hairy people in the world. Every part of their body, except the palms of their hands, the soles of their feet, and a small space round their eyes, being covered with a profusion of hair. This hirsute covering is not long, but lies close to the skin like the hair of animals. They are more powerfully framed than the hairless people, but not remarkable for strength or stature. Between these two opposite varieties almost every description of hair is to be found. Men with the great frizzled stuck-out head covering of the Papuans; others with long wavy shining locks, falling in a heavy mass over their shoulders, like the Macassars; others, and particularly about Cape York, with their hair parted into rope-like strands or separated into small mop-like locks and tufts. The beards of the men are as various, both in quantity and quality, as the hair of their heads. Some have most patriarchal beards, very expressively termed in the aboriginal "wallo-yarra," i.e., flowing from the chin; others have scarcely any beards, a few tufts of hair only, like

the generality of men of the Malay race; but by far the greater number of the Australians have small close frizzled beards.

In the colour of their skin the varieties are almost as great and as striking as in their hair. In some individuals the cuticle approaches the smooth shining black of the African; in others, and these are the majority, a more dull and dusky shade prevails, while in numerous cases the skin is not much darker than the light copper colour of the Malays. Many instances indeed have presented themselves where individuals have been of so light a colour that it was at first supposed strong traces of European blood were present. This supposition, however, has not been borne out upon further investigation, for these singular differences in colour have been found as common and as strongly marked in tribes which had never any intercourse with white men as in those which had. Some of the tribe living on the shores of Port Jackson were found on the landing of the first colonists to be of a light copper colour, or mulatto complexion, with well-marked Caucasian features. "Among them," says Captain Hunter in his *Historical Journal*, "there was a woman whose skin, when free from dirt and smoke, was of a bright copper colour, her features were pleasing, and of that kind of turn, that had she been in any European settlement, no one would have doubted her being a mulatto Jewess." Many instances of these remarkable differences in colour were noticed by the early colonists.

But if the differences in hair and colour in these people are great, their differences in features and expression of countenance are equally remarkable. The peculiarities in physiognomy of almost every race of mankind are to be met with among the Australian aborigines. Probably no nation in the world presents so wide a diversity in this respect, although there are certain general characteristics pervading all the race. The Jewish cast of physiognomy is frequent and well-marked, the Celtic type is not uncommon, while Teutonic peculiarities of expression, if not the exact form of features, are sometimes found. Shepherds, stockmen, and others on the more distant out-stations frequently, in consequence of their peculiarities of feature, apply to the blackfellows who hang about the stations the nicknames of Paddy, Sawney, or John Bull, and other appellations having a national significance are common. Although the general characteristic of the race is slimness, with an upright and by no means ungraceful

or even undignified carriage, men with the square sturdy forms, rolling gait, and the good-humoured reckless expression of English sailors, are often met with. The race take to the sea with wonderful facility, and when Sydney, thirty or forty years since, was a considerable depot for whaling and sealing vessels, they were often employed on board, and were said to be remarkable for their smartness and activity. The late Mr. Benjamin Boyd, about twenty years ago, manned his fine yacht, the *Wanderer*, with native blacks of the Twofold Bay tribe. They were small compact men, clean and smart in appearance, exceedingly vain of their somewhat showy clothing, and made capital sailors. The nature of the resemblance, however, which the Australian aborigines bear to people of European birth or descent may be described as, in most cases, partaking more or less of caricature. The singular belief prevailing among these people that after death they will become white men; or, as they express it, "jump up white fellow," and that all whites were once blackfellows;—this remarkable belief which appears to be almost universal with them, probably arose from the strong resemblance in features and form which they trace between many whites and their own deceased relatives or acquaintances. The aboriginal word for ghost is that given by many—probably by all the tribes—to a white person.

The many and striking differences in their hair, complexion, features, and stature, suggest queries of a very interesting, if not an important, character. First: Is it that their long isolation from the rest of mankind, and the complete segregation of tribes, have developed among them, on a small scale, or in a rudimentary state, variations in colour, physiognomy, and craniology, such as mark, although in a far greater degree, men of distinct races? Was their Australian world a microcosm of the greater world existing beyond the oceans which washed the shores of their long hidden home? Having grown up and always existed apart from the rest of mankind, were their tribes nations in miniature, resembling in some faint degree the greater nations of the greater outside world? Or, secondly, is it that, deriving their origin from several races, traces of the various characteristics of these mingled races sometimes appear in individuals or families, although perhaps not present in their immediate ancestors? That peculiarities of race, more or less modified by circumstances, appear with great, although irregular, persistency in men as well as in animals sprung from mixed

racess is well known. Considerations connected with philology would countenance the second rather than the first supposition, for it may be argued that, if they had sprung entirely from one distinct, long isolated race, it would be vain to expect to find among them words identical in sound and meaning, or having their origin in the same roots, with words belonging to other languages. To this it may be replied, in favour of the supposition, that they sprung from one common long isolated stock, that similarity in sound and meaning of a few words affords no proof of their connexion with other races in whose language words somewhat resembling them exist. It may be, however, that both the above theories are correct to a certain extent; and that the truth is, here as elsewhere, to be found between the two extremes. Granting that the Australian race was peculiar in origin, and that it remained almost entirely isolated for scores of centuries from the rest of mankind, occasional slight infusions of blood from a few waifs and strays of humanity, driven by winds, drifted by currents, or flying from foes, might have produced certain peculiarities in hair, colour, and features in a few individuals, and have introduced the few words which are supposed to indicate a connexion with other races. And this might have taken place without in any material degree altering either the language, the colour, the hair, or the features of the whole race. But mere speculations like these, however interesting, are practically useless, as they can lead to no satisfactory result.

It will, however, be somewhat important to inquire on what evidences the supposition rests, that the Australians are descended from, or have had any considerable intercourse with, any other race of mankind? The belief, formerly universal and still prevalent, that they are a branch of the Papuan family, might be dismissed at once but for the fact, that it is or was very general. It is on this account only that it deserves serious notice. The Papuans and the Australians have scarcely a single attribute in common, and the only ground which ever existed for believing them identical in race was the near neighbourhood of the countries which they inhabit. The Papuans are probably sprung from a mixture of Malay and Polynesian blood, in which the latter greatly predominates, and they may therefore be regarded as mainly of Tauranian or Tater origin; while the Australians, so far as their language affords any indications of a relationship to the rest of mankind, must be classed with the Aryan races. The language, customs, weapons, utensils, habitations, bodily

formation, hair and features, of the Papuans are all in striking contrast to those of their Australian neighbours. The Haraforas, Arrufours, or Arafuras;* a people inhabiting some parts of New Guinea and a large cluster of islands to the west of that country and between it and Australia, are in all probability only a sub-division of the Papuan race, and they vary still more from the Australians than even the Papuans proper. The Papuans, and more particularly the Arafura section of the Papuan race, cultivate the soil, which the Australians never do; they live in considerable communities, in large substantial barn-like structures; while the Australians do not erect permanent dwellings, or live in large communities. The Papuans of New Guinea may be taken as modern representatives of the lake dwellers of the old world; their habitations are erected on piles, on the margins of lakes or arms of the sea, and are comparatively massive and durable in structure. The Papuans also, like the lake dwellers, know something of weaving and pottery. Their arms and weapons are partly of stone and partly of metal; and in this, too, they represent their prototypes of the ancient world, whose remains in Switzerland and other countries have lately been brought to light. The Papuans also represent a people in a transition state. They have acquired some knowledge of the use of metals, but have not yet advanced so far as to dispense altogether with stone and bone implements. Their canoes, too, resemble in structure the vessels used by the old lake dwellers, if a judgment may be formed as to the latter from the remains of many boats or canoes which have been dug out of the alluvium in various parts of Europe. They are almost invariably cut out of solid trees, many of them of very large dimensions, and must have required in their construction a degree of skill and a knowledge of mechanical appliances far beyond anything the Australian tribes were capable of.

But there was a far earlier race of mankind than the lake

* This word Arafuras, has been said, I think incorrectly, to be a corruption of the Portuguese term *alforria*—enfranchisement. The word is probably of Sanscrit origin, and may be found in one shape or other in almost every language derived from that ancient stock. It signifies tillers of the ground. In Greek *αρουρα* is to plough and *ορυ* is the root of to dig. The English words arable and harrow are from the same source. Shakespeare uses the expression "ear the ground" in the sense of to plough or cultivate; and in this sense the word in some of its forms is found in most of the Western languages. The Arafuras have been for centuries remarkable as cultivators or tillers of the ground. (See pp. 97 and 101, part I, of this work.)

dwellers—men much less advanced in the arts, and inferior in their physical development. This race is known to modern ethnologists as the cave dwellers, from the fact that their remains are discovered in caves, and from the evidences which exist that they made caves their habitations. The Australian race are undoubtedly the modern representatives of the cave dwellers. Like their remote prototypes, they know not the use of metals; their weapons and implements are of wood, stone, and bone. They have no knowledge of textile fabrics, or of pottery. They never construct permanent habitations, and prefer dwelling in “gibber gunyas” or caves. They never cultivate the soil, but depend entirely on fishing, the chase, and on such wild and indigenous roots and herbs as are provided by nature. The great permanent dependence for food of those dwelling on the coast is on shell-fish, and in some places heaps of shell like the *kjökken-möddings* of Scandinavia—the remains of a similar race—are found. The Australian tribes show one, and only one, evidence of advancement beyond the most primitive condition. Their mogos or stone axes are formed by rubbing or grinding, and not by fracture, like the earliest arrow-heads, knives, and axes of the European caves and drift. The most universal of all tools or weapons in the pre-metallic age of the world was the stone hatchet. At first it appears to have been formed simply by striking small splinters from a lump of stone until the mass was reduced to a shape somewhat resembling an axe. This was the weapon in its most primitive form, and belonged to a people in a condition even less advanced than the Australian aborigines. In the next stage, an improvement on the splintered weapon was produced by rubbing or grinding down the stone to a proper shape and to an obtuse cutting edge. The axe produced in this way was a much more serviceable instrument than the one made by cleavage, and was perhaps the most universally used tool or weapon that mankind has ever invented. It has been found in almost countless numbers—most of the specimens bearing a marvellous resemblance to each other—in every portion of the habitable globe, China, perhaps, alone excepted. In Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in both the American continents, from the Great Lakes to the Straits of Magellan, and throughout Polynesia and Australia, specimens of the stone hatchet are numerous. The Australian aborigines, when first visited by Europeans, had reached the rubbed or ground stone era, but had not entered upon the age of bronze as the metal era has

been termed. The making or the possession of stone hatchets indicated that some advance in the arts and in commerce had been made, and proved that an intercourse took place between distant tribes. The material of which the weapon was formed was in most countries found only in few and distant localities. Stones of a kind fit for rubbers or grindstones were just as rare, and the two were not often found in the same locality. The Australian tribes, probably for hundreds of miles along the eastern coast, were accustomed to resort to certain places in the Upper Hunter district, where large flat stones of a suitable description for rubbing or grinding their axes were found. In more than one locality in the district in question the great flat stones on which the rubbing or grinding was performed are yet to be seen, with their surfaces deeply striated or seamed by the frequent friction of the implements. A conclusive proof of the vast antiquity of this mode of making and sharpening the axe is afforded by the fact that, in sinking wells and other excavations in the Hunter valley, flat rocks with these axe marks on their surfaces have been discovered at the depth of thirty feet or more below the present surface level, and covered with drift and alluvium, which, in all probability, must have taken thousands of years to accumulate. These visits to the places where stones suitable for making or sharpening their axes were to be found, were occasions of great interest and importance to the young men of tribes at a distance. Negotiations had to be entered into with other tribes occupying the districts through which they had to pass; and various ceremonies had to be gone through when the travellers entered upon the lands of strangers. Thus the appearance of these stone axes in places hundreds of miles distant from any spot which produces the stone of which they are formed, or on which they could be rubbed or ground into the desired shape, affords conclusive evidence of the intercourse of distant tribes, and testifies to the fact that they had begun to make interchanges with each other. The stones of which the axes of the tribes living at Port Jackson were made, were brought from what is now known as Lapstone Hill, about forty miles west of Sydney, on the Bathurst road. This district was in the possession of a tribe called the Badia-gal, from whom the stones were obtained by the Cammeroy or Kamilroy tribe, which occupied the district between the Lower Hawkesbury and the north shore of Port Jackson. From the Cammeroy

tribe the Gwea-gal of Botany and the tribes on the south shore of Port Jackson were supplied.

It has been shown in preceding pages that the Papuan race and the Australians are in no way related to each other. But in the Indian Archipelago there are other people than the Papuans, and it will be well to inquire whether there are any grounds for the opinion that the aboriginal Australians are connected with any or all of them. The most advanced race of the Archipelago are the Malays, a people generally believed to be of Tater or Tauranian origin, but speaking a language in which the Arab largely mingles, and in which, probably coming through the Arab, traces of the Sanscrit are found. The Malay type of feature, though rare, is not entirely absent in the Australian race, and it is highly probable that some of their words, and one at least of the most remarkable of their customs, are of Malay origin. Some of these words are referred to in a preceding page as indicating the existence of a connexion between the Australians and the nations generally considered to belong to the Aryan races. The custom of the aborigines which seems to connect them with the Malays is circumcision. This practice prevails with many of the Australian tribes, but is by no means general; and this would seem to indicate its comparatively modern introduction. The Arabs, and before them the Persians, both practising the rite in question, were masters of the Indian Archipelago for more than ten centuries. Indeed the Arab religion and language are still dominant there. The Arabs, in the palmy days of Mohamedan power, were amongst the boldest and most skilful navigators the world has ever seen; and Arab merchants monopolised for centuries the extensive commerce which existed in ancient times between the remote East and the Western nations. They spread both their faith and language far and wide, even beyond the Indian Archipelago, and probably infused much of their blood into the Malay tribes; if, indeed, which is by no means improbable, the Malays themselves do not mainly owe their origin to a people of Arab blood on the one side and the aboriginal tribes they found in possession of the Peninsula and the Archipelago on the other. The infusion of Malay blood into the Australian race could never have been very considerable. Its presence, although traces are evident over a very wide extent of the continent, seems to have been nowhere sufficient to produce any very decided effects on the language or the condition of

a people thinly scattered over so great a country. What is usually called the Jewish cast of features—a characteristic of some entire tribes and many individuals in others—is generally accompanied by a greater or less degree of lightness of complexion. The term Jewish, however, is hardly an appropriate expression in an ethnological sense. It is used, no doubt, because most people are familiar with the characteristics it is intended to indicate. But Caucasian would, perhaps, be a more correct term. If this peculiarity in physiognomy is not the natural outcome of the separation, the almost complete isolation, from the outside world and from each other, during thousands of years, of different tribes of the aboriginal race—a peculiarity arising, it might be, at first from accidental varieties, or the operation on a small scale of the same natural laws which, acting in a wider field, have marked different races of men with still greater and more distinctive peculiarities—if this is not its origin, it must undoubtedly be referred to the infusion of Arab blood. The question is one of some difficulty, but the evidences afforded by the presence in the aboriginal language of Arab words, the practice of circumcision by many of the tribes, and the extensive traffic carried on for many centuries by Arab navigators and merchants, almost within sight of the Australian shores, seem to point very strongly towards the theory of a slight infusion of Arab blood in some of the tribes.

Seeing, then, that the Australian race is neither of Papuan nor of Malay origin, notwithstanding that there are some indications of the presence of a Malay or Arab element in many of the tribes, is there any more probability that it is sprung from, or intimately related to, the Negritos, as the other race to be found in the Malay Peninsula and in many of the islands of the Archipelago has been called? It is undoubtedly in this race that we find a people in most respects identical with the Australians. The Negritos or Indian Negroes were probably the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula, and are still to be found there as well as in almost all the islands from the Andamans, in the Bay of Bengal, to the Philippines, in the China Sea. The people of the Andaman islands appear to differ in no essential respect from the aborigines of this country. They go quite naked, they build no permanent habitations, they use bone and stone weapons and implements, they live in families or very small communities, and, like their Australian cousins, have no knowledge of metals or of textile fabrics or pottery; and their stature,

colour, and general appearance are similar. They bear, moreover, a still closer resemblance to the now almost extinct Tasmanian aborigines, who must be regarded as belonging to the purest stock of all the Australian tribes. Like the Andamans, some of the Tasmanians had woolly hair, were of small stature, and were unacquainted with the use of the canoe. These characteristics are shared by many of the tribes on the Australian continent—particularly on the north-western coast. The canoes used by the aborigines on the eastern coast are the best to be found in the whole continent, and they scarcely deserve the name. The Australian canoe represents one of the most primitive appliances ever used by mankind for the purpose of navigation. In some districts it consists of a mere sheet of bark, slightly raised at the edges, serving even in still water to float but a single person, and requiring the greatest care to prevent its overturning. In others, a nearer approach is made to the boat form by bending the sheet of bark somewhat in the form of the sides of a boat, sewing or tying up its ends with some fibrous material, and making it water tight by means of gum or clay. At best, however, it was but a sorry substitute for a boat, and it is probable, from the fact that it was not even known to some of the coast tribes, and that it had in its most rudimentary state never reached Tasmania, that its introduction was not of very ancient date even on the mainland. To the tribes of unmixed aboriginal blood, like the Tasmanians were, and some on the north-west coast still are, the canoe was wholly unknown. It was, therefore, in all probability, a thing of foreign invention, and of modern introduction. The comparative ignorance of the Australian aborigines, the Andaman islanders, and other people of Negrito or Indian negro race, of the use of the canoe, supplies a strong link to connect them with each other, and in connecting the Australians with the Negritos, they also become connected with the races of which the Negritos may be considered the type—the Bushmen of Africa, some of the Hill tribes of India, the Vedahs of Ceylon, perhaps the Caribs of the Mexican Gulf, and probably the aborigines of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego; all these people seem to belong to that ancient race known to ethnologists as cave dwellers, whose remains, disinterred from caverns or dug from beneath the alluvial deposits of thousands of years, have lately been the subjects of so much discussion and investigation in Europe. In the chronology of man this race occupies the first place, and must be regarded not only as the

most ancient, but also as the most widely spread of any section of the human family. Its vestiges are almost universal. From the snows of Scandinavia, from the torrid soil of the tropics, from the classic vales of Greece, from the shores of barbarous Patagonia, from the valleys of sacred Mount Sinai, from the caves of idolatrous India, from the plains of Australia, and from the steppes of central Asia, the stone implements of this most ancient—this once universal race—have been brought in modern times to enrich the cabinets of the curious few, and to excite the wonder of the ignorant many.

But, in identifying the Australian race with the cave dwellers of ancient Europe, with the Negritos of the Indian peninsula and islands, and with the Bushmen of Africa, it is not intended to convey the idea that the development of all these races had reached the same stage. There are reasons for believing that, at the advent of the colonists, the Australians, as compared with other branches of the wide-spread family to which they belonged, had attained a condition of considerable advancement, if indeed they had not long before reached the highest state of development of which they were capable. Their real condition then was, probably, that of an old nation, occupying an over-peopled country, and pressing heavily upon their means of existence. The limits of this work allow the reasons for this conclusion to be merely glanced at. They are briefly as follows:—1. The whole country was occupied, and the portion allotted to each family or tribe defined with the greatest exactness; the well-known boundaries most scrupulously maintained, and any unauthorised trespasser within their limits punished with death. 2. Their customs and ceremonies were of an elaborate and complicated character, and the most unquestioning obedience was generally given to their laws, even when contrary to individual interests or the dictates of nature, simply because, in their own words, "it was always so." 3. The practice of infanticide was common, and was enjoined by their laws under certain circumstances—a state of things impossible to reconcile with any other condition of society than a severe pressure of population upon the means of existence. 4. Cannibalism, unknown to most of the tribes, and professed to be looked upon with horror by all, was prevalent among the more degraded and starving portions of them—not as a superstitious observance or an occasional gratification of revenge, but simply as a means of sustaining life, or of gratifying a craving

for animal food. 5. Their laws for restricting marriage, and for controlling the use of food, indicated the existence of a necessity for preventing an increase of the population, and for guarding against any unnecessary destruction of the sources of supply of food. 6. Their wonderful skill in capturing wild animals and in procuring food—a skill partaking as much of instinct as of reason—indicated that both the mental and bodily faculties of the race had long been trained in that direction. 7. The finish or completeness of their language, the number and delicacy of its inflexions, the remarkable diversity in the vocabulary of neighbouring tribes, and indeed the almost endless variety of tongues wholly unintelligible except within very narrow limits—also afford strong grounds for believing their presence in the country to date from a period of very high antiquity. Divergences in languages formerly the same, or derived from a common source, will probably be in proportion to the segregation and isolation of communities; and, if this is true, the state in which the Australians were found must have been of very long continuance.

A very painful and striking proof of the stringent nature of their laws, the fixed character of their institutions, and the great pressure upon their means of existence under ordinary conditions, is afforded by circumstances which have taken place in the bunya-bunya district of Queensland. The district in which the bunya-bunya tree bears fruit is very restricted, and it bears in profusion only once in about three years. When this occurs the supply is vastly larger than can be consumed by the tribes within whose territory the trees are found. Consequently large numbers of strangers visit the district, some of them coming from very great distances, and all are welcome to consume as much as they desire, for there is enough and to spare, during the few weeks which the season lasts. The fruit is of a richly farinaceous kind, and the blacks quickly fatten upon it. But after a short indulgence in an exclusively vegetable diet, having previously been accustomed to live almost entirely upon animal food, they experience an irresistible longing for flesh. This desire they dare not indulge by killing any of the wild animals of the district,—kangaroo, opossum, and bandicoot are alike sacred from their touch, because they are absolutely necessary for the existence of the friendly tribe whose hospitality they are partaking. In this condition some of the stranger tribes resort to the horrible practice of cannibalism, and sacrifice

one of their own number to provide the longed-for feast of flesh. It is not the disgusting cruelty, the frightful inhumanity, or the curious physiological question involved, that is now under consideration; but the remarkable fact educed of an unhesitating obedience, under circumstances of extraordinary temptation, to laws arising out of the necessities of their existence; and the indirect proof afforded of the severe pressure upon the supply of food which under ordinary circumstances must have prevailed among the aboriginal tribes. The strangers dared not in their utmost longing touch the wild animals, because they were absolutely necessary for the existence of the tribe to which the district belonged. They might eat their fill of the bunya-bunya, because that was in profusion and perscription had given them a right to it. Such a singular condition of things could never have arisen but in an old over-populated country, the laws of which had acquired that immutable character which is conferred only by immemorial custom.

There prevail amongst those who have not given much attention to such matters, or have had no opportunity of forming a correct judgment, very erroneous notions with regard to the condition of nations in what is called the savage state. If by the savage state is understood a condition in which no laws, or customs having the force of laws, regulate society, in which every man does as seemeth good in his own eyes, in which no observances but those dictated by caprice are enforced, no actions but those prompted by appetite, pleasure, or passion prevail, then this term does not at all represent the condition of the Australian aborigines when their country was first invaded by the white man. On the contrary, there are abundant reasons for believing that they were living under well-defined and promptly administered laws—laws which, however barbarous and absurd they might seem to Europeans, had been handed down through many generations, sanctioned by immemorial custom, and therefore generally submitted to with unquestioning, implicit obedience. The state of society which then prevailed, instead of being lax and fluctuating, was rigid and fixed to a degree which those who are acquainted with Asiatic character and institutions may comprehend, but which others will almost in vain attempt to realise. In modern civilised Europe laws are often changed, and written statutes altered or enacted almost as frequently as the wants or wishes of the community demand; but laws sanctioned by hoar antiquity, and depending upon

causes which have operated through many generations, become at length inflexible—and are submitted to as readily as if they formed part of the machinery of the universe, and were no more susceptible to the interference of man than the rotation of the seasons or the flux and reflux of the tides.

The Australian aboriginal race, which had perhaps for thousands of years been uncontrolled and almost uninfluenced by any external or intrusive force, was, probably, at the arrival of the English colonists, in the highest state of development of which it was capable. Dribblets of Arab, Malay, Papuan, and probably of Chinese elements, had from time to time during scores of centuries been added to the old Negrito or cave-dwelling stock, but the additions were too few, the infusion too weak, to materially influence the institutions or to elevate the character of the original occupiers of the land. A few traces of imported words, slight modifications of complexion, an occasional peculiarity of feature, the partial adoption of a custom,—all these indicate no essential modification in the conditions of existence which had prevailed for many ages. The great ocean current which, creeping slowly down the shores of the North Pacific entered the China Sea, and was then met by the Malay Peninsula and the islands of Sumatra and Java, being diverted southward, swept across the narrow sea dividing Australia from the islands of the Archipelago, and impinged upon the north-western shores of the Great South Land;—this current, in the course of ages, had in all probability brought many waifs and strays of humanity—many lost wanderers—to mingle their blood with the original children of the soil. Most of the traces of a foreign element perceptible in the Australian race are due perhaps to this ocean current. Another great current, which, coming from the south-east, strikes the Australian coast at Cape Danger and sweeps rapidly down the shores of New South Wales, might have been expected to be the bearer of men of the Polynesian race; but the Maoris of New Zealand, the only men of that race within such a distance as to render this likely or even possible, are themselves mere modern intruders into New Zealand,—modern at least in the chronology of man;—and the short period of three or four centuries which has elapsed since their occupation of that country hardly affords a sufficient time to allow of any appreciable result. Yet it is singular that some of the north-eastern tribes call themselves *Murri* as their collective designation—a name so nearly

identical with the New Zealand Maori as to suggest the possibility of a like origin. The Murri tribes are also men of a larger and more robust frame than the Australian race generally, and more nearly resemble the New Zealander than do the inhabitants of any other portion of the continent. The Jewish cast of features, so often met with in the New Zealand Maori, is also prevalent amongst the Murri of north-eastern Australia. Cannibalism also prevails amongst them to a greater extent than with other tribes. The known facts, however, although not unworthy of a passing notice, are too few and too slight to justify any definite conclusion; and the influence of the intrusive races on the primitive occupiers of the country has been too insignificant to make it necessary to pursue the subject further.

It will be seen from what is stated above that when the first white settlers arrived the condition of things was so fixed, the state of aboriginal society so rigid, the land so completely occupied and so fully peopled, that any considerable number of colonists could only find room by the destruction of that portion of the native race with whom they were brought into contact, or whose lands their flocks and herds might occupy. The aborigines living on the shores of Port Jackson could not fall back upon those at Parramatta; the Cammeroy tribe on the shores of Broken Bay could not seek refuge with the Badiagal of the Upper Hawkesbury; the Gweagal of Botany could not retreat upon the Alowrie-gal of the Five Islands. The tribes whose lands were seized and occupied by the intruding race were doomed to inevitable extinction. There was no room in all the Great South Land for any tribe expelled from its own territory; and even where not absolutely expelled, the population, although insignificant in numbers as compared with most other countries, pressed so heavily upon the means of existence, that the decrease in the supply of food consequent on the destruction of the wild animals by the white strangers, was fatal in a corresponding degree to those who were dependent upon it.

It has been said, and the assertion is no doubt true to a certain extent, that the bringing together of two races so dissimilar as the Australian aborigines and the people of modern Europe, must of necessity have been followed by the extinction of the inferior race. They were so widely separated in habits, organisation, and mental and physical characteristics that they could not, it is contended, exist

together or side by side. If it is meant that such wide diversities of character—men representing such opposite poles of humanity—could not exist together in one community, the assertion is true. But, with all the differences between the two races, if the aborigines had been fewer in number, if they were a people whose institutions had not already crystallised into rigidity, if their presence in the country had been of so recent a date that they had not fully occupied it, and could have fallen back before the more powerful strangers, the occupation of a few spots on the mere fringe of their continent would not in all probability have much interfered with their numbers for some centuries. As it was they were obliged to stand and die. The tribes were forced into contact with the intruders, because they had no place to fly to—no refuge to which they could retreat; and when their natural supplies of food were disturbed, diminished, or exhausted, as was quickly the case wherever the white man set his foot, they were driven by starvation to plunder or to begging. Those who sunk to the latter, who became recipients of the bounty of the stranger in the land which had been their own, formed the most abject and contemptible portion of their race, and managed to drag out a wretched existence for a few years,—objects of ridicule and contempt even to the lowest and most degraded of the intruding whites. Those of the aborigines who quietly submitted and died—who perished directly or indirectly from want of food—were, however, far more numerous. Governor Hunter's relation of the condition to which they were reduced, and his accounts of the numbers of skeletons and dead bodies found in the caves and under projecting rocks about Port Jackson, at the Hawkesbury, and in the bush, within the first two or three years after the formation of the settlement, are most distressing. Many of these unfortunates no doubt perished directly from pestilence, for pestilence always accompanies famine; but it was an absolute want of food which prepared them for the diseases to which they so easily fell victims. Those who neither died from famine nor disease, nor hung about the settlements and became dependent upon the whites for the means of prolonging their miserable lives, took to plunder and robbery as their only resource, and were mostly shot down without hesitation or remorse. They formed the boldest and most warlike section of their race, and their destruction left the more timid and defenceless part of the community entirely at the mercy of the strangers.

It is hinted in a preceding passage that, at the period of the arrival of the first colonists, the Australian race had, in all probability, attained the greatest development of which it was capable. This, without explanation, might seem to favour the idea that human progress has very narrow limits. But no such notion was intended to be conveyed. It was meant that under the circumstances by which they were then surrounded progress was impossible. All their faculties had been trained, and all their energies were constantly strained, merely to provide for the commonest wants of nature. The ear, the eye, and the hand, had been brought to act almost unerringly, as if by instinct. Quick to perceive and ready to seize, rapid to circumvent, prompt to track and to slay the animals on which they depended for food, the Australian blacks, if they could have invented more deadly weapons or achieved a higher skill, would, in all probability, have quickly destroyed the supply of food on which their existence depended, and have rendered a decrease of their numbers from starvation inevitable. Their faculties and the weapons they had invented were sufficient to provide for their simple wants, but were not equal to the total destruction or the serious diminution of the sources from which they were supplied. There was, then, no room for an increase in their numbers, or for an improvement in their skill and appliances. A tribe could not increase beyond the supply of food which its territory was capable of yielding. It could not kill all the animals in its own territory and then intrude upon its neighbours, for it was hedged round on all sides by boundaries recognised by immemorial custom, and guarded with a vigilance equal to its own. All social advancement was checked by the impossibility of any considerable number of persons providing themselves with food if they kept together; or of any number, however small, being able to exist for any great length of time on the same spot. The faculties which the peculiarities of his condition brought into play and exercised until they had reached an almost marvellous degree of development, were not, in the case of the Australian black man, the faculties which men living in large and civilised communities are called upon to exert. The thinking or reflective faculties had been in his case held in abeyance, and could indeed hardly be said to exist. But there is no reason to suppose that his perceptive or observing faculties were not quite as much beyond those of civilised people as their reflective and calculating faculties were superior to his.

His reflective powers having been starved and stunted during scores of generations, the senses, upon whose vigilant exercise he mainly depended for his daily food, had been allowed full play and had been sharpened to an extraordinary degree of acuteness. He was, in his native wilds, as much superior to the white man as he was the white man's inferior in the marts of commerce or the halls of learning, where the faculties of the latter had been trained for many generations. The readiness with which Bennilong, the protege of Governor Phillip, and the first aboriginal Australian that ever visited England, adopted the habits of civilised life and the observances of polite society, proved the remarkable acuteness of his observation and the facile qualities of his character. He seems to have been merely an ordinary specimen of his race, inferior to many but equal to most. His perfect ease and self-possession in the presence of strangers and great people, his politeness in the company of ladies, and his scrupulous attention to matters of etiquette, are spoken of by the early historians of the colony almost in the same page in which instances of his brutal and savage violence are recounted. He would dine at the Governor's table, in the full dress of an English gentleman, behave in a manner suitable to the character assumed, and at night strip off his fine clothes, join his tribe in the bush, and rival if not exceed any of his naked companions in deeds of the darkest cruelty and acts of the most wanton violence. A certain ease and courtliness of manner, even a bearing approaching to what is understood by the common acceptance of the word gentlemanly, is by no means rare with the Australian aborigines. The prevalent notion that people living in what is called the savage state are rude and boorish in their usual intercourse with each other is not true as respects these people. On the contrary, most of them are, under ordinary circumstances, remarkably gentle and courteous in demeanour, and quarrels among members of the same tribe are very rare. They are also exceedingly ceremonious, and this is particularly the case when strange tribes meet in a friendly manner. The existence of this kind of ceremonious intercourse, and their cultivated manners—for their courteousness of demeanour was doubtless the effect of cultivation—go far to prove that they were an old people,—a race in which conventionalism had long taken root, and in which set formalities were well understood and looked upon as of much importance. Their refinement—if such a term is allowable—was no doubt a thing of a very

superficial kind, for the very men who showed it most were just as ready as others to shed blood, or to perpetrate any act of cruelty or treachery. Their cultivation had not produced a corresponding standard of morals, which in their case was of the Asiatic rather than of the European type.

The Australian aborigines, like most savages, are superstitious without being religious. They have no knowledge whatever of the existence of a God—that is, of a Creator and Ruler of the universe; but it is said that almost every tribe has names for imaginary beings to whom various attributes are ascribed. These beings are so numerous, their supposed attributes so diversified, and the accounts given of them so contradictory, that religious and classical enthusiasts have been able, or have pretended, to recognise amongst them almost all the personages of sacred history and all the rabble of heathen mythology. But fancy and imagination seem to have been allowed so wide a scope in this matter, and the conclusions drawn appear to rest on such shadowy foundations, that it would be a mere waste of time to particularise them. All the tribes seem to have some indistinct idea that their existence does not absolutely end with the death of their present bodies; and many of them believe that they will afterwards become white men; but as this idea can hardly be older than the date of the arrival of the first colonists, it needs no discussion.

Some have supposed that traces exist among them of the worship of the sun under the name of Baal, the god of fire; others contend that they were serpent worshippers; others, that their corroboree or national dance is a remnant of the worship of the moon, as Astarte the queen of heaven. Those who contend for the worship of Baal ground their theory upon the names which some of the tribes give an imaginary being called Binbeal, Pundyl, or Bunjil, which are said to be different forms of the name Baal. They also say that certain figures, which have been discovered depicted on the roofs of caves, are intended to personify the god Baal. Caves, with figures bearing a very close resemblance to each other, painted in red of very vivid shades, have been found in different places in Australia, particularly in the north-western parts of the continent. In 1838, Captain, afterwards Sir George Grey, governor of South Australia, and more recently of New Zealand, found several of these caves, of which he gives the following account:

“March 26th, 1838.—Approaching some sandstone rocks I suddenly saw from one of them a most extraordinary large

figure peering down upon me, which, upon examination, proved to be a drawing at the entrance to a cave, which on entering I found also to contain many remarkable paintings. This cave was a hollow in the sandstone rocks; its floor was elevated about five feet from the ground, and numerous flat pieces of stone looked like steps leading up to the cave, which was thirty-five feet wide at the entrance and sixteen feet deep; running back beyond this, into several branches



or avenues. Its height in front was eight feet; the roof being formed of solid sandstone, about nine feet thick, which inclined towards the back of the cave, and was not there more than five feet high.

"On this sloping roof, the principal figure was drawn, and in order to produce the greater effect the rock about it was painted black, and the figure itself coloured with the most vivid red and white; thus appearing to stand out from the rock, and to be looking down on me. It would be impossible to give an adequate idea of this savage and uncouth figure; its head was encircled with bright

red rays, inside this came a broad stripe of very brilliant red, crossed by lines of white, and inside and outside this red space were narrow stripes of a still deeper red; the face was painted white and the eyes black, being surmounted by red and yellow lines; the body, hands, and arms, were outlined red—the body being curiously painted with red stripes and bars. The dimensions were—Length of head and face, two feet; width of face, seventeen inches; length from bottom of face to navel, two feet six inches.

"On the left-hand side of the cave was a singular painting vividly coloured, and representing four heads joined together; one having a necklace, the other a girdle. With the exception of not having mouths they were good looking, and with a

marked difference in each countenance; the dimensions of the painting, which was executed on a white ground, were—Total length of painting, three feet six and three-quarter inches; breadth across two upper heads, two feet six inches; breadth across two lower ones, three feet one and a half inch.

“There were several other paintings of a singular character—one of a figure wearing the disk, carrying a kangaroo as an offering to figure No. 1, as well as spears thrown apparently at some unseen object, with other figures. In the gloomy cavities, beyond the cave, the sides were painted white, and the impress of a hand and arm by some process transferred to the wall in black, so as to appear as if extended towards any one in the cave, with a view to invite or draw them in to more concealed mysteries.”

On March 29th, 1838, Captain, Grey, in latitude 15°26' S., longitude 125°8' E., crossed the Glenelg (or a branch of that river,) and in passing through a valley suddenly came upon a gorge, and at this point saw another cave, which he entered, hoping again to find native paintings—nor was he disappointed.

“The entrance to the cave was elevated several feet above the level of the ground, and approached by a flight of sandstone steps. These steps were continued through the body of the cave, quite to the end, where there was a central slab more elevated than the others, and on each side two large ones reaching to the top, and serving to support the immense sandstone slab which supported the roof.

“This cave was about twenty feet deep, seven feet high at the entrance, and forty feet wide; as in the former cave the roof inclined towards the back of it—at the extremity was a raised seat. The principal figure in this cave, was a man ten feet six inches in length, clothed from the chin downward in a red garment, reaching to the feet and ankles; his hands and



feet being painted of a still deeper red; the face and head were enveloped in a succession of circular bandages, or what appeared to be painted to represent such.

"These bandages were vividly coloured red, yellow, and white, and the eyes were the only features represented on the face; upon the highest bandages or roller a series of lines were painted in red, so regularly done as evidently to indicate some meaning.

"This figure was so drawn on the roof that its feet were just in front of the natural seat, whilst its head and face stared grimly down on any one within the cavern, but was totally invisible from the outside. There were various paintings of kangaroos, emus, turtles, snakes, &c., on the sides of the cave."

From the appearance of grease on the roof, just over the seat, Captain Grey conjectured that at certain times some doctor (or wise man) sits there, and is resorted to by the natives in cases of disease or witchcraft. There were signs of footsteps about the place, and other marks denoting the proximity of the natives, but none were seen.

The singular fact that all these figures are destitute of mouths, has been adduced to support the theory that they are representatives of the Egyptian Harpocrates—the god of silence, and the ciphers or o's at the side of one of them have been taken as corroborative of this idea. In other parts of Australia, the figure of a human hand and arm, often coloured of the same brilliant red, but more frequently white on a black ground, has been found to be the general symbol—if these things are symbols—depicted on the roofs of caves. But whether the figures really have any such symbolical meanings as have been ascribed to them is very doubtful; it is certain that there is not sufficient evidence to connect them with any particular superstition, and the aborigines themselves, in all parts of the country, have invariably shown the greatest reluctance to communicate to white men their notions about them, if they have any, which is somewhat questionable. Ingenious theories have been spun on the subject, and all sorts of suppositions freely indulged in, but the conclusions arrived at have been exceedingly contradictory, and have generally failed in convincing any but their authors.

In addition to the pictured caves, the only remains of aboriginal art,—if some rude attempts at sculpture deserve to be dignified by such a term,—are the figures of animals,

fishes, birds, and other natural objects cut on the surface of flat rocks in various parts of the country. The figures are generally about the natural size, remarkably correct in shape, and their execution not altogether deficient in spirit. The carved figures are invariably found on some jutting point, headland, or eminence, cut in outline on the surfaces of rocks. The lines are very shallow, and but for the fact that they are the work of people entirely unacquainted with the use of metals, their execution would be in no way remarkable. But, although shallow, they are invariably cut on such very hard rock, that it is difficult to understand how people without iron tools could have produced them, and more difficult still to believe that they are due to mere whim or caprice. With such appliances as the aborigines possessed, they must have been works of considerable labour, and therefore undertaken for a set purpose and to serve a particular object. But what that object was it is impossible to say; probably it was a superstitious one. The elevated situations of the rocks in which these figures are cut would favour the idea that they are due to idolatry of some kind, and would be in accordance with the practice of ancient idolatrous nations in other parts of the world. One of the figures, representing a sperm whale, was, a short time since, to be seen on the North Shore of Port Jackson, on the point nearly opposite Dawes's Battery; but the rock on which it was cut has lately been quarried for building purposes. Others, however, are yet to be seen in various places. On an elevated ridge, at the back of Narrabeen Lagoon, about half-way between Sydney Harbour and the Hawkesbury River, several of these sculptures are still to be found. In places where no suitable rocks were available, similar figures have been discovered cut on trees. To effect this, a part of the bark of a large tree was first removed, and the figures then cut in the solid wood. The objects represented on trees were more numerous and complicated than those on rocks, and were believed by many to be a sort of hieroglyphics or picture-writing. Whatever their object may have been—whether we see in them glimpses of the first dawnings of art, reproductions of the rudest efforts of untutored man to embody ideas in wood and stone, or traces of what were the earliest buddings of idolatry and superstition—will perhaps never be determined. And then, as to the pictured caverns,—is it possible that in these painted caves we behold the germs of such structures as the magnificent rock temples of India? Were they the faint and

feeble attempts of lost Asiatic wanderers, drifted on Australian shores, to reproduce, for the purposes of practising their religious rites, rude imitations of structures like those of Elephanta and Ellora, where they had been accustomed to worship in their far off native land?

It will be gathered from foregoing observations that, in the opinion of the writer, the Australians are a very old race, being the modern representatives of the earliest family of man of whose existence antiquarians and geologists have been able to discover any trace ;—that the discoveries and investigations of late years have made it evident that the most civilised countries of the world were at one time inhabited by races of men identical with, but even less advanced than, the Australians ;*—that the stone era—a thing of the remotest past in Europe—is in Australia still a thing of the present ; the mogo or hatchet, the principal weapon or instrument used by the Australian tribes, being identical with that which was used by a race which preceded the Aryan races in the occupation of Europe ;—that the existing Australian tribes afford evidences of various kinds of the presence of intrusive races, although the effects of such intrusions have not been sufficient to alter to any material degree the main characteristics of the original race ;—that at the period of the advent of the whites, and probably long before, the aboriginal population had reached the limits of the means of existence at its command ;—that aboriginal society was not mainly controlled by the will of the strongest, nor much influenced by individual or momentary

* Many of the stone weapons and implements made by the Australian aborigines are far superior in construction to the rude flint instruments found in the European drift. The spear heads in particular of some of the tribes are beautifully finished articles, and conclusively prove that those who made them must have possessed an almost marvellous manual dexterity. In Captain King's account of his visit to Hanover Bay, he says :—"What chiefly attracted our attention was a small bundle of bark, tied up with more than usual care ; and upon opening it we found it contained several spear-heads, most ingeniously and curiously made of stone ; they were about six inches in length, and were terminated by a very sharp point ; both sides were serrated in a most surprising way ; the serrature was evidently made by a sharp stroke with some instrument, but it was effected without leaving the least mark of the blow ; the stone was covered with red pigment, and appeared to be a flinty slate. These spear-heads were ready for fixing, and the careful manner in which they were preserved, plainly shewed their value ; for each was separated by slips of bark, and the sharp edges protected by a covering of fur. Their hatchets were also made of the same stone, the edges of which were so sharp, that a few blows served to chop off the branches of a tree."

caprice, but was subject to artificial and conventional restraints, originating in natural laws and deriving force from immemorial usage; and that the intrusion of a civilised race was of necessity followed by the rapid disappearance of the original occupiers of the land.

It forms no part of the design of the writer of these chapters, nor does it properly come within the scope of a work on Australian Discovery and Colonisation, to enter into details as to the customs, habits, and ceremonies of the aboriginal tribes. That subject would require, in order to do it justice, a much larger space than can possibly be devoted to it here. To indicate the relative position, in the great family of mankind, occupied by the people found in possession of the country when first discovered, and to endeavour to throw some light upon their condition and the causes which produced it, were the main objects which the writer had in view. And under these circumstances, instead of giving details and particulars, the results of inquiry and observation extending over many years have been condensed into the foregoing remarks, which, however, even in this state have extended far beyond the original design.

Since the preceding pages on the aborigines were written, and after the greater part of them had appeared in print, Gideon S. Lang, Esq., has delivered, in St. George's Hall, Melbourne, a very interesting lecture on the same subject. Very few colonists have had better opportunities than Mr. Lang for forming a correct estimate of aboriginal habits and character, and the writer is glad to find his own conclusions in many instances borne out by so competent an authority. What follows on aboriginal customs is mainly taken from Mr. Lang's lecture, and is, for the most part, given in his own words. He says that the native inhabitants of the whole continent form, in fact, one people, all governed by the same laws and customs; the points of difference between the tribes being only such as might be expected from differences of circumstance and locality; and that it is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of the human family that among different tribes scattered over a region two thousand miles long by nearly fifteen hundred miles wide, possessing no written literature whatever, and traditions traceable for only a brief period, there should prevail a system of internal government almost identical and common to all; that this system must have prevailed through countless generations; and that every tribe has its own country, with as clearly

defined a boundary as any estate in England,—a boundary which is never crossed, but at the risk of death, without diplomatic arrangements as elaborate and punctilious as those between two German principalities.

In reference to the internal control of the tribes, Mr. Lang says they are governed by a code of rules and a set of customs which form one of the most cruel tyrannies that has ever, perhaps, existed on the face of the earth. The whole tendency of the system is to give everything to the strong and old, to the prejudice of the weak and young, and more particularly to the detriment of women, who are generally appropriated to the old and powerful men, some of whom possess from four to seven wives; while wives are often altogether denied to young men.

The government is administered, in each separate tribe, by a council consisting of old and elderly men, no young man being admitted a member unless he has displayed unusual intelligence, courage, and prowess. There is also a class privileged to go from tribe to tribe, to carry messages, to negotiate and arrange for meetings between the various councils, and to transact other business of a general character. These men are much honoured by all the tribes. A second class is that of sorcerers or medicine men, who also exercise great influence, and are believed to be endowed with powers of witchcraft. All the business of the tribe, both internal and external, is regulated by the council, and nominally justice is done. It must be understood, however, that like many much more advanced countries, their administration of justice is by no means impartial. Where the culprit is a man of formidable family connections, or of great personal courage and repute as a warrior, the most frightful atrocities frequently escape punishment altogether, or incur only a nominal penalty. It is only to persons of little influence or consideration that evenhanded justice is dealt out.

On the subject of marriage also, the common notion amongst the whites that a black man knocks down a woman and carries her off to be his wife is, as Mr. Lang shows, very incorrect: "The idea commonly entertained, that the native marriage ceremony mainly consists in violently knocking down the woman of another tribe, and dragging her away, is quite a mistake. Even when a blackfellow steals a wife from a neighbouring tribe, it is generally a case of attachment formed at some peaceable meeting of the tribes, which are pretty frequent. This, however, is always discouraged by

the councils of the different tribes as likely to lead to a war between them." But when it does occur that a young man either steals or seduces away a young woman from another tribe, he usually has to pass some ordeal or undergo some punishment in expiation of his offence. The following instance will suffice to illustrate this:—"In a case which occurred in the Murray district, the father came and claimed his daughter from the tribe of the lover, who positively refused to surrender his bride: so it was arranged that the father and five of his family, or clan, should each throw at him a certain number of spears, boomerangs, and waddies. The lovers were a remarkably handsome couple; the girl stood within the ring, as usual, awaiting the result with keen anxiety. During the ordeal, the lover's shield was broken, upon which the man who was then throwing stopped at once, till he was supplied with a fresh shield. Man after man took his turn, till every weapon was thrown, without inflicting any wound. When all was over, the happy lover threw an opossum rug over the bride; she was then his beyond dispute, and immediately adopted by his tribe, without any offence to herself."

One of the chief causes of individual suffering and general war between the tribes is witchcraft. The sorcerers or medicine-men always keep their own tribe in fear and trembling, and are supposed capable of killing, by sorcery, any person belonging to the neighbouring tribes. In accordance with these notions, whenever the member of a tribe dies, it is at once set down that he was bewitched by the sorcerers of some neighbouring tribe, and frequently there are great incantations and ceremonies for the purpose of fixing the crime upon some particular man; and, if the alleged murderer is thus magically discovered, it is considered to be the duty of the relations of the deceased forthwith to go and kill him.

The intelligence of the Australian aborigines, says Mr. Lang, is generally regarded as of the lowest character, but there are reasons for forming a very different opinion. No one, seeing them merely as idle wandering vagabonds among the white men, can judge as to what they are in their natural state. In their subtlety as diplomatists, and their skill and activity in war and the chase, I consider them quite equal to the American Indians. The great weir for catching fish, on the Upper Darling, and another described by Morrill, the shipwrecked mariner, who passed so many years among them,

prove that they are capable of constructing works upon a large scale, and requiring combined action. Everything they have to do they do in the very best manner; and for every contingency that arises they devise a simple remedy.

The corroboree has often been described, but the following account will show that these performances are sometimes conducted on a much more imposing scale than is generally believed. Eaglehawk, or Old Billy, the master of the ceremonies on the occasion of the following corroboree, a native of the Maranoa district, is described by Mr. Lang as having been a man of great ability and influence, who succeeded in inducing five tribes to combine in opposing the progress of the whites in the occupation of his district. The scene on which this grand corroboree was acted was near Surat:—

“There were over 500 natives in the assemblage. The stage consisted of an open glade surrounded by a belt of rather thick timber, about 200 yards in length and breadth, narrowing towards the south end, across which sat the orchestra, consisting of nearly a hundred women, led by Eaglehawk himself. The leader chaunted a description of scenes as they passed, accompanied by the women, their voices continuously repeating what seemed to be the same words, while they beat time by striking with a stick a quantity of earth, tightly rolled up in a piece of cloth or opossum rug. The moon shone brightly, lighting up the stage and the tops of the trees, but casting a deep shadow below. This shadow, however, was again relieved by several large fires on each side of the stage, leaving a clear view of Eaglehawk and the orchestra, behind whom stood the spectators, the whites being in the centre. The first act of the corroboree was the representation of a herd of cattle, feeding out of the forest and camping on the plain, the black performers being painted accordingly. The imitation was most skilful, the action and attitude of every individual member of the entire herd being ludicrously exact. Some lay down and chewed the cud, others stood scratching themselves with their hind feet or horns, licking themselves or their calves; several continued rubbing their heads against each other. This having lasted for some time, scene the second commenced. A party of blacks was seen creeping towards the cattle, taking all the usual precautions, such as keeping to windward, in order to prevent the herd from being alarmed. They got up close to the cattle at last and speared two head, to the

intense delight of the black spectators. Scene the third commenced with the sound of horses galloping through the timber, followed by the appearance of a party of whites on horseback, remarkably well got up. The face was painted whitey-brown, with an imitation of the cabbage-tree hat; the bodies were painted, some blue and others red, to represent the shirts; below the waist was a resemblance of the moleskin trousers. These manufactured whites at once wheeled to the right, fired, and drove the blacks before them; the latter soon rallied, however and a desperate fight ensued, the blacks extending their flanks and driving back the whites. The native spectators groaned whenever a blackfellow fell, but cheered lustily when a white bit the dust; and a length, after the ground had been fought over and over again, the whites were ignominiously driven from the field, amidst the frantic delight of the natives."

It is melancholy to reflect that a people with such aptitudes, such quickness of apprehension, readiness of resource, and, within a certain range, remarkable versatility of talent, should be doomed to rapid extinction; for, there is no more hope that the blackfellow will survive the process of the occupation and settlement of his country than that the emu and the kangaroo will escape extinction by becoming domesticated. The colonisation of the country alters the conditions under which alone they could exist. Every year the white man makes fresh inroads upon their plains and forest homes, and every year both men and animals disappear before him. None but visionary enthusiasts will contend that it is possible to prevent the extinction of the Australian aborigines by any means short of the total abandonment of the country by civilised man; but every man not blind to the claims of humanity will admit that their position might be greatly ameliorated and their days in the land prolonged if those who have taken possession of their country felt their responsibilities and fulfilled their duties towards them. Numerous efforts, dictated, no doubt, by sincere desires for their welfare, have been made to convert and civilise them, and some plans have for a time given faint hopes of success, but the ultimate result has always been the same. Firearms wielded by murderous hands have slain some, poison has slain some, loathsome diseases have slain some, and strong drink has slain some, but no one of these causes, nor all of them combined, sufficiently accounts for the rapid extinction which the race is undergoing. Yet there is nothing occult or

mysterious in the causes of their disappearance. Their destruction is entirely due to the occupation of their country by a more powerful race, whose presence has completely altered the circumstances under which they previously lived, and moved, and had their being. Their haunts have been invaded, their habits have been changed, their old pursuits have been rendered impossible, their organisation has been broken up, and, worse than all, their natural food has been destroyed; starvation has done its work, hope and vigour have forsaken them, they have become demoralised, and apathy or the recklessness of despair has overtaken them. The great old family of man to which they belong has become extinct long since in most other lands. They are almost the last of their race, and they are fast yielding to that inevitable onward march of humanity which overwhelms and crushes all who do not join its ranks.

The geology, as well as the animal and vegetable productions of Australia, indicates an antiquity greater than that of any other portion of the world. Its existing flora and fauna represent or rather approximate to species long since extinct in other lands, and afford abundant proof that the causes which produced the most recent submergences and upheavals of islands and continents did not operate here to the same extent as elsewhere. In Australia, we see to-day both animate and inanimate nature under forms and conditions identical with those which existed perhaps millions of years ago. If the lessons of geological science are read aright, the casuarina moaned on the banks of Australian streams, and the kangaroo bounded over Australian plains, long ere the white cliffs of England emerged from the waters of the ocean. It may perhaps be thought presumptuous even to speculate as to whether the country was at that remote period occupied by man; but, as most of the conditions under which he existed afterwards must then have been present, the supposition would be by no means a violent one. We know enough, however, to sanction the belief, that the Australian aborigines are the representatives of the most ancient family of mankind; while inferences justify the conclusion that even if the greatest antiquity ever claimed for Egyptian, Assyrian, or Indian monuments should be conceded, they could only carry us back to a period which is as yesterday in the history of our race. If no ruined cities or fallen fanes evidence the presence in Australia in former ages of a higher civilisation,—

if we have no monuments of ancient art, no remains which tell of the triumphs of conquerors or the ambition or piety of rulers—the negative proof thus afforded of the vast antiquity of the present Australian race is the strongest which it is possible to imagine.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNOR KING'S RULE; HIS FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO CRUSH OFFICIAL MONOPOLY. THE DEMORALISING RESULTS OF THE CHANGES INTRODUCED. THE INTRODUCTION OF WOOL-GROWING, AND GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE IRISH REBELS OF 1798.

ON Captain Hunter's departure (September 30, 1800,) the government devolved upon Captain Philip Gidley King, the officer who had been the founder and Lieutenant-Governor of the settlement at Norfolk Island. Captain King was the son of a draper at Launceston, in Cornwall, and having passed nearly all his life at sea, was said to be somewhat impetuous in manner and exceedingly out-spoken in language. He was an intimate friend of Captain Phillip the first Governor, and they had served together with distinction in various parts of the world. They were both self-made men, of comparatively humble origin, and this circumstance probably cemented, if it did not originate, the lasting friendship which existed between them. Unlike his more able and far-seeing friend, Captain King had a very poor opinion of the resources of the colony, and a much worse one of many of the people who had been sent to develop them. He said it was useless to attempt to make farmers of pickpockets, considered it undesirable to expend labour on the unproductive soil of New South Wales, and contended that Norfolk Island offered much greater inducements for colonisation than any part of the mainland of Australia.

It is creditable to his judgment and character, however, that he quickly perceived and deeply regretted the consequences of the odious monopoly then exercised by the military and civil officers, and determined, so far as he was able, to destroy it. For this purpose he encouraged and brought into notice the most deserving of the emancipated

convicts. Previous to his time no license to dispose of wines or spirits, either by wholesale or retail, had been granted to any but commissioned or non-commissioned officers. The latter were of course under the control of their military superiors, many of whom had amassed very large sums by the spirit monopoly.

Governor King's object was a very praiseworthy one, but unfortunately he attempted to carry it out in an injudicious and improper manner. One of his most serious errors was the granting of the privilege to sell spirits far too lavishly and indiscriminately. He allowed the gaoler to sell rum at a place opposite the gaol door. A like privilege was accorded to the chief constable and other persons whose duties were utterly incompatible with the practice of the publican's calling. The consequence was that drunkenness and crime rapidly increased; and it became plain that in attempting to cure one evil Governor King had created others and much greater ones. A late writer in describing the results of these changes, the disorganisation among the military, the exceedingly loose state of discipline among the convicts, and the disorders which Governor King quickly allowed to grow up in all the departments of his government, says:—"A general dissolution of morals and a general relaxation of discipline, were the result of a state of things so outrageously preposterous. Neither marrying nor giving in marriage was thought of in the colony; and, as the arm of the civil power was withered under the blasting influence of the miserable system which prevailed, the police of the colony was wretchedly administered, and virtuous industry was neither encouraged nor protected. Bands of bushrangers or runaway convicts traversed the country in all directions, and, entering the houses of the defenceless settlers in open day, committed fearful atrocities." But it is very probable that, like all monopolists and others who have had their privileges interfered with, those who suffered in pocket by Governor King's conduct greatly exaggerated the evils brought about by the changes which he introduced. Still, after making full allowances on this account, it must be admitted that the state of morals and manners at this time was very deplorable; and it may be regarded as the period of the lowest ebb in the social condition of the colony.

But, notwithstanding all these heavy drawbacks, the natural resources of the country were so great that a steady progress continued to be made in wealth and material prosperity.

This progress was in a great degree owing to the foresight and enterprise of one man, Captain John Macarthur, who had arrived in the colony in 1791, as an officer of the New South Wales Corps. He appears to have been struck with the great pastoral capabilities of the country, almost on his landing, and forthwith determined to become a settler. He soon commenced to improve the breed of sheep, with the intention of introducing the growing of fine wool for exportation to England. The first attempts made by Mr. Macarthur, and others who were induced to follow his example, consisted in crossing the small Bengal sheep with the larger Cape breed. The success which attended this experiment was so encouraging that specimens of woollen cloth, manufactured from the improved staple, were sent to England so early as 1798. Mr. Macarthur's farseeing intelligence and enlightened ambition were, however, by no means satisfied with the result. He endeavoured, shortly afterwards to procure from England sheep of the best Spanish Merino breed, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining from the King's farm, at Kew, some very choice animals of that description. The immediate success of his experiment exceeded all reasonable expectations, but the full extent and ultimate consequences were neither seen nor suspected until many years afterwards.

Property of all descriptions went on rapidly increasing in nominal value during the last two or three years of the eighteenth century, until everything appears to have reached a ridiculously absurd price. This unwholesome state of things seems to have been in part owing to the example set by many of those who were virtually the rulers of the country—the military officers,—and probably in some degree to that itching desire for peddling and dealing which has always characterised the prison class. Patient toil and habits of economy were foreign to the nature of most of these people; but their desire for display and personal gratification was generally as strong as their love of industry was weak. Deterred by the most terrible punishments from acquiring the means of procuring the gratification of their desires by dishonest courses, they were compelled to resort to dealing as the only means by which they could accomplish their ends. Agriculture was so laborious, and its results so remote and so uncertain, as to be distasteful to most of them, and unfortunately there was little else but traffic or crime to which they could betake themselves. Where this feeling was so general and so strong it is no wonder that almost all

kinds of movable property was constantly changing hands. A specimen of the prices ruling at the end of the eighteenth century will show the result of this gambling sort of traffic—horses, £90 each; cows, £80; a Cape sheep, £7 10s; geese, a guinea each; tea, 16s. a pound; a common earthenware cup and saucer, 20s; and other articles in proportion. The great profits made by many of these dealers reacted most injuriously on those who had set a bad example of a somewhat similar kind, viz., the military and civil officers, who up to this period had been contented with a monopoly of a wholesale character, and had not descended to petty dealing. But they now saw before them instances of persons acquiring considerable wealth who had a few years before been transported for their crimes; and not being disposed to allow others to make money faster than themselves, and being in the command of appliances and facilities which were beyond the reach of persons of the convict class, it is not very surprising that they took advantage of their position. The results were that most of the military and civil officers not only commenced dealing too, but ultimately formed themselves into something very much like a guild, having for its object a monopoly of the profits on all importations, by levying a sort of black mail on all goods landed in the colony, and particularly of such stores as were sent out by the Home Government for disposal to the settlers. This fraternity of official civil and military traders was the better able to carry out its designs from the fact that almost the only warehouses in which goods could be safely placed on being landed belonged to the Government, and were consequently completely under their control. The moment a cargo of goods was stored, these gentlemen assembled and divided the various consignments between them; they then placed their marks, and the prices at which alone the public were to be allowed to purchase, on each package or article as the case might be. By this plan, although no money was actually paid, they reaped enormous profits, because all above the prices fixed by the Government (or the importers, if the articles were private property,) went into their pockets. In addition to this, there was a fixed scale at which the Government purchased the grain and other produce of the settlers. Their position enabled these official hucksters to compel the settlers to sell to them at their own prices,—they reselling to the Government at the high rates which had been fixed by their influence or in consequence of their representations. If

a settler attempted to resist this gross imposition there was always a good reason forthcoming why his produce could not be received into the public store. This execrable state of things reached such a pitch at last that in some years it is said not a single bushel of grain or a pound of pork found its way into the Government stores except through their hands. Speaking of the consequences of this rage for dealing, the official monopoly, and the consequent poverty of the small settlers and cultivators of the soil, Colonel Collins, writing in September, 1800, says:—"The poverty of the settlers, and the high price of labour, occasioned much land to have been unemployed this year. Many of the inferior farmers were nearly ruined by the high price that they were obliged to give for such necessaries as they required from those who had been long in the habit of monopolising every article brought to the settlement for sale; a habit of which it was found impossible to get the better, without the positive and immediate interference of the Government at home. Many representations had been made on this distressing subject, and they seemed in some degree to have been attended to, as in several of the last arrivals from England, certain articles, consisting of implements of husbandry, clothing, and stores, had been consigned to the Governor himself, to be retailed for the use of the colonists."

This praiseworthy effort on the part of the Home Government was however completely defeated, for, instead of being retailed for the use of the colonists, the articles were as greedily monopolised, although not in precisely the same way, as private consignments had been before. The system adopted was this: no private person was allowed to enter the public stores unless he was able to produce a written order from a government officer. These orders had to be purchased at a very high rate, and consequently no articles in the store could be procured by those who wanted them except by paying a heavy premium to those who had the privilege of giving passes or orders of admission. The colony groaned under this nefarious system for years. The influence of the official class was so strong, and that of the handful of respectable settlers so small, that it was long before anything like justice could be obtained. At last, however, it became so notorious as to attract the attention of the British Parliament; and in 1812, a committee of the House of Commons sat to investigate the matter. Although its introduction here is out of strict chronological order, the evidence given before the com-

mittee of the Commons threw so much light on the state of the colony at this period, and exposed so clearly the working of the extraordinary monopoly of the official class, that a few extracts from it will enable the reader to understand many events which followed much more clearly than he otherwise could. Mr. Margarot, one of the Scotch martyrs, who having served out his sentence, had returned to England some time before, was one of the witnesses examined. Here is his evidence :

MAURICE MARGAROT called in, and examined :

In what year did you sail to New South Wales ? In 1794.

And to what period did you remain ? Till the year 1810.

Did you observe that in consequence of the mode in which the convicts at Botany Bay were treated, that their morals and conduct were improved by their treatment ? No.

What do you conceive to be the obstacles to their improvement ? The selection of the officers by Government who are sent out there, and the arbitrary mode in which that government is carried on, forasmuch as they have no rule to go by but one Act of Parliament, which enjoins them to keep as near to the laws of England as they can.

Point out what you conceive to be the principal defects in the system adopted by the officers sent out by this country ? Trade, and personal ignorance ; for to nothing else can their behaviour be attributed ; it is barbarous and cruel in the extreme.

Do the majority of the officers to whom the government of the colony is entrusted embark in trade ? All, to a man.

What is that trade ? It consists, first of all, of monopoly, then of extortion ; it includes all the necessities of life which are brought to the colony. The trade the officers are engaged in is, first, the supply of stores with wheat and pork, sometimes beef and mutton, to the exclusion of the settlers ; next, vessels arrive from different parts of Europe, and from India, with such articles as may be deemed luxuries ; tea, sugar, rum, wine, little matters for clothing, silk handkerchiefs, &c., and a variety of articles ; the officers purchase them, and retail them at perhaps 500 per cent. profit. There is likewise another monopoly ; the Government has been very kind to the colony, and sent out various articles for the use of the settlers and prisoners, such as sieves, hats, clothes, linen, coarse cloth, and a thousand other articles ; when a ship of that kind has arrived, and the goods have been landed in the King's stores, after a few days the stores are opened to the officers, who go in, lay their hands upon everything of value, and have their names affixed to it as purchasers, and they leave nothing but the refuse for the colony ; having so done, by themselves or by their agents, they retail that, as I said before, at 500 per cent. profit. I believe I am not out when I say, that a sieve, to sift meal, which cost them 5s. 9d., has been sold for three guineas, and rum I have known sold at £8 a gallon, which cost 7s. 6d.

Do you mean that civil officers, or military, or both, are engaged in this trade ? All of them, to a man. In the year 1797, a combination bond was entered into by them, by which they were neither to underbuy or undersell the one from the other.

How was that known in the colony ? Because it was offered me to sign, and I refused it, and from thence began my persecution : some of the upper inhabitants had that bond tendered them to sign ; it was brought to me, I

refused signing it; it went in fact to do what they have done ever since without it: there was an esprit de corps among them, that although they might jar between one another, if you offended one, you offended the whole; and any poor prisoner that had the misfortune to offend any one officer would be sure to get a flogging from some other.

Are not the settlers supplied with servants upon the first arrival of the convicts? No, they are not; they must wait till all the officers are served; they must wait till they can make interest with some person in office to obtain one.

Mr. Margarot was a man of strong prejudices and extreme opinions, and his statements may therefore be regarded as somewhat highly coloured; but that there was substantial foundation for what he said is proved by the testimony given by others. The evidence of an unexceptionable witness, the venerable Robert Campbell of the wharf, father of the late Colonial Treasurer, was as follows:—

MR. ROBERT CAMPBELL called in, and examined:

In what year did you go to Botany Bay? In the year 1798, from Bengal.

To what year did you remain? I was there, with the exception of two or three short intervals, down to the year 1810.

For what purpose did you go? On a mercantile speculation, to procure seal skins for the China market, and supply the colony with necessary articles of merchandise from Bengal.

Did you receive that encouragement from the Governor which you had reason to expect? When I first arrived, in 1798, no class of settlers were allowed to purchase any articles of merchandise but the officers on the establishment, civil and military.

Were you allowed to sell your merchandise at your own price? No.

In what manner were the prices fixed? In 1798, the officers fixed the price of all articles of merchandise which I had then for sale. In 1800, and from that time to my departure in 1810, the Governor fixed the price of spirits and wine; the other articles we were allowed to dispose of to the best advantage.

Had you an opportunity of seeing the manner in which the merchandise sold to the military and civil officers was afterwards retailed to the colony? Yes.

At what profit were the articles retailed? Spirits sometimes at 500 per cent. at least on other articles generally about from 50 to 75 per cent.

Were no difficulties thrown in your way in the disposal of the other articles, besides spirits and wine? On my first arrival there were.

Were they completely removed during the last ten years? Except on spirits and wine they were.

Other witnesses gave evidence which also strongly corroborated the existence of the evils complained of. It should be recollected, too, in justice to Margarot, that both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Palmer belonged to the privileged class.

MR. JOHN PALMER called in, and examined:

In what year did you go to Botany Bay? In the year 1788, at the first forming of the settlement.

And remained till what period? I remained till the month of May, 1810.

What was your office in Botany Bay? When I first went out, I went as purser of the *Sirius*, and in the year 1790 I was appointed Commissary.

Was the avidity for spirituous liquors very great in the colony? Yes, it was.

Was the price very high? The price was regulated by the Governor.

Of all spirituous liquors? Yes.

Were they sold in the colony at the price at which they were landed? No, they were bought at 6s. and 7s., and sold sometimes as high as £2 and £3 and £4.

Was not the greatest proportion bought by the officers of Government? Each officer was allowed to take a certain quantity, the licensed people had the same; in general the officers had the same as the licensed people.

Most of the officers in that colony trafficked in spirituous liquors? Yes, they did.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON called in, and examined:

In what year did you go to Botany Bay? I do not recollect the year; I went out with Governor Phillip in the first fleet.

Till what year did you remain there? I came home last Christmas was twelvemonths, Christmas 1810.

Were the articles you bought for yourself expensive to you? Very expensive; shoes, 20s. a pair; for a shirt, 20s.; sugar, 7d. per pound, and tea a dollar an ounce; spirits, generally, 20s. a bottle.

Were those high prices owing to a temporary scarcity, or was it a general thing? It was general for the poor; the rich could get it cheaper.

Are you able to account for these high prices? No, I cannot; but from gentlemen having an opportunity of going aboard, and buying things of the captain; we could not go on board, because we were always paid with copper coin, and therefore we could buy nothing; if I had got £20 soldier's pay, I could not get one individual thing from a ship.

In the latter part of 1799 and the commencement of the following year, a large number of persons who had been convicted of having taken part in the Irish rebellion of "Ninety-eight" arrived in the colony. It was a subject of complaint by the settlers and officers who wanted hard working, robust men, for clearing their farms, that many of these persons, having been bred up to professions, or in the habits of genteel life, were incapable of labour and therefore useless to the colony. From the money making point of view, these complaints were probably well founded; but considering the moral and intellectual condition of the community at that period, the accession of a number of persons of the class alluded to must, notwithstanding their political offences, have been a great gain. Amongst the most remarkable of these exiled rebels were the Rev. Henry Fulton, a clergyman of the Church of England; the Rev. Father Harold, who had been parish priest of Reculla, in the county of Dublin; William Henry Alcock, who had been a captain in a regiment of the line; his brother-in-law, Dr. O'Connor; and Joseph

Holt, better known as General Holt, the principal leader of the Irish rebel army. Mr. Holt was a very extraordinary man, and although he cannot be said to have exercised any very remarkable influence on the condition of the community into which he was thrown, he left, at his death, which took place near Dublin, in 1826, a singularly interesting autobiography, which shows so clearly what that condition was, and gives so much insight into the every-day life of the colonists, that a short sketch of his origin, doings, and character, will hardly be considered out of place in these pages. He was an Irish Protestant of English extraction, a native of Ballydaniel, in the county of Wicklow. His father was a small farmer, and Holt himself was brought up to the same occupation. He afterwards, in addition to his agricultural pursuits, became road contractor and overseer of public works for the Barony of Ballynecore. At the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1798, he was a thriving yeoman, upwards of forty years of age, a loyal subject, and a stanch Protestant. He knew little or nothing of politics, and looked upon the rebels as people deserving the most severe punishment that could possibly be inflicted for daring to raise their hands against the government. It is an extraordinary fact, that notwithstanding the position of rebel general in which circumstances afterwards placed him, he continued to hold the most loyal opinions as long as he lived. Probably few instances can be found in which a man was carried by the stream of events in a course so directly opposite to that in which his habits, religion, character, and convictions would have led him. For some years previous to 1798 he had made himself many enemies by his energetic and courageous conduct in the capture of many desperate offenders against the laws; and in addition to this he had incurred, on account of some pecuniary quarrel, in which he says he was greatly wronged, the rancorous enmity of a wealthy and powerful but unprincipled neighbour. This man, who afterwards occupied a very conspicuous place in Irish society, was, or professed to be, a rapid royalist, and lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the government by denouncing and persecuting obnoxious neighbours. When martial law was proclaimed, this man's position as a magistrate enabled him to ravage the district in which Holt lived with fire and sword. He burnt to the ground the houses and homesteads of many Catholic families, driving the men to join the rebels in the Wicklow mountains, while the women and children were reduced to a state of

starvation. Holt, notwithstanding that he was a Protestant and an unswerving upholder of English rule, had always been a great favourite with his Catholic neighbours, and was ever ready to take their part when he thought they were oppressed. Being a bold outspoken man, he did not hesitate to denounce the conduct of the magistrate referred to, and endeavoured to interfere in behalf of his poorer and less loyal neighbours. He knew that the persecutions which they suffered proceeded much more from private malice, and the officious zeal of bad men in the advancement of their own personal and selfish interests, than from any wish or intention on the part of the British Government to oppress his Catholic fellow-subjects. Holt's interference, although it does not appear to have taken any more tangible form than that of uttering strong words against the oppressor, and the extending of sympathy and assistance to the oppressed, was fatal to his interests. He was denounced by his powerful neighbour and personal enemy as a rebel, or as an aider and abettor of rebels, his house and property were burnt and destroyed, his wife and children thrown upon the world, and to save his life he was obliged to fly to the mountains to seek the assistance of others similarly situated. Even under these circumstances his loyalty was never shaken for a moment. He looked upon the rebels and their cause as utterly contemptible. He knew nothing of republican theories, and cared nothing about political parties. He had been grossly wronged, but he did not blame the Government; for all his aspirations began and ended in a wish to redress local grievances and to punish the petty tyrants who had burnt his house, rendered his family homeless, and driven his neighbours to desperate courses. In his autobiography he never neglects an opportunity of giving expression to his contempt for those who had engaged in the rebellion from political motives, and he is the more especially severe upon those who, having occupied respectable positions, had sacrificed life, liberty, or property for the sake of what he thought Quixotic theories and sentimental notions of liberty. He appears to have been a courageous, outspoken, ready-witted, but somewhat vain and hot tempered man, of very limited education, but with a good address, commanding presence, and a very determined expression of countenance. The poor misguided ignorant peasants whom he found in arms in the Wicklow mountains, had been deserted, as soon as real danger appeared, by many unprincipled cowards who had helped to fan the spark of rebellion into a flame, and

their numbers were daily augmented by ruffians who sought only an opportunity for plunder. The rabble rout of rebels hailed the accession of Holt to their ranks with the greatest joy. They knew he was a man of honesty of purpose, courage, and capacity, and they insisted in his being their leader. He had no choice. He could not return to his ruined home, for a price was set upon his head, and to refuse the position to which the rebels wished to elevate him was to court the suspicion and to ensure the enmity of the most desperate gang of ruffians than ever robbed and plundered in the name of liberty. He endeavoured to gather round him as a body-guard men who like himself had private wrongs to redress, or who were sincere in their desire for the political regeneration of their country; but during the many months that he acted as rebel leader he was never free from the fear of being assassinated or betrayed by his followers for the sake of the reward offered by the Government. Having led his men through many successful conflicts, he at length ventured to exert his authority, although often in vain, to prevent outrage and plunder. At one period his army—if an almost undisciplined mob could properly be called an army—numbered about thirteen thousand men. He says they were for the most part the most despicable set of cowards, fools, and knaves that ever disgraced humanity. His reliable men, those who actually fought for aught but plunder, do not seem to have numbered more than a few hundreds at any time, and as there never was the slightest political sympathy between him and even his best followers, it is no wonder that they soon dwindled to a few scores. He got rid of the thousands of plunderers who followed his effective force as best he could, and at one time was so disgusted with their atrocities that he sent information of their whereabouts to a party of the royal troops, with the hope that they would attack and disperse or cut them to pieces. He saw the utter hopelessness and absurdity of the rebellion from the first, and resolved to make terms for himself, if he could possibly do so without betraying his companions. He was at last enabled to effect this object by giving himself up to Lord Powerscourt, with the implied condition that his life should be spared. He was never brought to trial, but banished for life, and by the kindness and munificence of a lady who felt a deep interest in the welfare of his wife and family, Mrs. Holt and his son Joshua were provided with passages on board the ship despatched by the Government to convey him

and other rebels to New South Wales. Joshua Holt, although a boy of but twelve or fourteen years of age at the time of the rebellion, went through some very remarkable scenes in that memorable outbreak. When his father, about fourteen years afterwards, obtained a full pardon and returned to Ireland, Joshua remained in the colony, where he married, brought up a large family, and lived, much respected, to the age of almost four-score years. He died, a short time since, in Elizabeth-street, Sydney. He was fond of recalling the recollections of his boyish life, and recounting the strange scenes he had witnessed in his early youth.

The above somewhat lengthy notice of General Holt, will, it is believed, not be thought out of place, when it is considered that we are indebted to his autobiography for a most life-like, although darkly-coloured, picture of the colony during the first decade of the present century. This *Life of General Holt* was edited by T. Crofton Croker, Esq., and published in London, in two volumes, in 1838.

A good deal in Holt's life, which refers to the conduct and character of colonial authorities and notabilities, is couched in terms of great bitterness, and abusive epithets are very freely indulged in. It will be necessary, therefore, in justice to the memory of those so assailed, to make some considerable allowance for the words of a hot-tempered man smarting under what he considered personal wrongs, and anxious to expose the conduct of men who, dressed in a little brief authority, did not hesitate, in his opinion, to tyrannise over the rest of the community, and to practice without scruple the most overreaching conduct whenever they had the opportunity. Making due allowance for Holt's peculiarities of character and position, it is probable, however, that on the whole, a more truthful view of the state of things in the colony, during the first ten years of the present century, can be gleaned from his narrative than from any other source.

Holt's troubles commenced almost immediately after he landed. His position was a peculiar one,—for although he had never been tried and convicted, he had come to the colony in a prison ship, and it was therefore considered at first by the colonial authorities that he was entirely at their disposal; and as he was known to be a man of great energy and intelligence, and well acquainted with agricultural pursuits, more than one of the wealthy settlers attempted to get him handed over to them as an assigned servant. With this view they wished to convince him that he would be much better off in

such a position than if he remained under the direct control of the government. This selfish plan Mr. Holt met in such a manner as to make those who proposed it almost regret having done so. They soon saw that he was not a likely man to allow himself to be made a useful tool in their hands. As a specimen of how "government men" were worked and treated in those days, he gives the following account of what he was shown as a warning or taste of what he might expect if he was determined to resist being assigned to a private master. The Rev. Mr. Marsden, the gentleman who particularly wished to obtain his services, took him a few days after his arrival to see a government gang at work. Holt's relation of the circumstance is as follows:—

"He requested me to accompany them, and we proceeded to a government settlement, where they were tilling the ground on the public account. At a distance, I saw about fifty men at work, as I thought dressed in nankeen jackets, but, on nearer approach, I found them naked, except a pair of loose trousers. Their skin was tanned by the sun and climate to that colour. I felt much pity for the poor wretches; they had each a kind of large hoe, about nine inches deep and eight wide, and the handle as thick as that of a shovel, with which they turned up, as with a spade, the ground, which was left to rot in the winter. They cannot bear any clothes when at work in the heat of the day.

"Captain Johnstone addressed me, saying 'Mr. Holt, you are a good farmer, I suppose?'

"'I do well enough with horses and oxen, but not with men,' said I.

"Dr. Thompson then said, 'Do you think those men would understand you better than horses or oxen?'

"'Yes, sir,' I replied, 'but it appears great brutality to work men in this manner.'

"'Well,' said he, 'it matters not what you think about it, you will soon come into it.'

On another occasion, shortly afterwards, he says:—

"We marched to Toongabbe, where all the government transports were kept, who were called out to witness the punishment of the prisoners. One man, Maurice Fitzgerald, was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes, and the method of punishment was such as to make it most effectual. The unfortunate man had his arms extended round a tree, his two wrists tied with cords, and his breast pressed closely to the tree, so that flinching from the blow was out of the question,

for it was impossible for him to stir. Father Harold was ordered to put his hand against the tree by the hands of the prisoner, and two men were appointed to flog, namely, Richard Rice, a left-handed man, and John Johnson, the hangman from Sydney, who was right-handed. They stood on each side of Fitzgerald; and I never saw two threshers in a barn move their flails with more regularity than these two man-killers did, unmoved by pity, and rather enjoying their horrid employment than otherwise. The very first blows made the blood spout from Fitzgerald's shoulders; and I felt so disgusted and horrified, that I turned my face away from the cruel sight. One of the constables employed to carry into effect this tremendous punishment, came up to me, and desired me 'to look on, at my peril.' I frowned at the monster with disdain, and told him I would demolish him if he attempted to interfere with me. Mr. Smith then advanced, and asked the fellows who had gathered about me what authority they had to take any notice of me; upon which they walked off. I could only compare these wretches to a pack of hounds at the death of a hare, or tigers who torment their victims before they put them to death; and yet these fellows, I venture to assert, were arrant cowards; for cowardice is always equal to cruelty—fellows who dare not face a brave foe, but would cut a submissive captive to mince-meat.

"I have witnessed many horrible scenes; but this was the most appalling sight I had ever seen. The day was windy, and I protest, that although I was at least fifteen yards to leeward, from the sufferers, the blood, skin, and flesh blew in my face as the executioners shook it off from their cats. Fitzgerald received his whole three hundred lashes, during which Doctor Mason used to go up to him occasionally to feel his pulse, it being contrary to law to flog a man beyond fifty lashes without having a doctor present. I never shall forget this humane doctor as he smiled and said, 'Go on; this man will tire you both before he fails!' During the time Fitzgerald was receiving the punishment, he never uttered a groan; the only words he said were 'Flog me fair; do not strike me on the neck.' When it was over, two constables took him by the arms to help him into the cart. He said to them, 'Let my arms go,' and struck each of them in the pit of the stomach with his elbows, and knocked them both down; he then stepped into the cart unassisted, as if he had not received a blow. The doctor remarked, 'That man has strength enough to bear two hundred more.'

"The next prisoner who was tied up was Paddy Galvin, a young lad about twenty years of age; he was also sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. The first hundred were given on his shoulders, and he was cut to the bone between the shoulder-blades, which were both bare. The doctor then directed the next hundred to be inflicted lower down, which reduced his flesh to such a jelly that the doctor ordered him to have the remaining hundred on the calves of his legs. During the whole time Galvin never even whimpered or flinched, if, indeed, it had been possible for him to have done so. He was asked, 'where the pikes were hid?' Galvin answered that he did not know, and that, if he did, he would not tell. 'You may hang me,' said he, 'if you like; but you shall have no music out of my mouth to make others dance upon nothing.' He was put into the cart and sent to the hospital. Three other men then received each one hundred lashes, and they sung out lustily, from first to last. They were all from the County of Cork, and lived near Sir Henry Browne Hayes's."*

Mr. Holt, soon after his arrival, became agricultural superintendent for Mr. W. Cox, one of the largest cultivators and stock owners in the colony at that period. He had returned from a visit to Europe in the same ship which brought out Holt and the other exiled notabilities connected with the Irish Rebellion. Mr. Holt's account of his management of

* Sir Henry Browne Hayes resided, while in the colony, at Vaucluse, a beautiful spot near the entrance of Sydney Harbour, now and for many years past the property of Mr. W. C. Wentworth. This Sir Henry Hayes, who had served the office of Sheriff of the City of Cork, was tried in 1801 for the abduction of Miss Pike, a wealthy Quaker lady, and was sentenced to suffer death; this sentence, was, however, commuted to transportation for life. His case made a great noise at the time, in consequence of the position in life of the parties implicated. Some time elapsed after the commission of the offence before Sir Henry was captured and brought to justice. A large reward having been at length offered for his apprehension he walked into the shop of a hairdresser at Cork, named Coghlan, and after some conversation said that as it was his intention to surrender himself Coghlan might as well reap the benefit of the reward by giving him up. He received a pardon and left the colony for Ireland in 1812. There is a singular story current respecting him which is implicitly believed by the more ignorant part of the old colonists, to the effect that finding his place at Vaucluse much infested with snakes, and being firmly believing that these reptiles could not exist on Irish soil, he sent home for several casks of that article, which he scattered over the place. His faith in his native land and its patron saint was amply rewarded, for, says the story, a snake has never been seen at Vaucluse from that time to this.

the convict servants under his control, the particulars of his farming operations, the price of live stock, and other matters in connection with the pursuits and prospects of the settlers at the commencement of the century, are full of interest. Respecting the mode of managing convicts he says :—

“As to the convicts, there was a certain quantity of work, which, by the government regulations they must do in a given time, and this may be given to them by the day, week, or month, as you pleased, and they must be paid a certain price for all the work they did beyond the stipulated quantity. If they were idle, and did not do the regulated quantity of work, it was only necessary to take them before a magistrate, and he would order them twenty-five lashes of the cat on their backs, for the first offence, fifty for the second, and so on ; and if that would not do, they were at last put into a gaol gang, and make to work in irons from morning till night.

“In order to keep them honest, I paid them fully and fairly for every thing they did beyond their stipulated task at the same rate as I paid the freemen, and, if I thought the rations not sufficient for their comfortable support, I issued to each man six pounds of wheat, fourteen of potatoes, and one of pork, in addition. By this means the men were well fed ; for the old saying is true, that ‘Hunger will break through stone walls ;’ and it is all nonsense to make laws for starving men. When any article was stolen from me, I instantly paraded all hands, and told them that ‘if it was not restored in a given time, I would stop all extra allowances and indulgences ; the thief,’ said I, ‘is a disgrace to the establishment, and all employed in it ; let the honest men find him out, and punish him among yourselves, do not let it be said that the flogger ever polluted this place by his presence. You all know the advantages you enjoy above gangs on any other estate in the colony, do not then throw them away. Do not let me know who the thief is, but punish him by your own verdict.’ I then dismissed them.

“The transports would say amongst themselves that what I had told them was all right. ‘We won’t,’ they would reason, ‘be punished because there happens to be an ungrateful thief amongst us.’ They then called a jury, and entered into an investigation, and, on all occasions, succeeded in detecting and punishing the offender. I was by this line of conduct secure from plunder ; and the disgusting operation of flogging a man alive, with a cat-o’-nine-tails, did not disgrace the farms under my superintendence. Mr. Cox one

day said to me, 'Pray, Joseph, how is it that you never have to bring your men to punishment? You have more under you than, I believe, any man in the colony, and to the surprise of all, you have never had one flogged, or indeed have made a complaint against one; they look well, and appear contented, and even happy.'—'Sir,' said I, 'I have studied human nature more than books. I had the management of many more men in my own country, and I was always rigidly just to them. I never oppressed them, or suffered them to cheat their employers or each other. They knew if they did their duty they would be well treated, and if not, sent to the right-about. I follow the same course with the men here. I have taught them the advantages they derive from good conduct, and I make them punish an offender themselves; therefore, if any depredation be committed on your property, they are told that all allowances and indulgences will be stopped, until whatever is missing be restored. The crime, therefore, becomes one against themselves, and they have better means of detecting it than I have. They call a jury, convict and punish the offender. I should myself be very ill qualified to act as your agent and overseer, were I to have a man or two flogged every week. Besides the horrible inhumanity of this practice, the loss of a man's week or fortnight's work will not be a trifle in a year, at twelve and sixpence per week; for a man who gets the cat is incapable of work till his back is well; so in prudence, as well as in christian charity, it is best to treat our fellow-creatures like men, although they be degraded to the state of convict slaves. They will, moreover, when properly treated, be sensible of kindness, and find that they better themselves by behaving well. But as you ask me, I will show you my private flogger.' I then went to an outhouse, and brought Mr. Cox two hoes, one which weighed three pounds and a half, the other seven. He took the lightest in his hand, and said it was a very good one. I then handed him the seven pound hoe, which he took into his hand, and, after a time said, 'This is a terrible tool.'

"Well, sir," said I, "there is my punishment, the man who misbehaves knows he will get the seven pounder, and I have great satisfaction in saying it has been used but once, and then only for a short time."

"The greater number of overseers in the colony," I continued, "have been criminals themselves, and have neither prudence, honesty, or humanity; they are ruffians, who are

actuated and influenced by the worst passions, and frequently flog an unfortunate wretch for complaining of their oppression. No man could insult me by saying, 'I am as good as you, for you were a thief, and I am no worse!' Believe me, sir, thieves never make good masters, or use power with moderation or humanity."

Of his employer, Mr. Cox, ancestor of a highly respectable colonial family of that name, well known for the excellent quality of their wool and other produce, Mr. Holt speaks in the highest terms:—"There never was a man who desired to serve another more than he did, or to do a kind act. When the purchaser of a horse or a mare came to make his first payment, Mr. Cox would often indulge them with six month's longer credit. He was truly a good friend to every honest man he met with. His good treatment of the convicts in his service had the happiest effect upon many of those who were so lucky as to get into his service; most of them by finding out that honesty was the best policy, became sincerely honest and well conducted, and were purged and purified from their former detestable propensities, and lived and died valuable members of society. So much does gentle and mild treatment win upon the minds of men, while harsh severity and coercion hardens their hearts, and brutalises their character."

Other settlers, however, are mentioned in terms of the strongest condemnation. The military officers appear to have been particularly obnoxious to Mr. Holt, and he illustrates their selfish and unprincipled conduct towards the soldiers and settlers by the following example:—

"The practice was to draw from the stores all the goods, in large quantities, and to pay the soldiers only in goods; for every ten shillings' worth of which, according to the value they were delivered at out of the store, the soldiers paid twenty, and if they objected to this mode of payment, they were most probably sent to the guard-house, tried by a court martial, for mutiny, and sentenced to imprisonment.

"Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp, when a soldier came to him for his month's pay, would usually accost him with, 'Well, what do you want?'

"'I want to be paid, sir,' the soldier would say.

"'What will you have?' was always Captain Kemp's answer. 'I have very good tobacco, ten shillings the pound, and good tea at twenty shillings the pound, prints at eight shillings a yard,' and so on.

"If the poor soldier answered, 'Sir, I do not want any of your goods,' the Captain's comment was, 'You don't! You are a d——d saucy rascal?' Perhaps then the soldier would say, 'Sir, if you please, give me half money, and half goods.' But this proposal was equally objectionable to Captain Kemp, and generally led to his thundering out, 'Begone, you d——d mutinous scoundrel, or I'll send you to the guard-house, and have you flogged for your impertinence to your officer.' The soldier, having no redress, would take his monthly pay in property, which he did not want, and then he would endeavour to dispose of what he had received to some person who had money; generally selling it for less than half the price he was charged by his captain. This system of monopoly and extortion compelled the soldier to serve his Majesty for half his nominal pay; I can prove what I assert, as I have often bought goods from the soldiers myself, upon these terms. It was, I must confess, very provoking to see the officers draw the goods from the public store, to traffic in them for their own private gain, which goods were sent out for the advantage of the settlers, who were compelled to deal with those huxter officers for such articles as they may require, giving them from fifty to five hundred per cent. profit, and paying in grain.

"It thus would happen, that one of these monopolisers, who never grew a grain, would sometimes have a thousand bushels of wheat to put in the store; and this was the manner in which all those old tailors, and shoemakers, staymakers, man-milliners, tobacconists, and pedlars, that were called captains and lieutenants, made their fortunes; by the extortion and the oppression of the soldier, the settler, and the poor. Any one who doubts what I assert, may inquire of any soldier who ever belonged to the 102nd regiment of foot, concerning my statements, and he will find what I say to be correct."

There were, however, many honourable exceptions to the conduct pursued by some of the officers of the 102nd regiment. Mr. Holt says:—

"But notwithstanding what I have said of the officers of the New South Wales Corps, which was made his Majesty's 102nd regiment, there were belonging to it two gentlemen, who never dishonoured themselves, or his Majesty's cloth. They were Captain John Piper and Captain Edward Abbott. They were both men of honour and resolution. They conducted themselves, in all respects, as officers and gentlemen

They served the poor, and they upheld the oppressed, by which they kept themselves poor: but they would have been rich, indeed, if prayers and good wishes could have made them wealthy, and they retained their own self-respect. They were too noble-minded to desire to make a fortune from the labour of the settler, the plunder of the soldier, or from the sweat of the convict's brow."

Amongst other persons of some note in the colony at the time of Holt's arrival, he gives us a glimpse of old Mr. Margarot, one of the Scotch Martyrs, the sad history of whose fellow sufferers is recorded in previous chapters. Almost as soon as the vessel in which he arrived came to an anchor Holt received a pressing invitation from Margarot to pay him a visit. The old Scotchman lived in a hut on the east side of Sydney Cove, a little to the north of where the Custom House now stands. He thought Holt, from having been the leader of the Irish rebels, was a man of republican principles, and was not a little astonished to find that, so far from being a republican, he was not even a political reformer, and in fact knew little or nothing of politics. Holt's account of his visit to Margarot is as follows:—

"Mr. Margarot received me with kindness and hospitality, shaking me by the hand. He was a man of great conversational powers, and of literary acquirements, being well educated. Mrs. Margarot was of the same rank and character, a lady of elegant manners. They were both of hasty tempers, and very irritable. He asked me many questions, some of them very unaccountable to me, who was not very well up to republican notions. He told me his history briefly, and why he was sent away from his own country.*

* 9th January, [1794], Edinburgh.—"This morning, about ten o'clock, a vast crowd assembled in front of the Black Bull Inn, where Maurice Margarot, indicted for seditious practices, lodged. He shortly after came out, attended by three friends. When he got the length of the register office, the mob forced all the four into a chaise which they had provided, and from which they had previously taken the horses. This done, they immediately drew the carriage to the parliament close, where Mr. Margarot and his friends alighted, and walking into the Parliament House, he assisted himself at the bar. On his way home Mr. Margarot was again forced into a carriage by the mob, along with five of his friends, and the horses being taken from the coach, the mob drew him to his lodgings at the Black Bull Inn.

"13th.—Mr. Margarot was accused of different seditious practices. He conducted his own defence. After a long trial, the jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to fourteen years' transportation beyond the seas.

"About one o'clock, an Englishman named Barnes, came in with a basket of beautiful peaches and nectarines, and an animal somewhat like a rabbit, called a bandycoot, on which we afterwards dined, and found it of good flavour. Barnes was parish clerk, and came from England with the Rev. Richard Johnson, the first clergyman who reached this colony. Mr. Margarot said he regretted his means did not permit him to furnish his house with better fare for my entertainment, but what he had, he was happy to share with me. I then asked permission to send out for some spirits. I gave the servant a guinea, (which left me but four to commence the world with) and he brought us a wine bottle of rum, for which he paid fourteen shillings, and I received three small pieces of silver as change, cut in a triangular shape, the value of which I did not know. We drank our rum punch, and chatted over our adventures."

The statements of Holt and others respecting the condition of the colony at the commencement of the century, derived, as they necessarily were, almost exclusively from local sources, probably acquired a strong coloring from persons whose interests and prejudices, and the narrow sphere of their observation, led them to give too deep a shade to the pictures which they drew. Those who sympathised with the small settlers and the emancipists attributed every evil to the monopolising spirit and high-handed rule of the civil and military officers, and possibly in some instances they exaggerated the facts as well as the consequence of the control by the latter of the sale of imported goods and the purchase of the settlers' produce. On the other hand, the grasping and overbearing officials, and those who sided with

"In consequence of the proceedings on the 9th instant, while Mr. Margarot went to the Justiciary Court, every precaution was taken this day by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and the Sheriff, to prevent any breach of good order. A great crowd assembled at his lodgings in Leith-street, about ten o'clock, and he was conducted with a wreath or arch held over him, with 'Reason,' 'Liberty,' &c. About the middle of the North Bridge, however, the cavalcade was met by the Lord Provost, Sheriff, Constable, Peace Officers, &c., and immediately dispersed, the arch demolished, and its supporters taken into custody. A press-gang attended to assist the peace officers. Mr. Margarot then walked to the court, escorted by the Lord Provost and Sheriff, and no disturbance ensued.

"February 10th.—This morning Messrs. Muir, Margarot, Skirving, and Palmer, were removed from Newgate in a post coach and four, attended by two king's messengers. We learn that they were taken on board vessels bound to Botany Bay."—*Annual Register* for 1794.

them, smarting under the loss of the lucrative privilege of spirit dealing which they had enjoyed for years, denounced the conduct of the Governor in the strongest terms, and attributed all the vice, profligacy, and misery they saw around them to the numerous licenses given by him for the sale of liquors, and the encouragement and countenance he extended to a class of persons who had hitherto been excluded not merely from social recognition but even from the exercise of their legal rights. In their communications with influential persons in England these official gentlemen endeavoured, by representing the condition of the colony in the worst possible light, to prove the disastrous effects of the Governor's policy and his total unfitness for the post which he occupied.

Governor King was not strong enough to cope with the unscrupulous and clever men by whom he was surrounded. His first impulse to destroy their monopoly was right; but seeing the hornets' nest this course brought about his ears, he at length vacillated, then gave way, and then, to use an expressive colloquialism, let things go by the run. He was apprehensive on more than one occasion of being placed under arrest, and the probability is that this step would have been resorted to if he had persisted in carrying out his first intentions. In such a state of things it is vain to look to either one party or the other for an unprejudiced view of the colony and its prospects at that time. Fortunately there are other sources of information open.

In 1800 the French Government despatched two ships, the *Geographe* and the *Naturaliste*, on a voyage of discovery to the South Seas. These vessels reached Sydney on the 20th June, 1802, and M. Peron, one of the naturalists of the expedition, in his "Historical Relation of a Voyage undertaken for the Discovery of Southern Lands," gives a most flattering account of Port Jackson and what he saw there during the five months over which his visit extended.

If, in the case of Holt and others, allowance has to be made for the dark shades of the picture which they drew, in M. Peron's narrative the opposite course must be taken. The high-flown language and eulogistic tone adopted by an enthusiastic Frenchman, who had for nearly two years previously seen little else than naked savages and witnessed only their barbarous customs, must be received with considerable qualification. M. Peron's estimate of the state and prospects of New South Wales is as bright as the accounts previously alluded to are dark and repulsive. The following

is his view of as much as he was allowed to see of the monopoly of the officials:—

“Near the Government Dock are three public magazines; in one are stowed all articles requisite for domestic use, such as potter’s-ware, furniture, utensils of all kinds for the kitchen; farming implements, &c. The number of articles is truly immense, and the mode of delivery is marked by wisdom and liberality. On these distant shores, in fact, European merchandise bears such an extravagant price, that it would have been next to impossible for the populace here to procure those articles indispensable for obtaining the first wants of life; the English Government to remedy this, delivers from its plentiful stock whatever is required, at stated prices, some even inferior to those given for the same articles in Europe. But in order to prevent the speculations of greedy men, and dilapidation, no one can receive anything from these stores without an order specifying what is to be delivered to him. In the neighbouring store-house are kept different clothing as well for the troops as the convicts; here also are stores of sailcloth and cordage for the Government ships. The best of the three edifices is a public work-house, where the female convicts and prisoners are kept at labour. . . . Between the house and the magazine of which I am speaking is the public school; there are instructed in the principles of religion, morality, and virtue, those young girls, the hopes of the growing colony, whose parents of nature too corrupt or too poor, could not themselves educate them with sufficient care; there under respectable tutoresses, they have at an early age inculcated into them to know, respect, and cherish the duties of a good mother. But let me not anticipate one of the most affecting pictures we have to present to our readers, but rather reserve the particulars of this venerable institution for the chapter in which I shall present, in an aggregate view, the fine system of colonisation pursued on these shores.”

M. Peron in referring to the mode of obtaining goods from the public stores, eulogises the paternal care of the Government. But he was evidently unaware that the “orders” to which he refers had to be paid dearly for by those who presented them; and that the difference between the cost price and the price which would have been demanded by the most “greedy speculators” went into the pockets of the few favoured officials, without whose “order” the storekeeper dared not deliver a single article. In fact the Government in

this, as in all other cases whenever it has interfered with trade, did far more harm than good to the very class it intended to benefit.

The picture given by M. Peron of the well-managed institutions, the busy traffic, and thriving appearance of Sydney in 1802, is exceedingly flattering; and after making every allowance for over-colouring, proves that even at that early period great progress had been made in laying the foundation of that commercial prosperity and social advancement of which Australian colonisation has since afforded such remarkable examples. Referring to the commerce of Port Jackson, M. Peron says:—

“In the port we saw several vessels recently arrived from different quarters of the world, the majority of them destined for new and hazardous voyages. Here, from the banks of the Thames or the Shannon were some about to proceed to the foggy shores of New Zealand, and others, after landing the freight consigned by the Government of England for the colony, about to sail for the Yellow River of China; some laden with coal, intended for the Cape of Good Hope and India; many of smaller build ready to depart to Bass’s Strait, to collect furs and skins obtained there by men left on the different islands to take the amphibii who make them their resort. Other vessels again, of a greater burthen and strength, and well armed, were intended for the western shores of America, deeply laden with merchandise, for a contraband trade with the inhabitants of Peru. Here again, one was equipping for the rich traffic in furs, on the north-west coast of America; there all was bustle to fit out store-ships for the Navigators, Friendly, and Society Islands, to bring back to the colony the exquisite salt pork of those islands. Already the road to Port Jackson had become familiar to the Americans, their flag was incessantly flying in this port throughout the whole course of our stay. This assemblage of grand operations, this constant movement of the shipping impressed on these shores a character of importance and activity, which we were far from expecting in a country so lately known to Europe, and the interest it excited increased our admiration.”

M. Peron’s description of the moral and social condition of the people generally, and the conduct of the prison class in particular, is almost equally flattering, and presents a striking contrast to the statements of an opposite character before referred to. “Nor less,” he continues, “was the population of

the colony a subject with us for wonder and meditation. Never perhaps was a more worthy subject presented for the study of the statesman or philosopher—never perhaps has the happy influence of social institutions been evinced in a more striking and honourable manner, than on these distant shores. The majority, after having expiated their crimes by a rigorous slavery, have entered again into the rank of citizens. Forced to become interested in the maintenance of order and justice, to maintain the property they have acquired, and become, almost at the same instant, husbands and fathers, they are bound to their present condition by the most powerful and dearest ties. . . . Murder and robbery are things unheard of in the colony, where in these respects the most perfect safety reigns. M. Bellefin and myself frequently entered their rural abodes, where we noticed the tender care of the mothers for their children, and everywhere met with the most obliging welcome."

The Frenchmen appear to have been as much delighted with the hospitality and courtesy shown them by the Government officers and the people of Sydney as they were pleased with the appearance of the country and astonished at the wonderful activity and commercial importance of the capital. "The procedure," says M. Peron, "of the English Government here, with respect to us, was so noble, so generous, that to fail in the acknowledgment of our gratitude on this occasion would prove us void of every principle of honour and justice; and imitating those in power, all the colonists treated us with the most delicate kindness. . . . Oftentimes do they repeat with complacency that excellent maxim, which France first inscribed on the code of European nations, "The cause of science is the people's cause."

M. Peron's admiration of the energy and enterprise of the colonists leads him into very elaborate and interesting particulars respecting the great success, both in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, which had attended their efforts even at that early period; and from his work we gather many of the following facts. Sheep had proved so prolific that Captain Macarthur, to whose foresight and perseverance the colony was mainly indebted for the introduction of the improved Spanish Merino breed, had published a memoir in England affirming with confidence that Australia, in twenty years, would be able to furnish the English manufacturers with a quantity of fine wool equal to the whole amount then imported. The value of foreign wools imported into the

United Kingdom at that period was £1,800,000 annually. The increase in the quantity of the fleece was as remarkable as the improvement in its quality. "As a proof," says Mr. Macarthur, "of the extraordinary and rapid improvement in my flocks, I have exhibited the fleece of a coarse-woolled ewe that has been valued at ninepence a pound, and the fleece of her lamb, begotten by a Spanish ram, which is allowed to be worth three shillings a pound. . . . When I left Port Jackson, the heaviest fleece that had then been shorn weighed only three pounds and a half; but I have received reports of 1802, from which I learn that the fleece of my sheep had increased to five pounds each, and was softer than the wool of the preceding year. The beauty of it indeed is such as to cause it to be estimated at six shillings the pound." The number of sheep in Mr. Macarthur's flocks amounted at this time (1802), to upwards of four thousand. The Rev. Mr. Marsden had about half that number, Mr. Commissary Palmer about one fourth, and several colonists flocks of from three to eight hundred.

Agriculture was by no means lost sight of in the desire for extending pastoral pursuits. One of the above gentlemen, Mr. Palmer, had 320 acres in wheat; Mr. Macarthur, the Rev. Mr. Marsden, and others, had also considerable quantities of land under tillage. A French gentleman, M. de la Clampe or Declamb, a Royalist refugee, and who had been a colonel in the army, had obtained in 1799 a grant of land for the purpose of introducing the cultivation of cotton and cocoa. M. Peron's account of his visit to M. de la Clampe's plantation at Castle Hill, near Parramatta, is both instructive and interesting:—"Having walked through a tufted wood, the modest abode and fields of the poor French colonel opened on our view. In the three years he has resided at Castle Hill he has only been once to Sydney Town; he avoids society, and excuses himself from complying with repeated invitations of his friends, in order that he may dedicate his whole time to the pursuits of agriculture. We found him at the head of his labourers—six convicts furnished by the Government. He was himself setting them an example of labour, and like them, was nearly stripped to the skin. The unexpected arrival of so numerous a party at first disconcerted M. de la Clampe, and he hastily ran to the house in order to dress himself. On hearing I was a Frenchman he embraced me with transport, exclaiming 'How is it with our dear France?' The interior of the rural manor-house combined

with the greatest simplicity a species of elegance which clearly evinced the genius and taste of the owner. But of all we saw nothing so much excited my attention as a beautiful plantation of cotton plants yielding cotton of various shades, and especially that peculiar to the fine nankeens of China, a fast colour, hitherto not obtained whether by dint of culture or by dying. 'In a short time,' said the colonel, 'I shall have created two branches of commerce and exportation for this colony of the greatest value; I have but this means left of acquitting the sacred debt I owe to a nation which gave me shelter in the hour of misfortune.' Colonel de la Clampe, however, like many other enthusiastic men, formed expectations which were never realised, for he died shortly afterwards. The account of M. Peron's visit to his plantation is the more interesting because it affords a glimpse of colonial life and enterprise at that early period, as seen from a point of view not clouded or interrupted by the petty local and party jealousies which tinge and darken almost every other source of information to which access is obtainable.

It is somewhat surprising to find from M. Peron's narrative that so early as 1802 many of the colonists were surrounded by marks of elegance and refinement, and were able to keep up establishments not always excelled in the oldest European communities. In their residences, their equipages, and general style of living, the principal families of the wealthier portion of the community appear to have been quite on a footing with the wealthy classes in England. In a note to the English edition of M. Peron's work, it is stated that in Sydney alone many carriages of great elegance were at this time kept, while gigs and similar vehicles were in general use throughout the colony. The roads at that period are described as excellent, six hundred men being constantly employed on them. Many very praiseworthy attempts at the introduction of mechanical pursuits and manufactures of the more simple description had also been made. The principal were potteries, breweries, and saltworks. M. Peron visited the former "at the village of Brickfield" (Brickfield-hill). The articles he saw he described as remarkable for their whiteness and the fineness of the clay of which they were made. The beauty of the Sydney clay, and its adaptation to the purposes of pottery, had many years previously attracted the attention of Father Le Receveur, the naturalist of M. de la Peyrouse's expedition. Governor Phillip's notice had also been called to it, and he had sent samples to England. It

was described in the transactions of the Royal Society under the name of Sydneyite or Sydneya, and was noticed as a new substance, although it contained no new element. Specimens of it were submitted to the celebrated Mr. Wedgewood, whose improvements in the potter's art had at the end of last century raised the earthenware manufactures of England to a very high degree of excellence. Mr. Wedgewood expressed a very favourable opinion of this clay, and modelled from it a group of allegorical figures representing Hope landing in Sydney Cove, encouraging Labour and Art in spreading the blessings of civilisation. The title page of Phillip's Voyage to Botany Bay is ornamented by an engraving of Wedgewood's allegorical group; and the idea was taken up and elaborated by Darwin in the beautiful lines given in an earlier chapter of this history.

The view obtained of the state of the colony at the commencement of the present century, through M. Peron's book, is certainly a very gratifying one; although it is hard to resist the suspicion, when what others have written is called to mind, that much of the riches and luxury of the class of persons with whom he principally came in contact must have been the fruits of that abominable monopoly which they possessed over the rising trade and commerce of Port Jackson.

CHAPTER III

AUSTRALIAN MARITIME DISCOVERY FROM 1799 TO 1808—ADVENTURES OF FLINDERS AND BASS—VOYAGE OF FLINDERS IN THE INVESTIGATOR—HIS SHIPWRECK AND IMPRISONMENT—MELANCHOLY FATE OF BOTH BASS AND FLINDERS.

AUSTRALIAN maritime discovery made considerable progress about the beginning of the nineteenth century. In a previous chapter the narrative of the adventures of Messrs. Flinders and Bass was brought down to the beginning of 1799, when they returned from the circumnavigation of Van Dieman's Land. The intense devotion to the cause of scientific exploration and discovery manifested by these youthful navigators was characterised by more than the usual rashness of enthusiasm, and sometimes carried out under circumstances, and with such apparently inadequate means, as closely approached

the ludicrous. But however insignificant their means and appliances, their proceedings were rescued from contempt by the remarkable success which crowned their efforts, and their daring from the charge of fool-hardiness by the coolness with which danger was met, and the careful painstaking way in which their projects when once entered upon were brought to a safe termination. Their first adventure in the Tom Thumb—an attempt to explore the unknown shores of the great Pacific in a vessel scarcely larger than an ordinary washing-tub—will be for ever remembered as one of the most remarkable feats of navigation on record. Their craft was eight feet long, and their crew one small boy. The way in which Flinders relates the incidents of the voyage has about it an air of charming simplicity; and the great gravity, varied here and there by a touch of subdued humour, with which he recounts their perils and their escapes, is extremely amusing and attractive. “At night,” he says, when off the Illawarra coast, “we dropped our stone (the substitute for an anchor) under a range of cliffs; but at ten o’clock the wind burst out in a gale at south and obliged us to up anchor and run before it. The shade of the cliffs over our heads and the noise of the surf breaking at their feet, were the directions by which our course was steered parallel to the coast.” Mr. Bass kept the sheet of the sail in his hand, Mr. Flinders steered with an oar, and the crew were constantly at the pumps, for “the boy had to bail out the water which the sea threw in upon us.” In this manner, in their little cockleshell of a boat, they for several hours weathered such a gale as has sent many a “tall admiral” to the bottom. At length, “some high breakers were distinguished ahead, and behind them no shade of cliffs. It was necessary to determine on the instant what was to be done, for our barque could not live ten minutes longer;” and then with admirable coolness and dexterity, and marvellous good fortune, watching the heaviest seas, they ran in between the breakers, and in a few moments were in smooth water in “a well-sheltered cove,”—that of Wattamowlee, about twenty miles south of Sydney Heads. The account of their disaster at Wollongong, and the means they took to amuse the savages by whom they were surrounded, while their wet powder was drying in the sun, their muskets being freed from rust and sand, and their broken oar repaired, partakes strongly of the ludicrous. Amongst the crowd of blacks who had flocked to the scene of their operations were two half civilised natives of Botany Bay, whose hair and beards had been clipped.

Their improved condition seems to have excited the envy and admiration of their southern friends, who regarded their fashionable appearance with much the same sort of feeling as country bumpkins in England bestow upon smart visitors from the metropolis. The aboriginal dandies of that day bestowed considerable care upon their hair and beard. Shaving with them was a particularly slow and painful process. Sometimes the beard was singed off by a fire-stick, at others a sharp shell was used as a razor. The knowledge that the bo'ye, or spirits, as they called the white men, could remove their surplus hirsute appendages with rapidity and comfort spread like wildfire amongst them, and Mr. Flinders was obliged then and there to enter upon a somewhat extensive easy shaving business. Anxious to keep the savages in good humour, while the ammunition was drying, and conscious that the lives of himself and his companions were almost literally hanging by a hair, he went to work with a will. "I began," he says, "with a large pair of scissors to execute my new office upon the eldest of four or five chins presented to me; and, as great nicety was not required, the shearing of a dozen of them did not occupy me long." By the time he had nearly completed his singular task the powder was dry, and Mr. Bass and the boy had repaired the oar and got the arms in a state fit for use. The moment was a critical one, and, says Mr. Flinders, the scene "not unworthy the pencil of a Hogarth. I was almost tempted to try what effect a little snip would produce; but our situation was too critical to admit of such experiments." They got their boat afloat by a stratagem, and, before the savages had recovered from their surprise, the cool and audacious youths had pushed out into deep water and were safe from pursuit. The incident would form an admirable subject for an Australian artist; and would, if properly handled, serve as a fitting memorial of one of the most remarkable voyages ever undertaken.

The account too, of the first visit of these youthful adventurers to some of the islands of Bass's Straits is singularly interesting. The animals and birds, which then in almost countless numbers crowded those solitary shores, had never been disturbed by man, and consequently had not learned to fear him. For the young voyagers to find themselves, when they landed, pushed and jostled by those great dumb innocent creatures the seals—to be impeded at every step by the albatrosses, petrels, and gannets which crowded the shores in myriads,—to feel that, in the words of Coleridge's Ancient

Mariner, "they were the first that ever burst into that silent sea," must have awakened reflections and provoked sensations of a most novel kind. When man, the destroyer, first began to deal death in this animal paradise, the scene, as described by Mr. Flinders, must have been one of the deepest interest—one of the most novel which it ever fell to the lot of man to witness, and such as in all probability will seldom be witnessed again:—"The commotion excited by our presence in this assemblage of several thousand timid animals," he remarks, "was very interesting to me, who knew little of their manners. Those who have seen a farm yard well stocked with pigs, calves, sheep, oxen, and with two or three litters of puppies, with their mothers in it, and have heard them all in tumult together, may form a good idea of the confused noise of the seals at Cone Point. The sailors killed as many of these harmless and not unamiable creatures as they were able to skin, and we then left the poor affrighted multitude to recover from the effect of our inauspicious visit." The fate of the denizens of this Australian solitude was soon decided. A few years of reckless slaughter almost blotted them out of creation. Like their human neighbours of the neighbouring island, the advent of the white man was the signal of their doom.

In July, 1799, Mr. Flinders was again dispatched by Governor Hunter, on an expedition. On this occasion he was sent to examine Moreton Bay and Hervey's Bay, inlets which had been seen but not examined by Captain Cook. Previous to the date of this voyage Mr. Bass had returned to England, and Lieutenant Flinders was accompanied by his brother, Mr. S. W. Flinders, a midshipman of the *Reliance*, and a native black, a chief of the Kamilroy tribe, afterwards better known in Sydney as King Bongaree, one of the most reliable and intelligent of the aboriginal race. In his exploration of Moreton Bay Flinders appears to have been unfortunate. He entered the bay by the north passage, and then steered south until he was off the mouth of the Brisbane River, but unfortunately failed to discover it, and indeed undertook to state from what he had seen on this and his previous voyages that no river of any importance existed on the east coast between the 24th and 39th degrees of south latitude. In making this sweeping assertion, Flinders, observing and intelligent as he was, fell of course into a serious error, for the Richmond, the Clarence, and the Brisbane, to say nothing

of the Hunter, which had been previously discovered, and other considerable streams, were afterwards found to flow into the sea in the coast district which he had examined without success. He proceeded as far north as Breaksea Spit and Harvey's Bay, which he examined, and then returned to Port Jackson, which he reached on the 20th August, 1799. He concludes his account of this unfruitful voyage in the following words:—"I must acknowledge myself to have been disappointed in not being able to penetrate into the interior of New South Wales, by either of the openings examined in this expedition; but, however mortifying the conviction might be, it was then an ascertained fact, that no river of importance intersected the East Coast between the 24th and 39th degrees of south latitude."

Soon after returning from his unsuccessful voyage to Morton Bay, Lieutenant Flinders proceeded to England to lay a report of his explorations and discoveries before the Home Government. His talents and services were so highly appreciated by the authorities, that he was soon intrusted with a charge of a more important character than any he had yet undertaken. In January, 1801, a sloop of war named the *Xenophon* was completely refitted, renamed the *Investigator*, and put in commission, under his command, for the purpose of following up his Australian discoveries. He was allowed to fit her out in his own way, to pick his crew, to have every supply he thought necessary, as well as all the most improved scientific instruments and appliances. His fame as an intrepid explorer, a skilful navigator, and a kind commander, was so great that when, after discharging at the Nore some seamen whom he considered too old or unfitted for the service, he wanted eleven hands to make up his crew, and was allowed to select them from Admiral Graeme's flag-ship the *Zetland*, on three hundred men being called up and placed on one side of the deck, no less than two hundred and fifty volunteered to join him, in his distant, long, and perilous voyage, and sought with the greatest eagerness to be received. Before sailing he was promoted to the rank of commander; and, England and France being then at war, a passport was procured from Bonaparte, who was then First Consul, and a mutual understanding arrived at by the two governments, that in prosecuting the voyages for Southern discovery, in which both nations were then engaged, the ships of England and France should act in all respects towards each other as if the two

countries were not at war. How far this understanding was adhered to and acted upon by the French authorities will be seen in the sequel.

Flinders was accompanied on this voyage by Mr. Crossley as astronomer, Mr. Brown as naturalist, Mr. Westall as landscape painter, and Mr. Bauer as natural history painter. Mr. Westall's pictures of Australian scenery, with which the published account of the voyage is enriched, are amongst the most beautiful and truthful which have ever been executed. The celebrated Sir John Franklin, the unfortunate Arctic explorer, commenced his professional career as a midshipman with Flinders in the *Investigator* on this voyage.

The *Investigator* sailed from Spithead on the 18th July, 1801, and made Cape Leeuwin on the 7th December. They anchored shortly afterwards in King George's Sound, where Flinders found felled trees and other evidences of the recent presence of civilised man. At a small spot enclosed and planted as a garden, he also discovered a sheet of copper, with an inscription recording the visit of a ship called the *Elligood*, about eighteen months before. The crew of the *Investigator* had several interviews with the natives of King George's Sound, who showed themselves peaceable and intelligent. Flinders, in speaking of them, says:—

“It was with some surprise that I saw the natives of the east coast of New South Wales so nearly portrayed in those of the south-western extremity of New Holland. These do not, indeed, extract one of the upper front teeth at the age of puberty, as is generally practised at Port Jackson, nor do they make use of the womerah, or throwing stick; but their colour, the texture of the hair, and personal appearance are the same; their songs run in the same cadence; the manner of painting themselves is similar; their belts and fillets of hair are made in the same way and worn in the same manner. The short skin cloak, which is of kangaroo, and worn over the shoulders, leaving the rest of the body naked, is more in the manner of the wood natives living at the back of Port Jackson, than of those who inhabit the sea coast; and every thing we saw confirmed the supposition of Captain Vancouver, that they live more by hunting than fishing. None of the small islands had been visited, no canoes were seen, nor was any tree found in the woods from which the bark had been taken for making one. They were fearful of trusting themselves upon the water; and we could never succeed in making

them understand the use of the fish-hook, although they were intelligent in comprehending our signs upon other subjects.

"The manners of these people are quick and vehement, and their conversation vociferous, like that of most uncivilised people. They seemed to have no idea of any superiority we possessed over them; on the contrary, they left us, after the first interview, with some appearance of contempt for our pusillanimity; which was probably inferred from the desire we showed to be friendly with them. This opinion, however, seemed to be corrected in their future visits."

The Investigator sailed from King George's Sound on the 5th January, 1802, and after visiting the Recherche Archipelago, and the head of the Great Australian Bight, and naming and determining the true position of a great number of capes, heights, and islands, they kept on their course towards the unexplored part of the Australian coast. On the 21st February they had the misfortune to lose Mr. Thistle, the master of the Investigator, and the whole of the crew of one of the boats, which was swamped in returning from the shore, where they had gone in search of water. Respecting the fate of Mr. Thistle and his companions Captain Flinders relates a very singular prediction of a fortune-teller, which unfortunately proved true not only in respect to Mr. Thistle, but regarding the shipwreck and other circumstances which took place after his death. "This evening," says Captain Flinders, speaking of Monday, February 22nd, 1802, the day after Mr. Thistle's death, "Mr. Fowler told me a circumstance which I thought extraordinary; and it afterwards proved to be more so. Whilst we were lying at Spithead, Mr. Thistle was one day waiting on shore, and having nothing else to do he went to a certain old man, named Pine, to have his fortune told. The cunning man informed him that he was going out a long voyage, and that the ship, on arriving at her destination, would be joined by another vessel. That such was intended, he might have learned privately; but he added, that Mr. Thistle would be lost before the other vessel joined. As to the manner of his loss the magician refused to give any information. My boat's crew, hearing what Mr. Thistle said, went also to consult the wise man; and after the prefatory information of a long voyage, were told that they would be shipwrecked, but not in the ship they were going out in: whether they would escape and return to England, he was not permitted to reveal. This tale Mr. Thistle had often told at

the mess table; and I remarked with some pain in a future part of the voyage, that every time my boat's crew went to embark with me in the *Lady Nelson*, there was some degree of apprehension amongst them that the time of the predicted shipwreck was arrived. I make no comment upon this story, but recommend a commander, if possible, to prevent any of his crew from consulting fortune-tellers.*

In the various islands which he visited and named in the great Australian Bight, and further eastward on the southern coast, Captain Flinders found the birds and animals in the same state of unconsciousness of man as those he had seen on the islands of Bass's Straits, respecting which previous mention has been made. The natives of that part of the south-western coast of the mainland of Australia were few and scattered, and appear to have been wholly unacquainted with the use of the canoe, so that they were unable to visit the numerous islands with which the coast abounds, and consequently the birds and animals there had never been disturbed by man. Kangaroo Island is spoken of by Flinders as a place which before his arrival must have been an animal paradise. After sailing along its coast for some time he says:—"Neither

* The Mr. Thistle, whose unfortunate fate is here narrated, although he occupied when he first visited Australia no higher position than that of an ordinary seaman, deserves honorable mention as one of the most enterprising and ardent of the explorers of that day. He was one of the volunteers who accompanied Mr. Bass in his perilous expedition in the whale boat when that youthful navigator discovered the straits which bear his name. Mr. Thistle then joined Messrs. Flinders and Bass in their circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Land, and shortly afterwards accompanied the former in his voyage to Moreton Bay and the north. Proceeding to England in 1801 he was, as a reward for his intelligence, skill, and good conduct, promoted from before the mast to be a midshipman, and shortly afterwards a master in the royal navy. His zeal for discovery, and his attachment to his former commander, induced him to join the *Investigator* when at Spithead ready to sail, although he had returned to England only three weeks before, after an absence of six years. This deserving young sailor was not only most zealous in the performance of his ordinary duties, but had made himself master of nautical astronomy and acquainted with marine surveying. Captain Flinders, in memory of his talents and worth, named the place at the mouth of Spencer's Gulf, where he was lost, Memory Cove, and the island itself Thistle Island. There he also affixed to a post, with a suitable inscription, a brass tablet, and concluded his account of the circumstance as follows:—"His loss was severely felt by me; and he was lamented by all on board, more especially by his messmates, who knew more intimately the goodness and stability of his disposition." As one of the earliest and most enthusiastic of the many brave men who have lost their lives in the cause of Australian discovery, although occupying a comparatively humble position, he deserves this brief notice of his character, services, and fate.

smokes nor other marks of inhabitants had as yet been perceived upon the land, although we had passed along seventy miles of its coast. It was too late to go on shore this evening; but every glass in the ship was pointed there, to see what could be discovered. Several black lumps, like rocks, were pretended to have been seen in motion by some of the young gentlemen, which caused the force of their imaginations to be much admired; next morning, however, on going toward the shore, a number of dark brown kangaroos were seen feeding upon a grass plat by the side of the wood, and our landing gave them no disturbance. I had with me a double-barrelled gun, fitted with a bayonet, and the gentlemen my companions had muskets. It would be difficult to guess how many kangaroos were seen; but I killed ten, and the rest of the party made up the number to thirty-one, taken on board in the course of the day; the least of them weighing sixty-nine, and the largest one hundred and twenty-five pounds. After this butchery, for the poor animals suffered themselves to be shot in the eyes with small shot, and in some cases to be knocked on the head with sticks, I scrambled with difficulty through the brush-wood, and over fallen trees, to reach the higher land with the surveying instruments; but the thickness and height of the wood prevented anything else from being distinguished. There was little doubt, however, that this extensive piece of land was separated from the continent; for the extraordinary tameness of the kangaroos and the presence of seals upon the shore, concurred with the absence of all traces of men to show that it was not inhabited. The whole ship's company was employed this afternoon in skinning and cleaning the kangaroos; and a delightful regale they afforded, after four months' privation from almost any fresh provisions. Half a hundred weight of heads, fore quarters, and tails were stewed down into soup for dinner on this and the succeeding days; and as much steaks given, moreover, to both officers and men, as they could consume by day and by night. In gratitude for so seasonable a supply, I named this southern land Kangaroo Island. Never perhaps had the dominion possessed here by the kangaroo been invaded before this time. The seal shared with it upon the shores, but they seemed to dwell amicably together. It not unfrequently happened, that the report of a gun fired at a kangaroo near the beach, brought out two or three bellowing seals from under bushes considerably further from the water side. The seal, indeed, seemed

to be much the most discerning animal of the two; for its actions bespoke a knowledge of our not being kangaroos, whereas the kangaroo not unfrequently appeared to consider us to be seals."

On the coast of Kangaroo Island a deep and winding inlet led them to a beautiful sequestered lagoon, where large numbers of pelicans had found a home. Flinders's description of the scene is as follows:—"After turning two low islets near the east point, the water opens out, becomes deeper, and divides into two branches, each of two or three miles long. Boats can go to the head of the southern branch only at high water; the east branch appeared to be accessible at all times; but as a lead and line were neglected to be put into the boat, I had no opportunity of sounding. There are four small islands in the eastern branch; one of them is moderately high and woody, the others are grassy and lower; and upon two of these we found many young pelicans, unable to fly. Flocks of the old birds were sitting upon the beaches of the lagoon, and it appeared that the islands were their breeding places; not only so, but from the number of skeletons and bones there scattered, it should seem that they had for ages been selected for the closing scene of their existence. Certainly none more likely to be free from disturbance of every kind could have been chosen, than these inlets in a hidden lagoon of an uninhabited island, situated upon an unknown coast near the antipodes of Europe; nor can anything be more consonant to the feelings, if pelicans have any, than quietly to resign their breath, whilst surrounded by their progeny, and in the same spot where they first drew it. Alas, for the pelicans! Their golden age is past; but it has much exceeded in duration that of man. I named this piece of water Pelican Lagoon."

Flinders's descriptions of these singular scenes, and the curious circumstances connected with the intrusion of man into the before undisturbed haunts of birds and animals, excited considerable interest when, several years afterwards, they were published in England; and from the above account of Pelican Lagoon James Montgomery derived the idea of his poem of "Pelican Island," a work which created considerable stir in the literary world when it was first published, although the verdict of the next generation hardly justified the flattering notice which it then received. It was on the unknown shores, too, of this part of Australia—"to the north-west of Van Diemen's Land," as he described it—that Dean Swift, r

century before, had placed the kingdom of Lilliput, the scene of Gulliver's adventures. And indeed so little was Australian geography understood, even at the commencement of the present century, that a very general belief prevailed that a shallow channel or arm of the sea stretched from the great Australian Bight to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and united the waters of the South Pacific with those of the Indian Ocean, thus dividing what was afterwards found to be a continent into two large islands. Flinders himself was inclined to this opinion,—and it was only after actual examination that he became convinced that those who entertained it were mistaken. Dean Swift makes his rival kingdoms of Lilliput and Blefuscu occupy the shores of these supposed shallow waters, in latitude 30 degrees 2 minutes,—a position which, singularly enough, was, when the country was explored, found covered by the waters of Lake Torrens, only a few feet deep. And the structure of the country between Spencer's Gulf and the gulph of Carpentaria plainly indicates that at no very remote period, speaking geologically, the two waters actually were united. Some parts of the intervening country are, indeed, still considerably below the level of the ocean, although from the fact that the evaporation is greater than the rainfall the depressed portions are now dry. Swift, probably, had adopted the generally prevalent notion about the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans being connected by a shallow sea; and the attention directed towards the Terra Australis, in consequence of the publication of Dampier's Voyages just previously, was doubtless the reason of his choosing that country in which to lay the scene of Gulliver's wonderful adventures. It is curious enough, too, considering the eminence attained by the Australian fleece a century later, that Swift should have introduced into his story the subject of the fine-woolled sheep of Lilliput, some of which he makes Gulliver take home, with the hope "that they would prove advantageous to the woollen manufacture on account of the fineness of their fleeces." These things throw a shade of something almost approaching to a classic character over the land whose coast the crew of the Investigator were now exploring.

Some very singular circumstances are recorded by Flinders in illustration of the fact that the animals and birds of these shores had no previous knowledge of man. On visiting one of the islands of the Investigator Group he says:—"The beaches were frequented by seals of the hair kind. A family of them, consisting of a male, four or five females, and as

many cubs, was found lying asleep at every two or three hundred yards, their security was such, that I approached several of these families very closely, and retired without disturbing their domestic tranquility or being perceived by them." Again, when visiting the island which he had named Thistle's Island, he says, having caught a large snake, "We were proceeding onward with our prize, when a white eagle, with fierce aspect and outspread wing, was seen bounding towards us; but stopping short, at twenty yards off, he flew up into a tree. Another bird of the same kind discovered himself by making a motion to pounce down upon us as we passed underneath; and it seemed evident that they took us for kangaroos, having probably never before seen an upright animal in the island, of any other species. These birds sit watching in the trees, and should a kangaroo come out to feed in the day time, it is seized and torn to pieces by these voracious creatures. This accounted for why so few kangaroos were seen, when traces of them were met with at every step; and for their keeping so much in the thick bushes that it was impossible to shoot them. Their size was superior to any of those found upon the more western islands, but much inferior to the forest kangaroo of the continent."

Leaving Kangaroo Island, Flinders pursued his voyage to the eastward, and on April 8th, 1802, when in latitude 35 degrees 40 minutes south, and longitude 138 degrees 58 minutes east, fell in with a strange sail, which proved to be one of the exploring ships sent out by Bonaparte of which mention has already been made. The French afterwards laid claim to the first discovery of that part of the coast which the Investigator had passed and examined, but on what insufficient grounds will be seen by the perusal of the following extract from Captain Flinders' narrative:—

"Before two in the afternoon, [April 8, 1802], we stretched eastward again; and at four, a white rock was reported from aloft to be seen a-head. On approaching nearer, it proved to be a ship standing towards us; and we cleared for action, in case of being attacked. The stranger was a heavy-looking ship, without any top-gallant masts up; and our colours being hoisted, she showed a French ensign, and afterwards an English jack forward, as we did a white flag. At half past five, the land being then five miles distant to the north-eastward, I hove to; and learned, as the stranger passed to leeward with a free wind, that it was the French national ship *Le Geographe*, under the command of Captain Nicholas

Baudin. We veered round as *Le Geographe* was passing, so as to keep our broadside to her, lest the flag of truce should be a deception; and having come to the wind on the other tack, a boat was hoisted out, and I went on board the French ship, which had also hove to.

"As I did not understand French, Mr. Brown, the naturalist, went with me in the boat. We were received by an officer who pointed out the commander, and by him were conducted into the cabin. I requested captain Baudin to show me his passport from the Admiralty; and when it was found and I had perused it, offered mine from the French marine minister, but he put it back without inspection. He then informed me that he had spent some time in examining the south and east parts of Van Diemen's Land, where his geographical engineer, with the largest boat and a boat's crew, had been left, and probably lost. In Bass's Strait Captain Baudin had encountered a heavy gale, the same we had experienced in a less degree on March 21, in the Investigator's Strait. He was then separated from his consort, *Le Naturaliste*; but having since had fair winds and fine weather, he had explored the south coast from Western Port to the place of our meeting, without finding any river, inlet, or other shelter which afforded anchorage. I inquired concerning a large island, said to lie in the western entrance of Bass's Strait; but he had not seen it, and seemed to doubt much of its existence.

"Captain Baudin was communicative of his discoveries about Van Diemen's Land; as also of his criticisms upon an English chart of Bass's Strait, published in 1800. He found great fault with the north side of the strait, but commended the form given to the south side and to the islands near it. On my pointing out a note upon the chart, explaining that the north side of the strait was seen only in an open boat by Mr. Bass, who had no good means of fixing either latitude or longitude, he appeared surprised, not having before paid attention to it. I told him that some other and more particular charts of the Strait and its neighbourhood had been since published; and that, if he would keep company until next morning, I would bring him a copy, with a small memoir belonging to them. This was agreed to, and I returned with Mr. Brown to the Investigator.

"It somewhat surprised me, that Captain Baudin made no enquiries concerning my business upon this unknown coast, but as he seemed more desirous of communicating information, I was happy to receive it; next morning, however, he

had become inquisitive, some of his officers having learned from my boat's crew that our object was also discovery. I then told him, generally, what our operations had been, particularly in the two gulfs, and the latitude to which I had ascended in the largest; explained the situation of Port Lincoln, where fresh water might be procured; showed him Cape Jervis, which was still in sight; and as a proof of the refreshments to be obtained at the large island opposite to it, pointed out the kangaroo-skin caps worn by my boat's crew; and told him the name I had affixed to the island in consequence. At parting, the captain requested me to take care of his boat and people, in case of meeting with them; and to say to Le Naturaliste that he should go to Port Jackson so soon as the bad weather set in. On my asking the name of the captain of Le Naturaliste, he bethought himself to ask mine; and finding it to be the same as the author of the chart which he had been criticising, expressed not a little surprise; but had the politeness to congratulate himself on meeting me.

"I have been the more particular in detailing all that passed at this interview, from a circumstance which it seems proper to explain and discuss in this place.

"At the above situation of 35 degrees 40 minutes south, and 138 degrees 58 minutes east, the discoveries made by Captain Baudin upon the South Coast have their termination to the west: as mine in the Investigator have to the eastward. Yet Monsieur Peron, naturalist in the French expedition, has laid a claim for his nation to the discovery of all the parts between Western Port in Bass's Strait, and Nuyt's Archipelago; and this part of New South Wales is called Terre Napoleon. My Kangaroo Island, a name which they openly adopted in the expedition, has been converted at Paris into L'Isle Decres; Spencer's Gulf is named Golfe Bonaparte; the Gulf of St. Vincent, Golfe Josephine; and so on, along the whole coast to Cape Nuyts, not even the smallest islands being left without some similar stamp of French discovery. It is said by M. Peron, and upon my authority too, that the Investigator had not been able to penetrate behind the Isles of St. Peter and St. Francis; and though he doth not say directly that no part of the before unknown coast was discovered by me, yet the whole tenor of his Chapter XV. induces the reader to believe that I had done nothing which could interfere with the prior claim of the French.

"Yet M. Peron was present afterwards at Port Jackson, when I showed one of my charts of this coast to Captain Baudin, and pointed out the limits of his discovery; and so far from any prior title being set up at that time to Kangaroo Island and the parts westward, the officers of the *Geographe* always spoke of them as belonging to the Investigator. The first lieutenant, Monsieur Freycinet, even made use of the following odd expression, addressing himself to me in the house of Governor King, and in the presence of one of his companions, I think Monsieur Bonnefoy, 'Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the South Coast before us.'

"The English officers and respectable inhabitants then at Port Jackson, can say if the prior discovery of these parts were not generally acknowledged; nay, I appeal to the French officers themselves, generally and individually, if such were not the case. How then came M. Peron to advance what was so contrary to truth? Was he a man destitute of all principle? My answer is, that I believe his candour to have been equal to his acknowledged abilities; and that what he wrote was from over-ruling authority, and smote him to the heart; he did not live to finish the second volume.

"The motive for this aggression I do not pretend to explain. It may have originated in the desire to rival the British nation in the honour of completing the discovery of the globe; or be intended as the forerunner of a claim to the possession of the countries so said to have been first discovered by French navigators. Whatever may have been the object in view, the question, so far as I am concerned, must be left to the judgment of the world; and if succeeding French writers can see and admit the claims of other navigators, as clearly and readily as a late most able man of that nation has pointed out their own in some other instances, I shall not fear to leave it even to their decision."

The place where this interview with the French commander took place, Flinders named Encounter Bay. He then pursued his voyage to the eastward, along a portion of the coast which had been before examined by Captain Grant in the brig *Lady Nelson*, while on a voyage from London to Sydney. Of this circumstance, however, the commander of the Investigator was not then aware. He landed on King's Island in Bass's Straits on 22nd April, and in crossing over to the mainland met with

the brig *Harrington*, from Sydney, engaged in a sealing expedition. Flinders pays a well-merited compliment to the enterprise of the colonists of New South Wales at that period, in so promptly turning to profit the discovery of Bass's Strait and its numerous islands, abounding with marine animals. On the 26th April he discovered a large harbour, which he at first thought was Western Port, but which proved to be Port Phillip. His narrative of the discovery, says :—

“On the west side of the rocky point there was a small opening, with breaking water across it; however, on advancing a little more westward the opening assumed a more interesting aspect, and I bore away to have a nearer view. A large extent of water presently became visible within side; and although the entrance seemed to be very narrow, and there were in it strong ripplings like breakers, I was induced to steer in at half-past one; the ship being close upon a wind, and every man ready for tacking at a moment's warning. The soundings were irregular, between 6 and 12 fathoms, until we got four miles within the entrance, when they shoaled quick to 2½. We then tacked; and having a strong tide in our favour, worked to the eastward between the shoal and the rocky point, with 12 fathoms for the deepest water. In making the last stretch from the shoal, the depth diminished from 10 fathoms quickly to 3; and before the ship could come round, the flood tide set her upon a mud bank, and she stuck fast. A boat was lowered down to sound; and finding the deep water lie to the north-west, a kedge anchor was carried out; and having got the ship's head in that direction, the sails were filled and she drew off into six and ten fathoms; and it being then dark, we came to an anchor.

“The extensive harbour we had thus unexpectedly found I supposed must be Western Port, although the narrowness of the entrance did by no means correspond with the width given to it by Mr. Bass. It was the information of Captain Baudin, who had coasted along from thence with fine weather, and had found no inlet of any kind, which induced this supposition; and the very great extent of the place, agreeing with that of Western Port, was in confirmation of it. This, however, was not Western Port, as we found next morning; and I congratulated myself on having made a new and useful discovery; but here again I was in error. This place, as I afterwards learned at Port Jackson, had been discovered ten

weeks before by Lieutenant John Murray, who had succeeded Captain Grant in the command of the *Lady Nelson*. He had given it the name of Port Phillip, and to the rocky point on the east side of the entrance that of Point Nepean."

The discovery of so fine a harbour as Port Phillip by Lieutenant Murray and Captain Flinders, within a few weeks of each other, is remarkable—and it so happens that the priority of the former does not detract from the merits of the latter, as Flinders was entirely ignorant at the time of his visit that Lieutenant Murray or anybody else had been there before him. The following extracts from his journal faithfully portray the principal features of a scene which in little more than half a century was to become the site of great cities, and the abode of hundreds of thousands of Europeans, forming one of the richest communities on the face of the earth :—

"The Bluff Mount (named Arthur's Seat by Mr. Murray, from a supposed resemblance to the hill of that name near Edinburgh,) bore S. 76 degrees E.; but from thence the shore trended northward so far, that the land at the head of the port could not be seen, even from aloft. Before proceeding any higher with the ship, I wished to gain some knowledge of the form and extent of this great piece of water; and Arthur's Seat being more than a thousand feet high and near the water side, presented a favourable station for that purpose.

"The western shore extended from the entrance ten or eleven miles in a northern direction, to the extremity of what, from its appearance, I called Indented Head; beyond it was a wide branch of the port leading to the westward, and I suspected might have a communication with the sea; for it was almost incredible, that such a vast piece of water should not have a larger outlet than that through which we had come.

"Arthur's Seat and the hills and valleys in its neighbourhood were generally well covered with wood; and the soil was superior to any upon the borders of the salt water, which I have had an opportunity of examining in *Terra Australis*. There were many marks of natives, such as deserted fire-places and heaps of oyster shells; and upon the peninsula which forms the south side of the port, a smoke was rising, but we did not see any of the people. Quantities of fine oysters were lying upon the beaches between high and low

water-marks, and appeared to have been washed up by the surf ; a circumstance which I do not recollect to have observed in any other part of this country.

"In the morning, a fire was perceived two-hundred yards from the tent; and the Indians appeared to have decamped from thence on our landing. Whilst I was taking angles from a low point at the north-eastern-most part of Indented Head, a party of the inhabitants showed themselves about a mile from us; and on landing there we found a hut with a fire in it, but the people had disappeared, and carried off their effects. I left some strips of cloth, of their favourite red colour, hanging about the hut; and proceeded westward along the shore, to examine the arm of the port running in that direction.

"Three natives having made their appearance abreast of the boat, we again landed. They came to us without hesitation, received a shag and some trifling presents with pleasure, and parted with such of their arms as we wished to possess, without reluctance. They afterwards followed us along the shore; and when I shot another bird, which hovered over the boat, and held it up to them, they ran down to the water side and received it without expressing either surprise or distrust. Their knowledge of the effect of firearms I then attributed to their having seen me shoot birds when unconscious of being observed; but it had probably been learned from Mr. Murray.

"At day dawn I set off with three of the boat's crew, for the highest part of the back hills called Station Peak. Our way was over a low plain, where the water appeared frequently to lodge; it was covered with small-bladed grass but almost destitute of wood, and the soil was clayey and shallow. I left the ship's name on a scroll of paper, deposited in a small pile of stones upon the top of the peak; and at three in the afternoon reached the tent, much fatigued, having walked more than twenty miles without finding a drop of water.

"In the evening we rowed back to Indented Head, and landed there soon after dark. Fires had been seen moving along the shore, but the people seemed to have fled, though we found two newly erected huts with fires in them, and utensils which must have belonged to some of the people before seen, since there was boiled rice in one of the baskets. We took up our quarters here for the night, keeping a good

watch, but nothing was seen of the Indians till we pushed off from the shore in the morning, when seven showed themselves upon a hill behind the huts. They ran down to examine their habitations, and finding every thing as they had left it, a little water excepted of which we were in want, they seemed satisfied ; and for a short time three of them followed the boat.

"No runs of fresh water were seen in my excursions ; but Mr. Charles Grimes, surveyor-general of New South Wales, afterwards found several, and in particular a small river [the Yarra Yarra] falling into the northern head of the port. Mr. Grimes was sent by Governor King, in 1803, to walk round, and survey the harbour ; and from his plan I have completed my chart of Port Phillip.

"The country surrounding Port Phillip has a pleasing, and in many parts a fertile appearance ; and the sides of some of the hills and several of the vallies are fit for agricultural purposes. It is in great measure a grassy country, and capable of supporting much cattle, though better calculated for sheep.

"Indented Head, at the northern part of the western peninsula, had an appearance particularly agreeable ; the grass had been burned not long before, and had sprung up green and tender ; the wood was so thinly scattered that one might see to a considerable distance ; and the hills rose one over the other to a moderate elevation, but so gently, that a plough might everywhere be used. The vegetable soil is a little mixed with sand, but good, though probably not deep, as I judged by the small size of the trees.

"Were a settlement to be made at Port Phillip, as doubtless there will be sometime hereafter, the entrance could be easily defended ; and it would not be difficult to establish a friendly intercourse with the natives, for they are acquainted with the effect of fire-arms, and desirous of possessing many of our conveniences. I thought them more muscular than the men of King George's Sound ; but, generally speaking, they differ in no essential particular from the other inhabitants of the South and East Coasts, except in language, which is dissimilar, if not altogether different to that of Port Jackson, and seemingly of King George's Sound also. I am not certain whether they have canoes, but none were seen."

Flinders sailed from Port Phillip for Sydney on the 3rd May, 1802, ignorant that Lieutenant Murray, in the brig Lady

Nelson, had anticipated him by several weeks in the discovery of that fine bay. At Sydney he was welcomed by Governor King, and every facility afforded to enable him to accomplish the object of his voyage. "So soon as the anchor was dropped," he says, "I went on shore to wait upon his Excellency Philip Gidley King, Esq., Governor of New South Wales, and senior naval officer upon the station; to whom I communicated a general account of our discoveries and examinations upon the South Coast, and delivered the orders from the Admiralty and Secretary of State. These orders directed the Governor to place the brig *Lady Nelson* under my command, and not to employ the Investigator on other service than that which was the object of the voyage; and his Excellency was pleased to assure me, that every assistance in the power of the colony to render should be given to forward a service so interesting to his government and to himself. The *Lady Nelson* was then lying in Sydney Cove; but her commander, Lieutenant Grant, had requested permission to return to England, and had sailed six months before. Besides the *Lady Nelson*, there were in the port his Majesty's armed vessel *Porpoise*, the *Speedy*, South-Sea whaler, and the *Margaret* privateer; also the French national ship *Le Naturaliste*, commanded by Captain Hamelin, to whom I communicated Captain Baudin's intention of coming to Port Jackson as soon as bad weather should set in. *Le Geographe's* boat had been picked up in Bass's Strait by Mr. Campbell, of the brig *Harrington*, and the officers and crew were at this time on board *Le Naturaliste*."

In order to enable Captain Flinders to continue his astronomical observations while the Investigator was refitting, the spot now occupied by Fort Macquarie, but then called Cattle Point, was placed at his disposal, and there a temporary observatory was set up and placed under charge of his brother, Lieutenant S. W. Flinders, and Mr. John Franklin, then a midshipman, afterwards the celebrated and unfortunate Sir John Franklin, the Arctic explorer.

The journal of the commander of the Investigator during his stay at Sydney throws some little light on the social condition of the settlement at that period. "On the 4th June," he says, "the ship was dressed with colours, a royal salute fired, and I went with the principal officers of the Investigator to pay my respects to his Excellency the Governor and Captain-general, in honour of his Majesty's birthday. On this

occasion a splendid dinner was given to the colony; and the number of ladies, and civil, military, and naval officers was not less than forty, who met to celebrate the birth of their beloved sovereign in this distant part of the earth."

It is also evident from his account that ship and boat building was then making satisfactory progress. "To supply the place of the cutter we had lost at the entrance of Spencer's Gulf, I contracted for a boat to be built after the model of that in which Mr. Bass made his long and adventurous expedition to the strait. It was twenty-eight feet seven inches in length over all, rather flat floored, head and stern alike, a keel somewhat curved, and the cut-water and stern post nearly upright; it was fitted to row eight oars when requisite, but intended for six in common cases. The timbers were cut from the largest kind of banksia, which had been found more durable than mangrove; and the planking was cedar. This boat was constructed under the superintendence of Mr. Thomas Moore, master builder to the colony; and proved like her prototype, to be excellent in a sea, as well as for rowing and sailing in smooth water. The cost at Port Jackson was no more than £30; but this was owing to some of the materials being supplied from the public magazines."

On the 20th June, Captain Baudin, the commander of the French exploring expedition, arrived; and it is interesting to contrast the treatment he experienced in Sydney with the conduct shortly afterwards shown to Captain Flinders at Mauritius:—"Captain Baudin arrived in *Le Geographe* on the 20th, and a boat was sent from the *Investigator* to assist in towing the ship up to the cove. It was grievous to see the miserable condition to which both officers and crew were reduced by scurvy; there being not more out of one hundred and seventy, according to the commander's account, than twelve men capable of doing their duty. The sick were received into the colonial hospital; and both French ships furnished with every thing in the power of the colony to supply. Before their arrival, the necessity of augmenting the number of cattle in the country had prevented the Governor from allowing us any fresh meat; but some oxen belonging to Government were now killed for the distressed strangers; and by returning an equal quantity of salt meat, which was exceedingly scarce at this time, I obtained a quarter of beef for my people. The distress of the French navigators had indeed been great; but every means were used by the

Governor and the principal inhabitants of the colony, to make them forget both their sufferings and the war which existed between the two nations. His Excellency Governor King had done me the honour to visit the Investigator, and to accept of a dinner on board; on which occasion he had been received with the marks of respect due to his rank of captain-general, and shortly afterwards, the captains Baudin and Hamelin, with Monsieur Peron and some other French officers, as also Colonel Paterson, the lieutenant-governor, did me the same favour; when they were received under a salute of eleven guns. The intelligence of peace, which had just been received, contributed to enliven the party, and rendered our meeting more particularly agreeable."

The following, from Flinders' journal, shows the paucity and the high price of provisions in Sydney at that period:—"The price of fresh meat at Port Jackson was so exorbitant that it was impossible to think of purchasing it on the public account. I obtained one quarter of beef for the ship's company, in exchange for salt meat, and the Governor furnished us with some baskets of vegetables from his garden. In purchasing a sea stock for the cabin, I paid £3 a head for sheep, weighing from thirty to forty pounds when dressed. Pigs were bought at 9d. per pound, weighed alive, geese at 10s. each, and fowls at 3s.; and Indian corn for the stock cost 5s. a bushel."

Bongaree, the intelligent native who had accompanied him three years before in his voyage to the north, was selected again on this occasion, together with a youth named Nanbaree. Captain Flinders bears testimony to Bongaree's character in the following terms:—"I had before experienced much advantage from the presence of a native of Port Jackson, in bringing about a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of other parts of the coast; and on representing this to the Governor, he authorised me to receive two on board. Bongaree, the worthy and brave fellow who had sailed with me in the Norfolk, now volunteered again; the other was Nanbaree, a good-natured lad, of whom Colonel Collins has made mention in his Account of New South Wales."

Having refitted, and despatched an account of his proceedings and discoveries to England, Captain Flinders, with the Investigator and Lady Nelson, sailed from Port Jackson on the 22nd July, 1802. On the 7th of August Port Curtis was discovered and named, and on the 21st, Port Bowen. On the 17th October, when they had reached Pentecost Island, the Lady Nelson was found to be so utterly unfit for the service

that she was sent back to Sydney. On the 28th October the Investigator reached Torres Straits, and proceeded westward to make a survey of the Gulf of Carpentaria. What had before been called Van Diemen's Cape, at the bottom of the Gulf, was found to be a cluster of islands, as was also Vandelin Cape, further to the westward. These groups were named respectively the Wellesly Islands and the Pellew Islands. Many indications were found on the shores of the Gulf of the occasional visits of the Chinese. There were earthen jars, bamboos, lattice-work, remains of hats made of palm leaves, pieces of blue cotton, boats' rudders, a wooden anchor, and other articles. At an island, which they named Morgan's Island, they had a serious affray with the natives, in which two sailors were killed and the life of Mr. Westall, the artist, was placed in peril. They found the geography of the Gulf of Carpentaria, as given in the old charts, to be tolerably correct. Shortly after quitting it they met with six or seven Macassar proas, which explained the signs of the recent visits they had met with. These proas belonged to the Rajah of Boni, and were part of a much larger fleet then on a voyage for trepang fishing.

Having paid a visit to Timor for the purpose of procuring provisions, Captain Flinders again directed his course towards the west coast of Australia, and on the 14th May, 1803, made Cape Leeuwin, and reached Sydney on the 9th June. Here the Investigator, upon being examined, was found in so bad a state that she was condemned as unseaworthy. Flinders, who had hastened his return to Sydney in consequence of the dangerous condition of his ship, was by no means satisfied with the examination he had been able to bestow on some parts of the coast, and particularly on Torres Straits. With the view therefore of making a further examination of that dangerous locality, he procured passages for himself and most of his crew in an armed store ship, named the Porpoise, which was about to proceed to England by that route. This vessel, in company with the Bridgewater East Indiaman, and the ship Cato, sailed from Sydney on the 10th July, 1803. The voyage was a most unfortunate one. In passing through Torres Straits the Porpoise and the Cato were both wrecked, and the Bridgewater sailed away in the most heartless manner, without rendering any assistance. Flinders upon this assumed the command, and under his directions a small cutter was built, in which, with fourteen of his men, he determined to return for assistance. He reached Sydney on the 8th Sep-

tember. Here he procured from the Government a small schooner of 29 tons called the *Cumberland* (a very leaky and ill-found craft), but in which he quickly returned to the wreck of the *Porpoise*, took on board part of his crew, and sailed for England. The remainder of his men and the crew of the *Porpoise* were taken off the sandbank at the same time by two trading vessels. Flinders managed to reach the Island of Mauritius in his crazy little schooner on the 17th December, 1803, but instead of meeting with such hospitality and kindness as had been lavished upon the French navigators a few months before, by the Government and people of Sydney, he was taken prisoner, thrown into gaol, his papers and charts seized, his representations treated with contempt, and his person with indignity. He had in his possession at this time the French passport of which previous mention has been made, but De Caen, the Governor of Mauritius, refused to recognise it, because, as he said, it applied only to his former ship, the *Investigator*. This infamous Governor De Caen, against whom Flinders had been warned before leaving Sydney by Governor King, not only took possession of the *Cumberland* and her commander and crew, but seized the whole of the unfortunate navigator's private papers, as well as the ship's log book. Flinders was at first placed in confinement at Garden Prison, and afterwards removed to Wilhelm's Plains; his captivity—a most rigorous one—extending over a period of nearly seven years.

Some time after his imprisonment commenced, the French exploring ships, *Geographe* and *Naturaliste*, touched at Mauritius, but instead of the officers interfering in Flinders's favour they appear to have taken means to make his detention more certain and secure, for on an exchange of prisoners taking place soon afterwards Flinders alone was excepted. He was not liberated until the 7th of June, 1810. In the meantime the French authorities had got hold of his charts and plans, the evidences of his discoveries and success. The French commander, in the *Geographe*, had, as previously narrated, met with him on the south coast of New Holland, in April, 1802, after he had surveyed that coast from Cape Leeuwin to Kangaroo Island; nearly the whole of the more eastern portion of the south coast having been previously described either by himself or by Lieutenant Grant; yet on the return of the *Geographe* and *Naturaliste* to Europe the French voyagers committed the injustice and were guilty of the ingratitude of ignoring the claims of Capt.

Flinders and Captain Grant altogether, and appropriated to themselves the credit of being the first discoverers. They knew that Flinders, if still alive, was safe in gaol at the Mauritius, and it is strongly suspected that they were instrumental, if not in bringing that imprisonment about, yet in procuring its continuance for their own purposes, as, on returning to Europe, they boldly announced themselves as the discoverers of the entire southern coast, from Wilson's Promontory to Cape Leeuwin. They gave the name of Napoleon Land to the whole country, and bestowed French names on all the bays, headlands, and islands on the coast. Port Phillip they called Port du Debut, Cape Schank was altered to Cape Richelieu, Portland Bay was called Tourville Bay, Kangaroo Island they named Decres Island, and so on with the rest.

Their so-called discoveries were spoken of in France as eclipsing everything of the kind which had been performed by English navigators, and they were loaded with honours by their government. In the meanwhile Flinders languished in gaol, and all attempts to procure his liberation proved unavailing until his health was completely broken. When, at length, he was allowed to depart, his papers and charts were detained. He afterwards, however, procured the restoration of such a portion of them as was amply sufficient to convict the French explorers of the blackest falsehood and the deepest ingratitude, and the French Government of having grossly violated "that excellent maxim, '*causa scientiarum causa populorum*,' which M. Peron boasted that his country had "first inscribed on the code of European nations."

Flinders reached England in 1810, and died in 1814, having never recovered from the effects of his long and cruel imprisonment. His achievements as a scientific navigator and a successful explorer, when the paucity of the means at his command are taken into account, must be pronounced almost unparalleled. He left a widow and a daughter, to whom the Government of New South Wales, in the year 1853, nearly forty years after the death of the husband and father, granted, in testimony of his services, a pension of one hundred pounds a year. Mrs. Flinders died soon after the pension was granted, but her daughter, Mrs. Petrie, still survives to witness the tardy and scant justice done to her unfortunate father's memory.

The fate of Bass—the youthful friend and companion of Flinders—was still more melancholy than his own. Smitten

with the mania for traffic, which raged in Sydney like an infectious disease about the end of the eighteenth century, he left the navy, and embarked in the hazardous pursuit of a contraband trader with the Spanish colonies on the western coast of South America. M. Peron, in his notice of the commerce of Port Jackson, states that when he was there with the French exploring expedition, he saw several "vessels of great burthen and strength, well armed, which were intended for the western shores of America, deeply laden with merchandise, for a contraband trade with the inhabitants of Peru." In one of these vessels Mr. Bass risked his fortunes and his life. He was taken prisoner on his first voyage by the Spaniards, and sent to work in the mines in the interior. No very reliable particulars of his fate have ever come to light. Some accounts say that he perished in captivity, and that his death was owing to the hardships to which he was exposed: while others assert that he met his death by shipwreck when attempting to escape.

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT UNDER GOVERNOR KING—NORFOLK ISLAND ABANDONED—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COLONISED—ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT PORT PHILLIP—REBELLIOUS SPIRIT OF THE IRISH PRISONERS—THEIR INSURRECTION AND DEFEAT.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1803, the idea of abandoning the settlement at Norfolk Island began to be entertained by the Home Government. That step had long before been recommended by Governor Hunter. For, notwithstanding the high estimate which Governor King had formed of the capabilities of the place, the want of a harbour, the small extent of the island, its great distance from Sydney, and other unfavourable circumstances, had made it from the commencement a source of greater trouble and expense than in the opinion of many it was worth. Guided principally by the accounts given by Flinders of the capabilities of Van Diemen's Land, it was determined to form a settlement at the river Derwent, in the southern part of that island, with a view to the removal to that place of the prisoners and settlers from Norfolk Island, and the ultimate breaking up of the establish-

ment there. In July, 1803, a small party, consisting of Lieutenant Bowen, Mr. Surgeon Mountgarret, three soldiers, and sixteen prisoners, was despatched to the Derwent, in the schooner *Lady Nelson*. They landed and commenced operations, at a place on the left bank of the Derwent which they called Restdown or Risdon Cove, on the 10th August of the above year. Colonel Paterson was also sent from Sydney shortly afterwards to form a new settlement at Port Dalrymple, the mouth of the Tamar, the river discovered by Flinders and Bass on the northern coast of Van Diemen's Land. He at first fixed his head quarters at York Town, near the entrance and on the right bank of the estuary of the river; but afterwards removed to George Town on the opposite shore; and ultimately a site to which the name of Launceston was given, at the head of the tidal waters, and about thirty miles from the mouth, was chosen as the position for the northern capital of the island. It was also determined by the Home Government, about the same time, to form a similar settlement at Port Phillip, as the large bay discovered a short time before on the northern shore of Bass's Straits had been named. The circumstance which principally induced the New South Wales Government to take the course of forming two remote settlements almost simultaneously was a growing spirit of insubordination among the prisoners in and around Sydney, arising, it was said, from the influence of the large number of persons who had been transported for their share in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. It was thought that the best plan for preventing mischief of that kind was the separation as widely as possible of all who were suspected of disloyalty or thought likely to encourage others in projects of insubordination.

The attempt to found the settlement at Port Phillip is understood to have been mainly owing to the desire of Lord Hobart, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to immortalise his name in connexion with Australian colonisation. It was upon the advice of a Mr. Capper, one of the clerks of his office, that Port Phillip was fixed upon as the site of the settlement which should transmit the name of Hobart to future generations. This ambitious design was, however, frustrated, so far as this particular site was concerned, by circumstances which will be presently narrated. The officer appointed to form the Port Phillip settlement was Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins, Judge Advocate of New South Wales, whose history of the

colony has frequently been mentioned in these pages. He had proceeded to England in 1799, and was chosen from his long Australian experience to be the founder of the new colony on the northern shores of Bass's Straits.

Soon after the discovery, by Captain Murray, of the magnificent bay on whose shores it was intended to found the settlement, and the visit of Flinders, Port Phillip was examined and reported upon by Captain Grimes, the Surveyor-General of New South Wales. The locality having been determined upon, the *Calcutta*, a fifty-gun ship, was commissioned in England to take out the officers and people, and the merchant ship *Ocean*, of 600 tons, chartered to convey the necessary provisions, tools, and stores to last for three years. On board the former were 300 convicts, about fifty marines, a few free settlers, with twenty-five women, ten children, and the proper complement of officers. The *Ocean* arrived at Port Phillip Heads in the first week of October, 1803, and the *Calcutta* on the 10th of the same month. The site of the settlement was chosen at Point Nepean, about five miles from the Heads. There some ground was cleared, and, by the 19th of the same month, the people all landed and lodged in tents. Shortly after landing at Port Phillip, however, both Collins and those under his charge became dissatisfied with the place and their prospects; the situation on which the encampment was formed was badly chosen, water was scarce, and the natives were numerous and turbulent. Collins at once represented to Governor King, in Sydney, the desirability of removing the settlement to Van Diemen's Land, and having gained permission to do so, operations to effect that object were shortly afterwards commenced, and the *Ocean* transport, which had brought out the provisions and stores from England, was employed for their removal to their new destination. The place to which it was determined to remove the colony was Sullivan's Cove, at the Derwent River, about ten miles from Risdon Cove, the place chosen by Lieutenant Bowen as the site on which the people removed from Norfolk Island were to form their new settlement. At Sullivan's Cove accordingly the first party of the Port Phillip expedition landed on the 30th January, 1804, and the remainder in the month of June following. The proceedings which followed their removal will be best related when the settlement of Van Diemen's Land comes to be spoken of.

While the expedition under Colonel Collins remained at Port Phillip, several of the convicts ran away. Some returned

before the place was finally deserted, after wandering in the bush for many days ; while others, worn out with fatigue and hunger, came back, intending to give themselves up, only when it was too late. These people—their companions being gone—found themselves reduced to starvation or driven to throw themselves upon the mercy of the aborigines. Little or nothing is known of the fate which befel all but one of these unfortunate people. The man referred to, a person of gigantic stature named Buckley, was fortunate enough to fall in with a tribe of blacks, by whom, instead of being killed, he was kindly treated. He appears to have readily assumed their habits, and to have ultimately acquired considerable influence over them. He continued to live as one of their number for thirty-three years, and when the first permanent colonists arrived in 1836, was scarcely distinguishable from the savages with whom he was associated. He used his influence with his black friends in favour of his countrymen, and was probably the means of preventing bloodshed on more than one occasion. To the whites he appeared exceedingly dull, uncommunicative, and stupid, but whether his intellect had been blunted to an extraordinary degree by contact for so long a period with savages, or whether his natural stupidity and taciturnity were greater than that of other men, has never been ascertained ; for although he lived for twenty years after his return to civilised life, few particulars could be got from him respecting the aborigines or his manner of life while among them. He answered most questions with a simple yes or no, and the impression he left on those who attempted to converse with him was that his intellectual faculties were nearly obliterated. It is, however, hard to believe, considering the influence he exercised on the aborigines, that he could have been originally deficient in intellect. The cause of his remarkable taciturnity and apparent stupidity was probably that gradual dulling of the intellectual faculties which has been observed in a greater or less degree in all men who have been similarly situated even for a much shorter time.

To return to the parent settlement at Port Jackson : Shortly after the arrival of the prisoners transported for their share in the Irish rebellion, the rumours before referred to having got afloat, to the effect that there was a design on their part to excite an insurrection in the colony, an investigation was ordered and many suspected persons examined, but little or nothing came to light, the statements made being vague and

inconclusive. However, to guard against the danger of any attempt of the kind it was determined to raise a small volunteer force. Two companies of fifty men each were accordingly embodied, one at Sydney and the other at Parramatta. They were styled the Loyal Associated Corps, and a captain and two lieutenants were appointed to each. In consequence probably of the suspicions excited and the steps taken, all was quiet for a time.

The 5th of March, 1803, was remarkable as the date on which the first Australian newspaper was published. Mr. George Howe, who has been previously mentioned as having been employed by Governor Hunter to print official notices, was the conductor. The name adopted was the Sydney Gazette. It was a very small journal, printed with worn-out type, on very coarse paper. It was made the official organ, and continued to be so for many years. As a medium for making public the "General Orders" of the Government, it was useful, but, being under the strictest censorship, it did not attempt to discuss public matters. Officials of all grades, when mentioned at all, were spoken of in terms of the most fulsome flattery. One of that class, a Mr. Mann, author of a work entitled a Picture of New South Wales, writing, in 1809, refers in terms of strong approval to the Sydney Gazette, and says that "a vigilant eye was kept upon it, to prevent the appearance of anything which could tend to shake those principles of morality and subordination, on the due preservation of which depended the individual happiness, and the public security of the settlement." That monstrous trade-monopoly which was exercised by the civil and military officers, and has been before prominently referred to in these chapters, had of course nothing to fear from such a press. The state of Sydney society was then so exceptional that freedom of discussion was perhaps not only inexpedient but impossible. There were but two classes, those who ruled and those who obeyed.

Many of the "General Orders" published in the Gazette were of the most extraordinary kind. The words, the habits, the conduct, and almost the looks of the people were regulated by general orders; the time to rise and the time to go to bed were regulated by general orders; a general order enacted that "idlers" were to be imprisoned and put to hard labour; that persons "guilty of seditious words or actions were to receive exemplary punishment, and their houses to be demolished;" that free persons neglecting to attend musters were

to be treated as vagrants and sent to hard labour. The profits of both the importer and the retailer were also regulated by general orders: those of importers were not to exceed one hundred per cent., and those of retailers ten per cent. This extraordinary difference in the legal rate of profits affords a good illustration of the influence exercised, and the monopoly enjoyed, by the officials, who were themselves, either directly or indirectly through their friends, the principal if not the only persons engaged in commerce with England or foreign countries.

In March, 1804, that spirit of insubordination among the convicts, which had been gaining ground for months, broke out in open revolt; and it became evident that the Government had acted with foresight and prudence in sending to form the new settlements at Van Diemen's Land some of those whom they had suspected of being the cause of the rebellious sentiments so generally prevalent amongst the prisoners. About midnight on Sunday, March 4th, a message was received in Sydney from Parramatta, by Governor King, stating that the men belonging to the gangs employed on the roads and buildings at Toongabbee and Castle-Hill had been joined by the prisoners employed on the surrounding farms, and having plundered the neighbouring settlers of their arms and ammunition were then marching upon Parramatta, committing very serious depredations and outrages. The Governor left for the scene of the disturbance at once, and was in Parramatta by four o'clock in the morning, where he was soon after joined by Major Johnston with fifty men of the New South Wales Corps. This small force was then divided into two parties, one of which proceeded towards Castle Hill, in hopes of falling in with the insurgents. After marching some distance, however, it was ascertained that they had changed their original plan, and that, instead of coming towards Parramatta, the main body was proceeding towards Windsor and the Hawkesbury district. On leaving Parramatta in pursuit, the military had been joined by a few of the settlers and other respectable colonists, armed in the best manner that the haste and urgency of the occasion would permit. The insurgents were overtaken about noon, at a place called the Ponds, midway between Parramatta and Windsor, by the party under Major Johnston, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, and the few settlers who had joined as volunteers. The prisoners were found to be well armed, and to be between two and three hundred in number. They halted and took up a position

on the slope of a hill when they perceived the insignificant force by which they were followed. The ringleaders, two men named Cunningham and Johnstone, thinking they had the handful of military completely in their power, or at least that they had nothing to fear from so small a force, at once advanced towards Major Johnston, who was marching at the head of his men, and attempted to parley or to dictate terms. As soon as they were sufficiently near, however, the Major, with cool audacity, and admirable presence of mind, seized one of them and placed a pistol at his head, while Laycock, a quarter-master in his corps, a man of gigantic strength and stature, ran up and with one blow killed the other on the spot. Their followers immediately commenced firing at random, but, on the soldiers and settlers pouring in a volley, many of their number fell and the others broke and fled. The pursuit continued for three or four hours. Several prisoners were captured, and the body of Cunningham, the leader, killed by Laycock, was taken to Windsor the same evening, and there hung up in front of the public store as an example to others. Many of the misguided insurgents gave themselves up within the next few days, and eight of those captured with arms in their hands were brought to trial, found guilty, and executed. Others received various minor punishments, but the main body returned quietly to their work, and most of them, professing penitence for their conduct, escaped with a reprimand. The total number killed in the affray or afterwards hanged is said to have been about sixty; but this was probably an exaggeration. The arms taken from them were 136 muskets, besides a number of pistols, swords, and other weapons. About one half the insurgents were persons who had been transported for the share they had taken in the Irish rebellion of 1798. Most of the others had been induced to join them either by threats or hopes of plunder.

A perusal of the various contemporary accounts of this insurrection leads to the belief that much more was made of the affair at the time than its importance merited. It was in reality a mere wild outbreak of a few scores of discontented and disloyal men, who do not appear to have had any thing more definite in view than a desire to escape from penal labour and restraint, and whose vague yearning for freedom, without any settled plan of action, could hardly have led to any other result than the instant and complete defeat which followed. Those who took an active part in the affair were very few in

number, and the first accounts of their doings which reached Sydney seem to have been greatly exaggerated. Major Johnston undoubtedly displayed great activity, address, and courage, and his conduct in dealing with the insurgents was the theme of universal praise. Immediately on hearing of the matter he left Sydney with fifty men for the scene of the disturbance. This was about one o'clock in the morning; and after a long and rapid march, capturing the ringleaders and dispersing their followers by the way, his little party reached Windsor at four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, a distance of thirty-five miles, much of it being through very broken and scrubby country, almost destitute of roads. This promptitude and energy, and the conduct of Laycock, his quarter-master, at the first onset, struck such terror into the hearts of the misguided men that they never rallied. Their sudden and complete discomfiture probably saved many of the Hawkesbury settlers from having their homesteads plundered and their lives endangered.

The official class, as well as the respectable part of the settlers, seem to have been wrought up to a high state of terror by the alarming rumours which were in circulation for months previous to this outbreak. Suspicion and uncertainty had been so widely prevalent as to the extent of the conspiracy which was believed to be in existence, that, when it came to a head, people were surprised at the insignificance of the results. Many of the more wealthy settlers, on the first alarm of the rising, took energetic steps for the defence of their families and homesteads, but as they had to rely for assistance almost exclusively upon their convict servants, whose fidelity was exceedingly doubtful, their position was a very critical one. The Memoirs of Joseph Holt, before referred to, contain a vivid picture of the state of things which then existed, and the preparations made by the settlers to resist the insurgent prisoners. Holt himself, perhaps from having been the leader of the rebels in Ireland, was strongly suspected by the officials and the military of being concerned in the intended rising, and public rumour pointed him out as the man who was to head the insurgents. He had previous to that time been managing the property of Mr. Cox, and resided at Brush Farm, near Parramatta, adjoining the estate where his employer and family lived. He had a large number of assigned men in his charge, and from his uniformly just and humane conduct towards them was exceedingly popular with the prison class generally. There is no doubt that the Irish

prisoners looked upon him as likely to become their leader, although it does not appear that he gave them the slightest ground for entertaining that expectation. In his Memoirs we find the following account of the opposition he offered to the project, and the steps he took to protect his employer's family and property. Mr. Cox, it should be understood, notwithstanding the suspicions afloat as to Holt's connection with the projectors of the outbreak, placed the fullest reliance on his loyalty and good faith. Holt's statement says :—

“I now approach a period of my life, which I consider the most unfortunate in the whole of my existence. In February, 1804, the devil was as busy in New South Wales as ever he had been in Ireland, and exerted all his evil influence. The lower people, convicts and others, both English and Irish, seeing their torment increasing in this most ill-managed colony, conceived an opinion that they could overpower the army, possess themselves of the settlement, and eventually make their escape from it. Where they were to go, did not enter into the contemplation of these poor fellows, who fancied, at all events, they could not be worse off than they were already. Some of them hinted to me that they thought such a thing might be done. I thought so too, and that it might come to a head; and therefore, pointed out in the strongest language I was master of, the folly of such an attempt. ‘You saw,’ said I, ‘in Ireland, that even there you could not depend on each other, and I am sure it would be worse here. An insurrection will only add to your misery, or bring you to the gallows.’

“Their numbers were contemptible, and their means still more so; therefore they must assuredly fail, and be hanged. I told them I would have nothing to do with the business, and if such a scheme should be put into execution, I would act on the side of the Government and the laws.

“I did hope this advice would have had the desired effect, but the foolish people had set their minds upon it, and were determined to proceed, cost what it might. The English were as much involved in the business as the Irish. Of course, after declaring my sentiments so fully, I was not kept in their confidence; and I had almost forgotten that such an idea had ever been hinted at.

“On the 4th March, 1804, when returning home through Parramatta, I saw several men standing about in little gangs, and recollecting what had been told me, I suspected something was going on, but said nothing. Having dined at

Parramatta, I walked out, and met Timothy Holster, taskmaster of the Government men. He and I seldom met but we drank together, when time permitted, and on the present occasion we called for a decanter of rum. He was an Englishman, and while we were drinking he said to me, 'Mr. Holt, take my advice and do not be out late to-night, as I should be sorry to hear anything against you.' I asked him what he meant; and he then told me that the Irishmen were to break out that night, but that the Government were in possession of their plans. I immediately proceeded to Mr. Cox, and brought my wife and child to his house, and told him what I had heard. He asked me my opinion of the business; to which I answered, that I knew nothing more than what I had heard and told him, but that I should be ready to defend his house, and keep off any assailants. He gave Serjeant King, who was his clerk, orders to prepare some cartridges, and we were all upon the alert. Mr. Cox said it was very likely that the insurgents would endeavour to force me to head them, and, if I refused, would put me to death. My answer was, 'I can die but once, and from this spot nothing shall induce me to move until morning.'

"I then proceeded to secure the gates, doors, and all the defences I could think of. I got the timber carriage chains, and lapped them round the gates and posts. There were three gates to be passed before the court-yard could be entered, and I made all fast. Having thus got all things as secure as possible, I proceeded to examine the state of our fire-arms, and having loaded our muskets with buck shot, I asked Mr. Cox if he would take the command. He gave it to me, saying, I was more accustomed to such matters than he was, and he had no doubt would make a good fight of it. I therefore proceeded to make arrangements, in case we should be attacked.

"I placed Mr. Cox on my right, opposite a large gate-post, fourteen inches square, and Sergeant King on my left, telling him, that it was not fair that he should receive his Majesty's money for doing nothing. John Joyce was placed at the upper gate, and Darby Murphy at the lower gate, for a watchman. I then told every man what he was to do, and that the first who stirred from his post, without my orders, should receive the contents of my musket in his body. I took the centre myself, being flanked by Mr. Cox, and King. The road or path leading to the house was only sixteen feet wide, and it was palied in with a six foot paling, so that a

party would be obliged to keep very close together. We heard the insurgents at the distance of about half a mile, but they came no nearer to us.

"About twelve at night, however, they went to my farm, and took away a musket and a blunderbuss from my son, who was but fourteen years old; and a young man named James Dobbs, an Englishman, they forced to join them. My shepherd was so small that they did not consider him worth their attention; but they swore they would soon have me. When they were gone, Joshua, my son, came through the bush and told us what had happened at the Brush Farm; we put him into the house, with Mrs. Cox, my wife, and the children, and stood to our post till the morning, when Mr. Cox rode over to inquire the cause of the proceedings of the night. He returned in the evening with the following account."

The account given by Holt as having been brought by Mr. Cox was substantially the same as that given above, and therefore need not be repeated here.

The overthrow of the insurgents was followed, as might have been expected, by acts of great cruelty on the part of the military and settlers towards the deluded men. Holt states that many of the unfortunate wretches who attempted to escape by flight, after the engagement at the Ponds, as above related, were arrested by the soldiers, constables, and settlers, and being brought before an impromptu court-martial it was arranged that lots should be drawn from a hat, and that every third man whose name was drawn should be hanged. Many fine young men, he says, were strung up like dogs, and more would have been had not the arrival of the Governor put a stop to the extraordinary proceedings. It does not appear moreover, that the outbreak was entirely confined to convicts or persons of the lowest class, for among those hanged by the self-constituted court-martial was a young man of good family, the nephew of a high Government officer; "but this," says Holt, "was kept, so far as it could be, a profound secret." The suspicions excited against Holt were strengthened after the outbreak by the confessions of some of the prisoners, who declared that he was to have been their leader. Whether they said this to please those in authority, who from his antecedents looked upon him as a dangerous man, or whether the actual authors of the outbreak had circulated the report that he was to lead them among their more ignorant followers in order to increase their

confidence in the enterprise, is uncertain, but the result was that Holt was brought before the Governor, who, upon hearing his statement, exclaimed, "Go home, sir, and take care of yourself, or I will hang you." Further investigations revealed in a very striking way the great popularity of Holt with the prison class, and this circumstance and the fact that, although overtures had been made to him by the prisoners to become their leader, he had not communicated the offer to the authorities, induced the Governor to look upon him with suspicion, and to send him soon afterwards to Norfolk Island.

The rust in wheat, a visitation which has almost paralysed agriculture in New South Wales during the last two or three years, was quite as destructive to the prospects of the old settlers of sixty years ago as it has been to their sons and grandsons of the present generation. Mr. Holt, who, as before mentioned, was superintending, in 1803, the agricultural operations of Mr. Cox, one of the largest cultivators of that period, records what then happened, as follows:—

"On the 21st October a more beautiful appearance of a successful harvest never flattered the expectations of a farmer; it was within three weeks of being ripe, the ears were full and plump, the straw clean and well coloured, and in every respect it was gratifying to look at. I was greatly rejoiced, expecting it would clear off a good portion of Mr. Cox's debts. It was, however, but delusive; and, like other dreams of hope, only made engaging and delightful to disappoint our expectation, and to show how uncertain are all human calculations. In three days it was completely destroyed by the rust, and the produce of two hundred and sixty-six acres was not worth twenty pounds.

"This extraordinary blight, which is, I believe, peculiar to this country, is produced by fogs, which come on suddenly, and obscure the sky for some days; and if it happens when the wheat is nearly ripe, inevitably destroys it. It covers the whole straw and ear with a reddish powder, like the rust of iron, which falls off as you walk through the standing corn, and ironmolds cotton or linen articles like iron rust, and so effectually, that in a very short time they rot and fall in pieces. I sent for the treasurer and the trustees, to view the corn after this calamity, who condemned it as not worth reaping, and we gave it to the neighbours, to turn their pigs into it, to eat up the grain which had escaped the blight. It was a loss of at least fifteen pounds per acre, which amounted

to £3990, a terrible loss, indeed, at this time; but it could not be helped, and fretting only made things worse: so we bore up against the foul weather, and braved the storm, with courage but with humility."

Holt's supposition that rust in wheat was peculiar to New South Wales was erroneous; or, if true in 1803, soon ceased to be so, for in 1804 and 1805 the wheat crops in England were almost destroyed by a precisely similar visitation. Naturalists and scientific men propounded various theories respecting the nature of the disease, and endeavoured to account for its prevalence by all sorts of theories. But it was reserved for that eminent observer of nature, Sir Joseph Banks, (the companion of Captain Cook in his voyage when he visited Botany Bay,) to investigate, elucidate, and explain the phenomena of rust. He ascertained that rust was a fungus, that it was rather the effect than the cause of diseased vegetation, and that although it almost destroyed the grain so far as its flour-producing properties were concerned, it in no way affected the vitality of the seed. That the rust fungus, although in all probability its minute sporules are present wherever wheat is grown, requires a peculiar state of the atmosphere to germinate, there can be no doubt; but it would seem that, after germinating, it spreads with rapidity in almost all conditions of atmosphere, on all varieties of soil, and under the most widely differing circumstances. Rust is, in fact, present to some extent every year; although when the atmospheric conditions which favour its development are absent, its effects are too insignificant to attract attention. It was only last year (1864), although the discovery had been made by Sir Joseph Banks about sixty years before, that the colonists of New South Wales began to comprehend that the vitality of wheat, and its consequent suitability for seed, was not injured by the rust.

The first effort, under unfavourable conditions of soil or climate, of both animal and vegetable productions which owe their peculiarities to man's interference, is to throw off their extrinsic and artificially acquired qualities, and to assume their normal characteristics. A full, plump, round grain of wheat is almost as much the result of man's care and attention as a thoroughbred race-horse or a Durham ox. And when placed under circumstances unfavourable to artificial existence, the same beautiful natural law preserves unimpaired the vitality of both animal and vegetable productions by the sacrifice of the acquired or engrafted qualities. It is a

question of deep interest, whether these occasional reversion to the original type are not indeed absolutely necessary for the preservation of the species of those animals and plants with which man has interfered and extensively modified to suit his own purposes. Short sighted, ignorant, erring mortals often look with dismay on what, if rightly understood, would be regarded as blessings. This, at all events, is certain, that the thin tiny grains of wheat affected by rust have, when used for seed in the following year, produced most abundant and healthy crops; and it is by no means certain that appearances which in many instances are looked upon as the effects of disease do not arise from efforts of nature—that they are not in fact signs of her recuperative energies—impoverished possibly by man's desire to avail himself to the utmost extent of the food-producing qualities of plants without reference to their vital or germinating elements.

Holt's memoirs contain a good deal of information respecting the drinking habits of the early colonists. Rum was the universal beverage, and was consumed in enormous quantities. Proceeding to Parramatta shortly after his arrival, he says:—"The day after, I walked about the town. I saw several persons from Dublin, of whom I had some knowledge, and also my countryman, the most accomplished of pickpockets, Barrington. He was walking arm in arm with Thomas Atkins, Esq. I wished to have some conversation with them, and I think they desired to talk with me. Mr. Atkins asked me into his house, and Barrington followed. A bottle of rum was produced, and some pleasant conversation about Ireland passed. At length I wished to retire, but Mr. Atkins said he never allowed any bottle off his table till he saw it emptied. We finished the half-gallon bottle, and were of course not a little elevated, being each of us as full of chatter as a hen magpie in May. Mr. Atkins was not a judge, but acted as a kind of deputy when Judge Dore was not able, which frequently happened, for, when spirits were plenty in the colony, he was generally indisposed. Barrington asked me a great many questions about Ireland. When I returned, Mrs. Holt said she was apprehensive that the hot climate and the drinking would injure my health. But I told her, the hotter the climate, the more spirits might be drank, which I afterwards found to be the case."

Referring to the cause of the intemperate habits of the colonists, he says:—"The cause of the great price of spirits,

and of the attempt to suppress the private distillation in the colony, which was produced thereby, may be fairly stated as owing to the monopoly obtained by some of the chief persons at Sydney, who were in a combination, by which they made enormous fortunes; to the great misery of the large mass of the settlers. These gentlemen would purchase an entire cargo of spirits, and put it into their stores. For a few weeks after the arrival of this cargo, they would sell it at two pounds ten shillings a gallon, and then would raise the price to three pounds a gallon—indeed, I have known spirits to sell at four pounds the gallon; yet these gentlemen bought the spirits at ten shillings the gallon. So seductive an article was spirits, that the poor and the feeble-minded could not resist its purchase at any price, and they therefore became the victims of imposition. Enormous as the cost of spirits was in New South Wales, there was more drank there than in any part of the world that I know of; and it is my opinion, that to this infatuation much of the crime in the colony may be attributed. It may be thought a strange idea, but it is my honest conviction, that if spirits were to be had at a moderate price in New South Wales, there would be less intoxication, and consequently less crime. Drunkenness, according to my view of human nature, would soon work its own cure; it is the love of drinking that is so dangerous, and love, I have observed, is always increased in proportion to the difficulties it has to encounter. We seldom prize that which is easy of acquisition."

The administration of justice is said by Mr. Holt to have been, during his residence in the colony, in a very deplorable state. The Judge-Advocate, at the period of his arrival, was a Mr. Richard Dore, and his assistant or deputy the Mr. Atkins before referred to. Both are said to have been notorious drunkards. Dore's conduct is represented by Holt as highly disgraceful in other respects. Having a dispute with the captain of the ship, in which he (Holt) arrived in the colony, concerning the payment of his son's passage money, he applied to his republican friend, old Mr. Margarot, for advice. "I told him," says Holt, "I would go to the Judge-Advocate and lodge my complaint. Mr. Margarot smiled at my simplicity, and observed, 'You are very young in this colony; do not fancy that courts of justice exist here as they are constituted at home; if you send a present to the judge, and it be greater and more valuable than that sent by

your adversary, you will succeed by it, not otherwise; never rely here upon what Englishmen call the justice of their case. Bad as the mother-country is, the courts there are purity itself in comparison." Holt was told that the captain would inevitably bribe the judge. Here is the result:—"I set a man to watch that evening, and he brought me word, that a firkin of butter, a cheese, and five or six gallons of spirits, were landed from the ship and sent to the judge's house. When the case came on I produced the receipt, to show that my son was a passenger, and that I had paid the money. The judge, however, would not listen to me, saying we were all convicts; my wife, my son, and myself. I told his honor that it was not so, for none of us were convicts. I had, 'on terms,' agreed to live in the colony, but not as a convict; and my wife and son were both passengers, as free from imputation as himself. He desired me to be silent, and when I remonstrated, and said his conduct was a perversion of justice, he ordered me to be put out of court, adding, that if I said another word he would commit me to gaol."

Mr. D. D. Mann, himself an official, and therefore not likely to be unduly severe on persons of his own class, whatever Holt might have been, in his picture of New South Wales, published in 1810, confirms to a considerable extent the assertions of the latter respecting the maladministration of justice. "As an instance," he says, "of the irregularities that have been practised by some of those in magisterial capacities, I need repeat none others than that I have known men without trial to be sentenced to transportation by a single magistrate at his own barrack; and free men, after having been acquitted by a court of criminal judicature, to be banished to one or other of the dependent settlements; and I have heard a magistrate tell a prisoner who was then being examined for a capital offence, and had some things found upon him which were supposed to be stolen, and for which he would not account, that were he not going to be hanged so soon, he (the magistrate) would be d—— if he would not make him say from whence he got them; nor do I believe it less true, that records of an examination, wherein a respectable young man was innocently engaged, have been destroyed by that same magistrate, before whom the depositions were taken."

The order which had reached the colony in 1803, for the abandonment of Norfolk Island, was not attempted to be carried into effect until two years afterwards. Governor King,

who had been entrusted with the founding of the settlement there in 1788, had always regarded the place with great favour, and it is probable, if his wishes had been consulted at this period, he would have advised that New South Wales itself should be abandoned rather than his pet colony. But Governor Hunter's opinion, after having visited the place on his way to England, was strongly against it, and his representations ultimately prevailed with the British Government. Still Governor King managed to delay commencing to carry out his instructions until 1805. He represented, and probably with truth, that the settlers themselves were strongly opposed to their removal to any other place. However that might be, whether owing to the opposition they offered, or the Governor's dilatoriness, such a delay took place that five years elapsed from the date of the order until its complete accomplishment by the entire removal of the people. The population, in 1805, when the process of their transportation to Van Diemen's Land commenced, numbered over one thousand. The consideration granted by the British Government to the settlers for giving up their little farms and homes was liberal, and the process of their transference was carried out with the utmost regard for their interests. The place at which most of them settled in Van Diemen's Land they named New Norfolk, thus perpetuating in their new home the name of the old one which they are said to have quitted so reluctantly. The formation of a colony in so small and remote an island was, no doubt, a mistake. Such a settlement could never repay the great expense incident to its formation and protection. But having been formed—all the heavy expenses having been incurred—having existed for fifteen years, and having attained to a moderate degree of prosperity, it is difficult to discover any good grounds for its total abandonment. When the settlement was broken up there was a large quantity of land in cultivation, which from its exuberant fertility yielded abundant returns. Many substantial buildings, public as well as private, had been erected. If the Government wished to withdraw the prisoners, they might have handed over their abandoned structures to the free settlers. If these people had been allowed to remain they would, in all probability, have quickly risen to a flourishing community. But the orders for the total abandonment of the island were imperative. There was no appeal, and every soul had to obey.

The most important event which occurred during the rule of

Governor King was the settlement of Van Diemen's Land. Colonel David Collins, the officer who was principally instrumental in the colonisation of that island, and whose account of New South Wales, during the first few years of its existence, has been frequently mentioned in these chapters, deserves a more particular notice in a history of Australian colonisation than he has yet received. Next to Governor Phillip himself, he must be regarded as the most prominent and talented man connected with the foundation and early history of British communities in Australasia. Colonel Collins was the son of General Arthur Tooker Collins, and grandson of Mr. Arthur Collins, author of a well known work on the Peerage of England. He was of Irish extraction, but born at Exeter, and entered the service of his country at a very early age. In 1770, he was appointed Lieutenant of Marines. In 1772 he was engaged with Admiral M'Bride, in the rescue of the unfortunate Matilda Queen of Denmark, sister of George the Third. In 1775 he was serving in America, and married a lady of that country. He greatly distinguished himself in the revolutionary war, and particularly at the battle of Bunker's Hill, in storming the redoubt with the first battalion of marines. In 1784 he took part, as captain of marines, in the *Courageux*, of 74 guns, in the relief of Gibraltar. In 1787, on the British Government resolving to found a colony in Australia, he was appointed Judge-Advocate and chosen as Secretary by the Governor. He filled this position, with credit to himself and advantage to his country, for a period of nearly ten years, during which, in common with Governor Phillip and other officers, he underwent great privations. He returned to England in 1797, and shortly afterwards published his history of the settlement. This work, which is written in a style of attractive simplicity and good taste, abounds with information of a highly interesting character, embellished with engravings of a very superior kind, illustrative of the scenery and natural history of the country, and the customs, ceremonies, weapons, and implements of the natives. He had the mortification of finding, on his return to England, that his ten years of arduous service in the colony was rewarded with merely the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, while his remuneration was confined to the pittance of a half-pay captain, the time spent in the colony not being allowed to count. This injustice, for which he was never able to obtain effectual redress, wrung from him some remarks at the close of the

second volume of his history ; and the attention thus drawn to his case induced those then in power to offer him the government of the projected settlement at Port Phillip. This offer he accepted. His landing there with the expedition under his command, and his abandonment of the place shortly afterwards for what he considered a more eligible site on the shores of the Derwent, in Van Diemen's Land, have been before related. His conduct in precipitately leaving so excellent a site for a settlement has been generally condemned, and it must be confessed that he evinced a great want of judgment or firmness, for it was probably the persuasions of others rather than his own inclination that induced him to leave Port Phillip for the less promising and fertile insular land. He underwent at Sullivan's Cove, where he fixed the site of the settlement (named after Lord Hobart, the nobleman then at the head of the Colonial Office,) a repetition of the hardships and privations he had experienced many years previously on the shores of Port Jackson. He governed the settlement at the Derwent for about six years, during which period the little colony emerged from a condition of struggling poverty into one of a comparatively flourishing character. Colonel Collins died suddenly at Hobart Town in March 1810. He was a man of extremely prepossessing manners and handsome person. To a cultivated understanding and literary tastes he joined a very lively and social disposition. He was extremely popular with all classes of the settlers, the humbler part of the community especially, regarding him rather as a father and a friend than as a ruler. The greatest blot on his character—if the accounts are true—arose from his having sanctioned by his example the then almost universal custom of a too intimate connexion with convict women.

The number and description of persons sent out with Colonel Collins to form the settlement has been before stated. They were most of them transferred from the shores of Port Phillip to the banks of the Derwent in the month of February, 1804. The names of the officers were the Rev. R. Knopwood, chaplain ; E. Bromley, surgeon-superintendent ; W. Anson, colonial-surgeon ; M. Boden and W. Hopley, assistant-surgeons ; P. H. Humphrey, mineralogist ; Lieut. Fosbrook, deputy-commissary-general ; G. P. Harris, deputy-surveyor ; John Clarke and William Patterson, superintendents of convicts. The military consisted of forty-four marines, under Lieutenants Sladen, Johnson, and Lord, having in their charge three hundred and sixty-seven male prisoners. In

addition to the small party from Sydney, under command of Lieutenant Bowen, which Colonel Collins found at Risdon Cove, a few miles distant from the spot where he landed and fixed his camp, a number of prisoners were soon afterwards sent from Sydney. These consisted for the most part of persons who had been transported for their share in the Irish rebellion, and who were connected, or were suspected of being connected, with the outbreak at Castle-hill as before narrated. To these were afterwards added some of the Norfolk Island settlers, both free and bond, whose removal from their little home commenced a few months after Colonel Collins had established his settlement at the Derwent. Many of the Norfolk Islanders were free settlers, and this class evinced great reluctance to quit a place where, by many years of industry, they had built comfortable houses and cleared farms, which, although in general of small extent, were of remarkable fertility. The prison class were, of course, ready to go any where or to do anything to escape from a spot where they were obliged to toil for the benefit of others. The first vessel sent to effect their removal was mainly filled by these people, as only four free persons could then be induced to embrace the offers of the Government. H. M. ship *Buffalo* was sent shortly afterwards, and more of the free settlers having become reconciled to the change, and the offers made for their settlement elsewhere being really advantageous, a larger number at length agreed to accept them. A considerable majority of their number preferred Van Diemen's Land to Sydney as their future home. The first detachment, consisting mostly of prisoners, was taken to Port Dalrymple, as the settlement on the Launceston or northern side of the island was then called; the others to the Derwent or Hobart Town, where the names of New Norfolk and Norfolk Plains still indicate the spots on which they were located. Their reasons for preferring Tasmania to Sydney were probably mostly of a personal character. They all knew both Governor King and Colonel Collins, and although the former was by no means disliked, the greater popularity of the latter, his kindness, gentleness, and conciliatory conduct on all occasions, induced them to prefer his rule to that of his more arbitrary and impetuous superior. Holt, whose memoirs have so often been referred to in these pages, and who was sent to Norfolk Island for his supposed complicity with the Castle-hill insurrection, was one of those who went to Van Diemen's Land. He speaks in the highest terms of the

character and conduct of Colonel Collins :—" This gentleman had the good will, the good wishes, and good word, of every one in the settlement. His conduct was exemplary, and his disposition most humane. His treatment of the runaway convicts was conciliatory, and even kind. He would go into the forests, among the natives, to allow these poor creatures, the runaways, an opportunity of returning to their former condition ; and, half-dead with cold and hunger, they would come and drop on their knees before him, imploring pardon for their behaviour.

" ' Well,' he would say to them, ' now that you have lived in the bush, do you think the change you made was for the better ? Are you sorry for what you have done ?'

" ' Yes, sir.'

" ' And will you promise me never to go away again ?'

" ' Never, sir.'

" ' Go to the storekeeper, then,' the benevolent Collins would say, ' and get a suit of slops and your week's ration, and then go to the overseer and attend to your work. I give you my pardon ; but remember that I expect you will keep your promise to me.'

" I never heard of any other governor or commandant acting in this manner, nor did I ever witness much leniency from any governor. I have, however, been assured, that there was less crime, and much fewer faults committed among the people under Governor Collins, than in any other settlement, which I think is a clear proof that mercy and humanity are the best policy."

The records of the early days of Tasmanian colonisation resemble in their general features those of New South Wales. Frequently recurring scarcities of food, hardships, privations, crimes, and conflicts with the natives, make up the staple of both narratives. The settlement formed by Colonel Paterson at York Town, on the Tamar, to which reference has been previously made, underwent as full a share of difficulties and disasters as the larger settlement at the Derwent. For several years both had to make desperate struggles for existence. Sometimes there was no beef, sometimes no flour. Kangaroos were purchased by the Commissariat at eight-pence a pound, and flour, when it could be had at all, was often more than a hundred pounds sterling a ton, and at one time as much as two hundred pounds, and wheat four pounds a bushel. Very few official documents relative to the early days of the settlements are now in existence ; and it is asserted that on the night of

Colonel Collins's death all his official papers were destroyed by fire. For one year indeed, that of 1809, the only record now in the archives of the colony is the garrison order book.

The month of March, 1806, was remarkable for the occurrence of the heaviest flood that up to that time had visited the Hawkesbury. The rains commenced in the last week of February, and continued with trifling intermission for nearly a month. The waters reached their highest point on Sunday, March the 22nd, and on the 26th had fallen twelve feet. The precise height of this flood cannot now be ascertained, owing to the want of any reliable data: but that it was higher by eight or ten feet than the highest that had previously occurred is generally acknowledged. Several lives were lost, and an immense amount of property swept away. Two hundred stacks of wheat are stated to have been carried out to sea, many of them covered with poultry, pigs, and other animals, which had taken refuge upon them. One settler, with all his family and servants, was carried down the river, for seven miles, on the top of a barley mow. They were afterwards rescued. Many other remarkable escapes are recorded. A man named Chalker saved the life of a boy by swimming with him on his back for nearly a mile. The total loss of property was estimated at £35,000. The Government took very prompt and energetic steps to save the unfortunate settlers from starvation. The making, baking, consumption, and price of bread were regulated by the bench of magistrates weekly. No flour was allowed to be used in biscuits, cakes, or any pastry whatever; and those who had saved their grain were compelled to part with a portion of it to those who had not been so fortunate. The Hawkesbury at that period was the principal wheat-growing district in the colony, and owing to the distance of New South Wales from any country affording supplies of grain, the consequences of the destruction of a very large proportion of the crop were most distressing.

Governor King's rule came to an end in August, 1806. His administration was by no means a fortunate one, either for himself or the colonists. He afforded a remarkable instance of how a good, well-meaning man may make a bad ruler. In attempting to put a stop to the odious monopoly of a few, he rushed into the opposite extreme, and endangered for a time the cause of order and the safety of the community. His violent and intemperate language and disposition, say those who had a good opportunity of personally observing him, often made it difficult to know how to act, and sometimes plunged innocent

people into most unpleasant circumstances. Ill-disposed persons, knowing his failings, often went to him with artfully concocted stories, to which he too readily gave credit, and acted accordingly. The first impression, right or wrong, was frequently acted upon, and the unfortunate persons accused, at once subjected to the effects of his precipitately formed determination. But after he had taken time for consideration, and allowed his temper to cool and his sober judgment to assert its sway, no man was more ready to acknowledge his errors, to express regret for hasty conduct, or to repair the mischief done. The defects of his character were those of the head rather than of the heart; and it may be truly said that, although he had many faults as a governor, he had very few as a man; in fact, in his case, the expression that "e'en his failings leant to virtue's side" received a remarkable illustration. He embarked for England in the ship *Buffalo*, on the 13th August, 1806, having on the same day resigned his office into the hands of his successor, Captain William Bligh. Previous to embarking he reviewed the military, and the little corps of volunteers known as the Loyal Association, who lined the way from Government House to the wharf, and paid him the usual honours.

The six years of Governor King's rule, notwithstanding the occurrence of serious civil disturbances and the prevalence of drinking habits to a degree probably never before witnessed in any community, were marked by a steady advancement in the development of the material resources of the colony. The sealing trade and whale fishery were carried on with energy and profit, the foundation of what proved a lucrative intercourse with New Zealand and the South Sea Islands was opened up, new settlements were formed, a large quantity of land was brought under cultivation, and pastoral enterprise received an impetus which, a few years after, placed the growing of fine wool amongst the most extensive and lucrative of colonial pursuits. The progeny of the choice Merino rams imported some years before by Mr. John Macarthur had gradually but steadily continued to improve, and at length to supersede the worthless breed of sheep which had been introduced, chiefly at the public expense, from India and the Cape of Good Hope. Cedar, a most valuable wood for both useful and ornamental purposes, had been brought largely into consumption; and the bark of the wattle tree had been discovered to possess tanning properties equal or superior to those of the English oak. Various industrial pursuits also date from about this period, such as brewing, salt-making,

and boat, ship, and carriage building. Most of the efforts of mechanical and manufacturing enterprise prior to the commencement of the nineteenth century had been made by prisoners working for and under the direct control of Government officers, but, as might have been expected, the results were anything but promising in a mercantile point of view ; for nothing but private energy stimulated by the hope of gain could succeed in founding and bringing into profitable operation even the coarsest manufactures or the most common mechanical pursuits.

Another feature which distinguished Governor King's rule was, the arrival of a number of free emigrant families, mostly of Scotch origin. Several of them settled in the neighbourhood of Portland Head, on the Hawkesbury River, and some at the Nepean, where they were allotted small farms on the rich alluvial lands, and allowed rations for a certain period from the public stores. These free settlers prospered so much—those on the banks of the Hawkesbury in particular—that they were soon in possession of comfortable homesteads, and were even able to erect a church by voluntary contributions, at an expense of about £400 ; and many of their number rapidly acquired wealth. The children and grandchildren of some of these settlers are now among the wealthiest families in the colony.

The population of the colony and its dependencies at the period of Governor King's departure (August, 1806,) was about 9000, of which 7200 were in New South Wales ; 528 at Hobart Town, (of those at the Tamar there were no returns) ; and 1084 at Norfolk Island. The quantity of land located was 48,855 acres, of which 12,860 acres were under crop. The live stock consisted of 438 horses, 3264 head of horned cattle, 16,501 sheep, 14,300 pigs, and 2900 goats. Wool to some extent, but of a coarse description, was sent to England prior to this, but the export of the fine Merino fleece, for which the colony afterwards became so famous, had hardly assumed sufficient importance to attract attention. Four years afterwards—that is in 1810—the produce of Mr. John Macarthur's fine woolled flock was only 167 lbs. The best of the other flocks were largely mixed with the progeny of the Irish, the Southdowns, and the Leicesters, which had been brought in the early convict ships, while many were principally derived from the yet coarser animals imported from the Cape and India.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR KING'S SUCCESSOR, CAPTAIN WILLIAM BЛИGH—THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY—BLIGH'S QUARRELS WITH THE COLONISTS AND THE MILITARY—HIS ARREST AND DEPOSITION.

THE successor of Governor King was a very remarkable man—William Bligh, Esq., a post captain in the navy. He arrived in Sydney a few days previous to the departure of his predecessor, and on assuming office was waited upon by a deputation with a congratulatory address from the military and civil officers and the free inhabitants. Captain Bligh in many respects resembled Captain King, but his good and bad qualities were in greater extremes. Captain King had made several attempts to destroy or to counteract the profitable monopoly of the military and civil officers, but shrank from carrying out his intentions when he was made aware of the serious consequences which were likely to follow. Captain Bligh was more thorough—he had less tact, and more daring. He had been sent out to the South Seas in the year 1787, in command of H. M. S. Bount, for the purpose of conveying plants of the bread-fruit tree to the West Indies, where they were to be introduced and cultivated as likely to afford a cheap and palatable food for the slaves. He remained at Tahiti a considerable time, and while engaged in procuring and taking in cargo, he appears to have allowed his officers and men more than the usual latitude in their intercourse with the natives. Several of them formed connexions with Tahitian women, and wished to be allowed to remain there. This was refused, and ill-concealed discontent was the consequence. On getting to sea, it seems that Bligh thought it necessary, in order to restore discipline, to exact as strict an attention to the routine of the ship as if no previous license had been allowed. It does not appear that he in any way exceeded the usual discipline of the time; but the change from the license allowed on shore was so sudden, and the attractions left behind so many and strong, that grumbling and discontent were quickly followed by mutiny. Headed by a young officer named Christian, many of the crew joined in a design to seize the ship. The attempt was made when they had been twenty-four days at sea, and

was completely successful. Bligh, and eighteen of his crew who sided with him, were put into the ship's launch, and set adrift destitute of almost everything. They had a small quantity of spirits, water, and provisions, as well as a compass and quadrant, but no chart or sextant. The courage, energy, and seamanship displayed by Captain Bligh under these trying circumstances, were of the highest order. This was in the beginning of the year 1789, about twelve months after the formation of the colony of New South Wales; and it is difficult to understand why Captain Bligh did not endeavour to proceed there, for although he could have known nothing respecting the actual circumstances of the settlement at that time, he could hardly have been ignorant of the expedition under Captain Phillip, which had been despatched a few months before he sailed from England, for the purpose of planting a colony on the shores of Botany Bay. He determined, however, to make towards the European settlements in the Indian Archipelago, and after a voyage of more than three thousand miles, in which all kinds of hardships and privations were borne and almost insurmountable difficulties overcome, he and his surviving companions, then reduced to twelve in number, managed to reach the Dutch settlement of Timor, from which they ultimately made their way to England.

The story of the adventures, the crimes, and the fate of the mutineers is, if possible, still more extraordinary than that of Captain Bligh himself, and the circumstances altogether afford, perhaps, the nearest approach to a romance, of any which have ever transpired in actual life. The particulars, which are to be found in every library, are too long to be introduced here. It will be merely necessary to remark that the interesting people at present inhabiting Norfolk Island are the descendants of these mutineers and some Tahitian women they induced to accompany them to a remote uninhabited island in the South Pacific known as Pictairn's. The Mutiny of the *Bounty*, and their settlement at Pictairn's Island, took place in the year 1789. About sixty years afterwards, their numbers having increased to such an extent that the island was no longer capable of supporting them, they were removed by the British Government to Norfolk Island; where, shut in from the world, having all their simple wants supplied, and being deprived of all stimulus to the exertion of their faculties, and all their energies carefully repressed, they may be expected at no very distant day to arrive at the

nearest approach to imbecility of which a community of human beings is capable.

To return to Bligh. Shortly after his arrival in England the Government despatched the Pandora frigate, under the command of Captain Edwards, to Tahiti, to endeavour to discover and capture the mutineers. Fourteen were found, and seized, but no intelligence was obtained as to what had become of the ship and their companions, and it was not until many years afterwards that their descendants were discovered at Pitcairn's Island. Captain Edwards attempted to return by Torres Straits, but the Pandora was wrecked, and thirty-nine men drowned, amongst them several of the mutineers. The rest reached Timor in the boats, from which place the remaining prisoners were taken to England, where they were tried and some of them hanged. In the following year, 1792, Captain Bligh was again despatched to Tahiti for a cargo of the bread-fruit tree, and also to make a more complete examination of Torres Straits. The vessels placed under his command for this purpose were his Majesty's ship Providence and the brig Assistant. Flinders was one of his officers on this voyage, and it is to the journal of that talented seaman that the world is indebted for an account of it.

Although undoubtedly a man of integrity, and of far more than average ability, perhaps there were few officers in the British navy so unqualified in many respects to fill the office of Governor of New South Wales at that particular period as Captain Bligh. The community was at that time, and had been for many years previously, under the domination of a clique of clever, not very scrupulous, and wealthy men, of whom Captain John Macarthur was undoubtedly the cleverest, the most wealthy, and perhaps in some respects the most unscrupulous. The two previous Governors, although legally possessing nearly unbounded powers, were practically almost helpless, because they had no class on whose support they could rely. There was no public opinion to back them up, because there was no public in the proper sense of the word in existence. The real power rested with the military officers, and they were almost to a man sharers in the lucrative monopoly which Captain King had endeavoured in vain to crush. An official oligarchy trammelled the Governor, and through him ruled the small settlers and prisoners. To break down this monopoly, to free the rising commerce of Port Jackson from the grasp of selfishness, and to protect

the smaller settlers from the unwarrantable interference of their official tyrants, required a man of more tact, firmness, and self-reliance than King; and of greater discretion and sagacity, and of far less obstinacy, than Bligh.

Although the foundations of great fortunes were being laid by the favoured few at this period, it is difficult to resist the conviction that the condition of most of the people was a most unsatisfactory one. And the answer to the question, as to whether the colony could be considered really prosperous or not under such circumstances would very much depend upon the stand-point from which it was viewed. Governor Bligh himself, shortly after his arrival, painted the condition of the settlers in the darkest colours. He said:—"To ascertain the state of the colony, I visited many of the inhabitants individually, and witnessed many melancholy proofs of their wretched condition. A want even of the common necessities of life was too prevalent, particularly at the extensive settlement at the Hawkesbury; and although Sydney, the headquarters, formed some exception to the general aspect, yet even there the habitations and public store-houses were falling into decay; industry was declining; while pernicious fondness for spirituous liquors was gaining ground, to the destruction of public morals and private happiness. Knowing the sentiments of the British Government on the subject of the existing abuses, and the solicitude entertained for their correction, I used every exertion to accomplish this, and particularly in relation to the barter of spirits." When it is remembered, however, that very much the same statements regarding the settlement had been made previously, but that M. Peron, who may fairly be considered as an unprejudiced witness, had given, only four years before, an exceedingly different account, most persons will probably be led to regard Governor Bligh's picture as somewhat too darkly coloured. The truth seems to have been, that although there was a small class of wealthy people living at that early period in luxury and even splendour, the mass of the community, and more particularly the small farmers and settlers, were plunged in wretchedness and poverty—partly in consequence of their own vices, and the unsuitability of their previous pursuits to the circumstances in which they were placed, and partly in consequence of the monopoly and tyranny of the ruling class. It should, however, be remembered that it was necessary Governor Bligh should be able to show that the existing state of things was very bad, in order to justify the extreme measures which

he adopted.—Bligh appears to have been a blunt and zealous but narrow minded public servant, actuated certainly by honest intentions, but liable to the most violent outbursts of passion; and, if his enemies are to be believed, in the habit of using, in his ordinary conversation, language of an exceedingly coarse description. Almost from the first day of his landing in the colony, he is said to have manifested a violent dislike to Captain John Macarthur, who was probably regarded by him as the moving spirit, the head and front of the military and official incubus by which the smaller settlers complained of being over-ridden. Captain Macarthur, when sworn as a witness on Colonel Johnston's trial by Court Martial, at Chelsea Hospital, in 1811, gave the following account of Bligh's extraordinary conduct towards him on his first arrival in the colony:—

“I went to the Government House; this was about a month after he had taken the command. I found him walking in the garden perfectly disengaged, and alone; and thinking it a proper opportunity to speak to him on the subject of my affairs, I inquired if he had been informed of the wishes of Government respecting them: I particularly alluded to the sheep, and the probable advantages that might result to the colony and the mother-country from the production of fine wool. The prosecutor burst out instantly into a most violent passion, exclaiming, ‘What have I to do with your sheep, sir? what have I to do with your cattle? Are you to have such flocks of sheep and such herds of cattle as no man ever heard of before? No, sir!’ I endeavoured to appease him, by stating that I had understood the Government at home had particularly recommended me to his notice. He replied, ‘I have heard of your concerns, sir; you have got 5000 acres of land in the finest situation in the country; but, by God, you shan't keep it!’ I told him that as I had received this land at the recommendation of the Privy Council and by the order of the Secretary of State, I presumed that my right to it was indisputable. He cursed the Privy Council, and cursed the Secretary of State, too, and said, ‘What have they to do with me? You have made a number of false representations respecting your wool, by which you have obtained this land.’ I told him, I had made no false representations; and that luckily, as he was on the spot, he could, by examining the flocks, ascertain the fact himself; and there was a flock of seven or eight hundred then at my house, within a mile of him; if he pleased he could examine them that morning.

We immediately after entered the Government House, where we found Governor and Mrs. King, and sat down to breakfast. The prosecutor then renewed the conversation about my sheep, addressing himself to Governor King; when he used such violent and insulting language to him, that Governor King burst into tears. About two hours after, the prosecutor, Governor King, and Major Abbott of the New South Wales Corps, came to my house, and a flock of sheep were produced for the prosecutor to examine. Their improvements were so apparent, and corresponded so exactly with my representations, that the prosecutor had nothing further to say in respect to the truth of what I had advanced. After a little general conversation respecting their probable increase in numbers and the value of the wool, he burst out into a second passion, and asked me what this examination was for, as nobody ever doubted the possibility of raising fine wool in New South Wales;—‘But what have I to do with it?’ I told him, in the most respectful manner I could assume, that I certainly had understood him that morning as doubting the truth of my representations. ‘No such thing!’ he replied; ‘and I desire, sir, you will never attempt to attach any such meaning to my words.’ To draw off his attention from this subject, which seemed to give him great offence, I again mentioned that I was extremely desirous to ascertain how far his opinions corresponded with those of the Secretary of State. He again cursed the Secretary of State, and exclaimed, with the utmost violence, ‘He commands at home; I command here.’ Finding no chance of obtaining favourable attention, I endeavoured to shift the conversation, and very shortly afterwards retired to my house, accompanied by him, Governor King, and Major Abbott. He staid a minute or two to pay his compliments to Mrs. Macarthur, and left Governor King and Major Abbott with me, who both expressed the greatest surprise and astonishment at the violence they had witnessed.”

In the course of his evidence on that remarkable trial Captain John Macarthur also briefly explained the steps he had taken, and the assistance he had received from the British Government towards developing the great grazing capabilities of the colony. He said he had commenced his agricultural pursuits in 1793, at a period when the most extreme distress existed, and absolute famine was apprehended. That he had devoted himself with great assiduity to the clearing and cultivation of the land given to him as

a military settler, and to the breeding of animals fit for food. That he had disposed of among the settlers twenty thousand pounds' worth of breeding animals, and had sent an immense quantity to the market to be slaughtered—at least one hundred thousand pounds weight annually; that the original stock from which this large result was obtained consisted of only six or seven bullocks and about thirty sheep; that he had raised about twelve hundred head of horned cattle and twelve thousand sheep; and that he possessed at that time four thousand six hundred sheep and about three hundred head of cattle; and that the result of his operations had been to reduce the price of beef and mutton from 2s. 6d. per pound to 9d. He was led to pay great attention to the growth of fine wool by some English manufacturers who had accidentally seen some wool from his sheep. They made particular inquiries how and in what manner this wool had been raised, and the information thus obtained induced them to find him out.

On communicating to them all he knew upon the subject they expressed a very decided opinion that the colony of New South Wales might, with proper encouragement, be enabled in time to supply the woollen manufacturers of England with the whole quantity of fine wool which was then with great difficulty obtained from Spain, and such was the importance they attached to this that they signified their determination to communicate their opinion to the Government. In consequence of the memorials they sent in, he was directed to attend the Privy Council, before whom he was examined, and the result was that Lord Camden, then Secretary of State, recommended that the project should be encouraged. In consequence of this, Mr. Macarthur was allowed to select five thousand acres of land in any situation he thought best suited to his purpose, and despatches were forwarded to Governor King, directing that he was to be supplied with shepherds, and with every other reasonable and proper means for advancing an object of so much national importance.

It was not to be supposed that a man engaged in the important undertakings in which Macarthur had embarked, and backed up in England by the powerful influence which he could command, would allow himself to be thwarted and his prospects blighted with impunity. His faults might have been great, and his objects selfish, but his failings were those of a clever ambitious man, engaged in an enterprise of great

public importance; and an enlightened selfishness such as his was by no means incompatible with patriotism. On the contrary, the means he took for his own aggrandisement contributed, probably in a greater degree than anything which has ever been done by any other colonist, to the advancement of his adopted country.

There was, of course, war between Bligh and Macarthur almost from the moment the former landed in the colony. The military and official class, whose representations it was suspected had produced the recall of King, found that they had gained nothing by the change, for they had now to deal with a man far more adverse to their interests, and resolutely determined to be master at all hazards. To enter into all the causes of quarrel which ensued would serve no good purpose. Under the Governor's orders very high-handed and decidedly illegal steps were taken to break down the spirit monopoly and to prevent distillation by wealthy settlers and military and other officers. Most of the principal colonists were gentlemen who, although they had left the army to enter into grazing, agricultural, or mercantile pursuits, were still so intimately connected with the military that they dined almost daily at the mess table of the New South Wales Corps. There was in fact no other society for them. This close social connection, and the promptings of self interest, naturally induced almost the whole of the military and official class to take part against the Governor, and to make common cause with Mr. Macarthur. The smaller class of settlers, on the contrary, unable to appreciate the aims of such a man as Macarthur, saw in Captain Bligh not only an honest ruler, but a zealous friend, determined to rescue them from the thralldom in which they were held by the grinding monopoly and domination of the military and official clique; and with these small settlers, as well as with the prison class in general, Bligh was soon exceedingly popular. He seems to have been driven by necessity to seek advice and assistance from emancipists, as those persons were now beginning to be called who had either served out the full term for which they were transported or had their sentences remitted through favour or for good conduct. Many of these emancipists had at this period accumulated considerable wealth, and some of them, being persons of education and considerable natural capacity, were beginning to acquire great influence in the community. They naturally allied themselves with the smaller settlers, both having causes of quarrel with the domi-

nant or military and official class. It would appear that one of these emancipists, a man named George Crossley, who had been an attorney in London, was taken into the Governor's confidence as legal adviser; and Captain Macarthur, in his evidence on Colonel Johnston's trial, being asked what was the general sentiment in the colony as to Governor Bligh's conduct, said, "For many months previous to his arrest, I never heard any one speak of him but with dread and terror; and when his intimacy with the notorious George Crossley became a matter of notoriety, it was generally felt that no man's property could be secure. I cannot conceive anything more infamous than Crossley's general character, I never knew any persons of credit or character employ him or associate with him but the Governor and Mr. Palmer."*

One of the circumstances which brought the disagreement of the Governor and Macarthur to a crisis, was a dispute about an allotment of land on Church-hill, Sydney. Macarthur and other officers had obtained from Captain King grants or leases of portions of land within limits which had been reserved by previous governors for public use. These leases Bligh determined to cancel; offering the holders lands in other parts of the town in lieu of the allotments which he wished them to give up. Most of the leaseholders fell in with this arrangement, either through fear of Bligh's displeasure, or because it suited their interest to do so. Macarthur, however, offered some opposition, as he said he had chosen his land on account of its being an elevated and suitable spot on which to build a house for the residence of his family. Bligh ordered Nicholas Devine, the superintendent of convicts, to pull down the fence enclosing the land in dispute, and offered Macarthur in lieu of it an allotment which the latter described as "at the end of Pitt's-row, a place where the common gallows stood, and which was surrounded by all the vile and infamous characters of the town of Sydney."

A short time afterwards other circumstances took place which rendered the relations of the Governor and Mr. Macarthur still more complicated. The latter had a vessel called the Parramatta, on board of which a convict had escaped from the colony. To prevent occurrences of this kind it seems to have been customary at that period to take bonds from owners of vessels and captains, which were forfeited in case it was proved that prisoners had succeeded in effecting their escape

* It is but fair to state, that notwithstanding Mr. Macarthur's strong denunciation of Crossley's character, other witnesses spoke of him in very favorable terms.

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on board such ships. In the case of the Parramatta, a bond for nine hundred pounds had been given. This security, on the escape of the prisoner in question becoming known, Bligh declared forfeited; and in consequence of proceedings arising out of the alleged forfeiture, Macarthur was arrested. Nearly the whole of the civil and military officers of the colony appear to have sided against the Governor in this matter, and Macarthur was liberated from gaol in spite of all that Bligh could do to keep him there.

Major Johnston, while commanding the New South Wales Corps, does not appear, up to this time, to have had any quarrel with Bligh, or to have been mixed up in any way with the spirit monopoly or any other of the questionable practices relative to trade in which most of the others were involved. There was a provision in the King's patent appointing a civil government for New South Wales, that in case of the death or absence of the Governor the senior military officer was to act in his place. Major Johnston, as the senior officer, foreseeing probably from what was taking place that things were coming to a crisis, and that sooner or later he would be driven to act on his own responsibility, appears for a time to have avoided as much as possible anything which would identify him with either party. He passed most of his time at his farm at Annandale, about four miles from Sydney; and there cannot be the slightest doubt that he took action at last from an imperative sense of duty, and in order, as he believed, to prevent serious disorders. The representations made by Macarthur and his friends, as to the danger which must ensue to the public peace if Bligh was allowed to continue his high-handed course of conduct, were perhaps sincere on their part, but they were undoubtedly gross exaggerations. The feeling of most of the colonists, and particularly of the country settlers, was that Bligh, in the course he was pursuing, was meting out a rough sort of justice against persons whose wealth and influence placed them above the law, of which indeed they themselves were the ministers.

On the 26th January, 1808, the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the colony, the quarrel between Bligh and Macarthur and his friends was brought to a crisis. What then took place, Governor Bligh, in his evidence on Major Johnstone's trial, stated as follows:—"About sunset, soon after the magistrates had dined with me, information was brought that Macarthur had been liberated from gaol; and

almost immediately the Provost-Marshall confirmed the account, delivering to me at the same time an order from the prisoner [Major Johnston], as Lieutenant-Governor and Major commanding the troops, to the keeper of the gaol, requiring him to give up the body of John Macarthur.

"Immediately after the order for the release of Macarthur, there followed an operation of the main-guard close to the gate of the Government-House, and the regiment marched down from the barracks, led on by Major Johnston and the other officers, with colours flying and music playing as they advanced to the house. Within a few minutes after, the house was surrounded; the soldiers quickly broke into all parts of it, and arrested all the magistrates, Mr. Gore, the provost marshal; Mr. Griffin, my secretary; and Mr. Fulton, the chaplain. I had just time to call to my orderly serjeant to have my horses ready while I went up stairs to put on my uniform (the family being then in deep mourning), when on my return, as I was standing on the staircase waiting for my servant with my sword, I saw a number of soldiers rushing up stairs with their muskets and fixed bayonets, as I conceived to seize my person. I retired instantly into a back room, to defeat their object, and to deliberate on the means to be adopted for the restoration of my authority, which in such a critical situation could only be accomplished by my getting into the interior of the country adjacent to the Hawkesbury, where I knew the whole body of the people would flock to my standard. To this situation I was pursued by the soldiers, and after experiencing much insult was conducted below by Lieutenant Minchin, who told me that Major Johnston was waiting for me. We passed together into the drawing-room, every part being crowded with soldiers under arms, many of whom appeared to be intoxicated.

"I then received a letter brought by Lieutenant Moore, and signed by Major Johnston (calling himself Lieutenant-Governor), requiring me to resign my authority, and to submit to the arrest under which he placed me, which I had scarcely perused, when a message was delivered to me that Major Johnston wished to speak to me in the adjoining room, at the door of which he soon after appeared, surrounded by his officers and soldiers; and in terms much to the same effect as his letter, he there verbally confirmed my arrest. Martial law was proclaimed, my secretary and my friends were prevented from seeing me, and I was left only with my daughter and another lady.

"By Major Johnston's order several persons seized my cabinet and papers, with my commission, instructions, and the great seal of the colony. These were locked up in a room guarded by two sentinels, and several others were placed around the house to prevent my escape.

"The same evening committees were formed with a pretended view of examining into my government, but in reality to discover all such persons as were attached to me. In this Macarthur took an active part. On the following day Lieutenant Moore came with Major Johnston's orders, and carried away my swords and what fire-arms he found in the house; at noon three volleys were fired by the soldiers and twenty-one guns from the battery, while the royal standard was displayed; his Majesty's Commissary, the Provost Marshal, the Judge Advocate, and the Chaplain were suspended from their offices; all the magistrates were dismissed, and others appointed in their room; the most extraordinary and mutinous proclamations were issued, and even my broad pendant as Commodore on the station was ordered by Major Johnston to be struck. Thus was the mutiny complete; those who were concerned in it had got possession of the government, had turned out all the civil officers and substituted others in their room, and imposed on me an arrest which continued from the time of the mutiny till the 20th of February, 1809."

The foregoing statement relative to Governor Bligh's arrest, as given by himself, is contradicted in many particulars by other witnesses. Major Johnston in his defence related it as follows:—

"On the 26th I received a letter from the Governor, announcing his resolution to arrest six officers of the 102nd, for treasonable practices, and requiring me, as I was unable to attend myself, to appoint Major Abbott to the command of the regiment. Had these measures been adopted, there would have been but two officers to do the duty of the regiment, and the highest and most important duties must have been left to the serjeants. I was ill; Major Abbott was at Parramatta, sixteen miles off; and it could not be expected, but that the arrest of six officers, and the dread of what measures might ensue, would occasion considerable uneasiness.

"My medical friend had directed me on no account to leave my room; but sensible of the danger of this crisis, and anxious to avert impending evil, I neglected that advice, got myself dressed, and was driven to town by the aid of my

family. On my arrival, as I passed through the streets, every thing denoted terror and consternation ; I saw in every direction groups of people with soldiers amongst them, apparently in deep and earnest conversation. I repaired immediately to the barrack ; and, in order to separate the military from the people, made the drum beat to orders. The soldiers immediately repaired to the barrack yard, where they were drawn up, and where they remained.

"In the mean time an immense number of the people, comprising all the respectable inhabitants, except those who were immediately connected with Captain Bligh, rushed into the barrack and surrounded me, repeating with importunate clamour a solicitation that I would immediately place the Governor under arrest. They solemnly assured me, if I did not, an insurrection and massacre would certainly take place ; and added, that the blood of the colonists would be upon my head.

"I could not instantly resolve to adopt this measure, which, however, the parties present continued to press ; and it was urged, among other things, that the arrest of the Governor would be the preservation of his life, as the popular fury would first burst upon him and his agents. While I revolved these matters in my mind, it was mentioned that Mr. Macarthur had been taken from the custody of his bail, lodged in the common prison, and that there was much reason to fear he would be privately made away with. This intimation also produced a great sensation, and I was prevailed on by the importunity of the people present to sign and transmit an order for his discharge. While he was sent for, the solicitations to arrest the Governor were clamorously renewed ; and when Mr. Macarthur arrived, he observed to me, that if I resolved to adopt such a measure, I should not do it without a requisition in writing. He drew up a paper to that effect, which as soon as laid on the table was filled with as many signatures as it could contain. The address was in these terms :—

"'The present alarming state of this colony, in which every man's property, liberty, and life, are endangered, induces us most earnestly to implore you instantly to place Governor Bligh under an arrest, and to assume the command of the colony. We pledge ourselves at a moment of less agitation to come forward to support the measure with our fortunes and our lives.'

"This strong requisition, and the evident state of the

public mind, determined my proceeding. I dispatched four officers to Government House, to announce to Governor Bligh the necessity under which I found myself, and to assure him of every protection to his person, which I was convinced could only be rescued from the most imminent danger by the means I was pursuing; and I proposed immediately to follow the officers at the head of the regiment.

"We marched to the Government House, attended by a vast concourse of people, who were all inflamed with indignation against the Governor. On our arrival I learned that the officers I had sent had not been able to obtain an interview, but that the Governor had concealed himself. This intelligence was truly alarming, for I had every thing to fear from the agitation it was likely to produce. I immediately drew up the soldiers in a line before the Government House, and between it and the people, who were thus made to keep a respectful distance: the troops were halted, and made to stand at ease. I then directed a small number to proceed in search of the Governor, while I waited below to protect the family from injury or insult. The search occupied, according to Governor Bligh's account, two hours. At length he was found, and brought to the room where I was. When he was introduced, I gently informed him of the step which, by the requisition of the people, I had been obliged to take. He answered, he was very sorry he had incurred public displeasure; had he been aware that such would be the effect of his conduct, he would have acted otherwise; and he resigned all authority into my hands, publicly thanking me for the handsome manner in which I had carried the wishes of the people into execution. I then gave the orders I deemed necessary for the security and the protection of his person and the safety and ease of his family, and withdrew. During all this time the troops, far from being infuriate or uncontrollable, maintained the most steady order and the most perfect silence; not a man stirred from his rank, except those who were ordered, nor was a word spoken along the whole line."

Lieutenant Minchin and the soldiers who arrested Governor Bligh stated that they found him hidden under a bed in a servant's room; that he was in a state of great fright, and that when pulled from his hiding place his clothes were covered with dust, cobwebs, and feathers. Lieutenant Minchin said, "The fore part of his coat, the lappels, were full of dust, and the back part full of feathers; he appeared to be very much agitated; indeed I never saw a man so much frightened

in my life, in appearance. When I went into the room he reached his hand to me and asked me if I would protect his life." In reply to this statement of Lieutenant Minchin, and to other evidence given on Major Johnston's trial, which in reality amounted to charges of cowardice against Bligh in his conduct on that occasion, he defended himself as follows:—

"Just before I was arrested, on learning the approach of the regiment, I called for my uniform, (which is not a dress adapted to concealment); and going into the room where the papers were kept, I selected a few which I thought most important either to retain for the protection of my character, or to prevent from falling into the hands of the insurgents:—among the latter were copies of my private and confidential communications to the Secretary of State, on the conduct of several persons then in the colony: with these I retired up stairs, and having concealed some about my person, I proceeded to tear the remainder. In the attitude of stooping for this purpose, with my papers about on the floor, I was discovered by the soldiers on the other side of the bed. As to the situation in which it is said I was found, I can prove by two witnesses that it was utterly impossible; and I should have done so in the first instance, had I not thought that Colonel Johnston was incapable of degrading his defence by the admission of a slander, which, if true, affords him no excuse, and if false, is highly disgraceful. I know that Mr. Macarthur wrote the dispatch in which this circumstance is mentioned with vulgar triumph; but I could not anticipate that Colonel Johnston's address to the court would be written in the same spirit; and that after being the victim of Mr. Macarthur's intrigues he would allow himself to be made the tool of his revenge. It has been said that this circumstance would make the heroes of the British navy blush with shame and burn with indignation. I certainly at such a suggestion burn with indignation, but who ought to blush with shame I leave others to determine. The court will forgive me if I intrude a moment on their time, to mention the services in which I have been employed. For twenty-one years I have been a post-captain, and have been engaged in services of danger, not falling within the ordinary duties of my profession:—for four years with Captain Cook in the *Resolution*, and four years more as a commander myself, I traversed unknown seas, braving difficulties more terrible because less frequently encountered. In subordinate situations I fought

under Admiral Parker at the Dogger Bank, and Lord Howe at Gibraltar. In the battle of Camperdown, the Director, under my command, first silenced and then boarded the ship of Admiral de Winter; and after the battle of Copenhagen, where I commanded the *Glutton*, I was sent for by Lord Nelson to receive his thanks publicly on the quarter-deck. Was it for me then to sully my reputation and to disgrace the medal I wear by shrinking from death, which I had braved in every shape? An honourable mind will look for some other motive for my retirement, and will find it in my anxiety for those papers, which during this inquiry have been occasionally produced to the confusion of those witnesses who thought they no longer existed."

The conduct of those who assumed the reins of government after Bligh's arrest was not such as to command the respect of the colonists. Mr. John Macarthur, the man who had undoubtedly been chiefly instrumental in bringing about Bligh's deposition, was appointed, or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, appointed himself Colonial Secretary, and under that name exercised in fact the functions of Governor. Mr. Robert Campbell, the Treasurer, a man of unblemished character, was dismissed from his office, as was every officer and magistrate who was believed to be inimical to the chief actors in these rebellious proceedings, or thought to regard with dislike the little revolution which they had effected. Even a clergyman, the Rev. Henry Fulton, was suspended by a general order from discharging the duties of his office. The fate of this gentleman was singular. He had been exiled from Ireland for some participation in the rebellion of 1798. Here, on the contrary, he was punished for his loyalty.

On the day after Bligh's arrest, the following absurd proclamation was addressed to the military: "Soldiers! Your conduct has endeared you to every well-disposed inhabitant of this settlement! Persevere in the same honorable path and you will establish the credit of the New South Wales Corps on a basis not to be shaken. God save the King." A few days afterwards another General Order was issued, commanding the inhabitants to attend Divine worship, "to join in thanks to Almighty God, for His merciful interposition in their favour by relieving them without bloodshed, from the awful situation in which they stood before the memorable 26th instant." In addition to these artful proceedings, on the part of Mr. John Macarthur and his party, an attempt was

made to get up some sort of public rejoicing by means of bonfires, a display of flags, and other demonstrations. But so far as the inhabitants generally, as distinct from the military, were concerned, little or nothing appears to have been done. It must be quite evident to any one who has carefully perused the details of this little coup d'état that the public were no parties to the affair from first to last, but that it originated in a quarrel between an indiscreet, domineering, and hot-headed, but honest and well-meaning Governor on the one side, and Mr. Macarthur and his personal friends on the other. Major Johnstone, in spite of all he could do to the contrary, was drawn into this quarrel, and made a cat paw of by a far more clever and designing man than himself. Mr. Macarthur certainly played his cards with consummate skill; and, after all, it must be admitted, if what has been stated as to Bligh's opposition to his sheep-breeding projects is not exaggerated, that it was fortunate for the colony that it had in him a man equal to such an emergency, for it was better that a dozen Governors should have been arrested and sent home, than that the introduction of wool growing should have been put a stop to, and the general development of the resources of the colony prevented by a narrow-minded although honest man like Bligh. In his determination to put down monopoly and to prevent Mr. Macarthur and his friends from obtaining undue advantages, and securing by what he thought false representations large tracts of public lands, Bligh did not hesitate to resort to the most arbitrary measures, and to adopt the most illegal courses,—with the conviction, no doubt, that he was zealously serving his country and studying the best interests of the community over which he had been sent to rule.

Major Johnston had no sooner assumed his new duties as governor than he found himself thwarted by the very men who had been most urgent in inducing him to take the responsibilities he had reluctantly assumed. In writing to the Secretary of State, on the 11th April, 1808, only a few weeks after Bligh's arrest, he complained as follows: "It is with deep concern I find myself obliged to report to your lordship that the opposition of those persons from whom I had most reason to expect support has been one of the principal obstacles I have to encounter. . . . But every obstacle that knavery and cunning could desire has been interposed to distract my attention, and to retard the accomplishment of necessary objects. So widely extended is the influence of some of the persons who have been engaged

in illicit or dishonest practices, that they have contrived to form a combination with several of the better class, who ought to have held themselves superior to such connections." It is evident from the above that Major Johnston regretted when too late the steps he had been induced to take by the representations of others, rather than from his own inclination or the force of the circumstances by which he was surrounded.

Major Johnston kept Governor Bligh in custody until his superior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, then in Van Diemen's Land, could be communicated with. While in confinement the deposed governor was allowed the society of his daughter, Mrs. Putland, widow of Lieutenant Putland, commander of the Porpoise, who died only a few days before the arrest.

Towards the end of July Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux returned from England with the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor, and at once superseded Major Johnston. He did not, however, identify himself with either party, or make any changes, but administered the Government as he found it pending the action which the Imperial authorities might think proper to take when made aware of the circumstances. Colonel Foveaux administered the Government for about five months, until, at the commencement of 1809, Colonel Paterson arrived from Van Diemen's Land and superseded him. Paterson also kept aloof from both factions, deeming the matter one for the Home Government alone to decide. Governor Bligh still remained under arrest, but was allowed to occupy apartments at Government House. He was at last offered the command of the Porpoise to proceed to England if he was willing to do so; but if he insisted in remaining in the colony he was still to be considered a prisoner.

Major Johnston, understanding that Bligh had expressed an intention of bringing him before a court-martial, proceeded to England, in March, 1809, to meet any charges which might be preferred against him. He was accompanied by Mr. John Macarthur. Captain Bligh had for some time previously declined to leave the colony, or to enter into any terms whatever with Colonel Paterson, whom he designated as a rebel. At last however, on the 4th February, 1809, he consented to leave, and a written agreement was entered into between him and Colonel Paterson, by which he bound himself to embark with his family in the Porpoise, and to proceed to England with the utmost despatch. His reluctance to leave was owing in great part to an expectation he had formed that the country

settlers would rise, overthrow the existing Government, and replace him in the position from which he had been so suddenly removed. It does not appear that there was any reasonable ground for this expectation on his part, for his adherents, consisting for the most part of the small settlers and a few emancipists, were not sufficiently influential, whatever their wishes might have been, to make the attempt with the smallest chance of success.

Bligh, as soon as he found himself in command of the *Porpoise*, determined, notwithstanding his written agreement to the contrary, to make use of the opportunity thus afforded him for humbling his enemies, and regaining his position as Governor. Colonel Paterson, however, took such steps as to deter others from joining in the attempt; and Bligh seeing that there was no chance of succeeding, after waiting about a month, left Port Jackson for Van Diemen's Land. There he was at first treated by Colonel Collins with respect, but on divulging his intentions, and endeavouring to enlist the sympathy of the people in his cause, some steps were taken for his seizure. His suspicions, however, were aroused before the intention of the authorities could be carried into effect, and being in command of a ship of war their orders could not be executed, and he continued to hover on the coast until the month of December, 1809. At that period Colonel Lachlan Macquarie arrived in Sydney with instructions, if Bligh was still in the colony, to reinstate him in his position as Governor for twenty-four hours, upon which he was to resign and return to England, leaving the Government to Macquarie himself.

Colonel Macquarie finding on his arrival that Bligh had left Port Jackson several months previously, and being uncertain as to his exact whereabouts, immediately assumed the government, and issued a proclamation (dated 1st January, 1810), setting forth the instructions he had received as to the wishes of his Majesty George the Third with respect to Bligh's temporary reinstatement; and the King's strong disapproval of the "mutinous and outrageous conduct displayed in the forcible and unwarrantable removal of his late representative." Three days afterwards he issued a further proclamation, declaring all appointments made by Major Johnston, and Colonels Foveaux and Paterson, null and void, and all trials, grants, and investigations had or made under their authority invalid.

Macquarie arrived in the *Hindustan*, a fifty gun frigate,

which was accompanied by another ship, the Dromedary, having on board a large detachment of the 73rd Regiment, of which he was lieutenant-colonel; so that the new Governor, on assuming his duties, found himself in so strong a position as to be able to set all opposition at defiance if any had been attempted.

All the officers who had been removed when Bligh was arrested, were now reinstated, and the officers and men of the New South Wales Corps were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to England. Despatches were sent to Bligh at Van Diemen's Land, and in a few weeks he arrived in Sydney, where he was received as a Commodore, the naval rank which he now held. He finally left the colony on the 12th May, and arrived in England on the 25th October, 1810. Macquarie had brought out orders to send Major Johnston home under arrest, to undergo his trial; but, as before mentioned, he had long before left of his own accord to court that investigation which he rightly anticipated would be made as soon as Bligh reached England. Bligh took home several persons whose evidence he considered necessary to support his case. Before leaving Sydney, his daughter, Mrs. Putland, was married to Lieutenant O'Connell,* one of the officers of the 73rd Regiment, and during the festivities and social intercourse which followed the nuptials, much of the exasperation and ill-feeling which had prevailed among the principal colonists in consequence of the proceedings attending the late Governor's arrest were removed or allayed, the occasion being taken advantage of by common consent to bring about a reconciliation between those who had taken opposite sides, and who in many instances had evinced feelings of strong animosity towards each other. Upon his departure Bligh was presented with an address, signed by four hundred and sixty colonists, congratulating him on the termination of the persecutions to which he had been subjected, and expressing in the strongest terms the veneration and esteem with which they had always regarded him.

* Afterwards Sir Maurice O'Connell, for several years Commander of the Forces in Australia, and for a short period, in 1846, acting Governor of New South Wales. He died in Sydney in 1848. His widow (the Mrs. Putland above mentioned) survived him many years, and died in England so recently as 1864. She was a lady of much energy and decision of character, and on the occasion of the arrest of her father, Governor Bligh, behaved in so determined a manner that it was remarked at the time that if the Governor had half his daughter's judgment and courage he would never have been taken.

Colonel Johnston's trial by court-martial commenced at Chelsea Hospital on the 7th May, 1811, and terminated on 5th June following. A great many witnesses were examined on both sides, and the addresses of both prosecutor and defendant displayed considerable ability. The sentence of the Court was delivered on 2nd July, as follows: "The Court having duly and maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence adduced on the prosecution, as well as that which has been offered in defence, are of opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston is guilty of the act of mutiny as described in the charge, and do therefore sentence him to be cashiered." Mr. Macarthur, having left the army long before, could not of course be brought to trial before a court martial for his share in the affair. The Home Government, however, to mark their sense of his conduct, interdicted his return to the colony for a period of eight years. Colonel Johnston's sentence must be regarded as a virtual acquittal in so far as any moral offence was imputed. It was an acknowledgment that the novel and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed afforded some excuse, if not a full extenuation, for his conduct. His manifest breach of discipline, however, could not be overlooked; and the necessity of maintaining strict subordination under all circumstances, and more especially in such a peculiar and remote dependency as New South Wales, compelled the Court to sentence him to be cashiered. He returned to the colony shortly afterwards, and died during the rule of Governor Macquarie. He was a man universally respected; and there cannot be a doubt that he acted from first to last in the unfortunate affair which brought him for a time so prominently before the world, from the highest sense of duty and with the most scrupulous regard to honour. Whatever selfish or sinister objects may have been charged against those by whom he was surrounded and perhaps unduly influenced, no imputation of improper motives or dishonourable conduct has ever been breathed against him. He had entered the army at the early age of twelve years, and had served with distinction in every quarter of the globe. He no doubt erred in judgment in the course he adopted in arresting Governor Bligh, but every circumstance disclosed on the trial went to prove the purity of his motives and the honorable nature of his intentions.

Bligh's character seems to have been a most contradictory one—a compound of good and bad qualities,—in which egotism and humility, daring and timidity, truth and false-

X hood, candour and evasiveness, were displayed by turns. He certainly, under many of the circumstances of his chequered career, displayed self-reliance, courage, and endurance of the highest character. He had been publicly thanked by Lord Nelson on the quarter deck of his ship after the battle of Copenhagen; and at the battle of Camperdown, where he commanded the Director, he captured, by boarding the ship of Admiral de Winter, a vessel vastly superior to his own. The courage and energy he displayed, after the mutiny of his officers and crew in the Bounty, have seldom been exceeded and never surpassed. But it is impossible to regard with respect, or indeed with any other feeling than pain, his conduct at and after his arrest in Sydney. His behaviour on that occasion was undignified and unmanly in the extreme,* and the deception and falsehood he practised to

* The account given by Bligh, and the evidence adduced by his opponents as to the singular and undignified position in which he was found by the officers and soldiers, who arrested him, are so contradictory that they cannot be reconciled. Bligh stated that when he saw the soldiers approaching, he went into a back room to deliberate as to the course he should take; and that while standing in a stooping position arranging some papers, the soldiers came in and arrested him. The soldiers gave a very different version of the affair. On Colonel Johnston's trial by court martial, Serjeant John Sutherland gave evidence on oath as follows:—

What situation did you and Corporal Marlborough find Governor Bligh in, on the evening of the 26th January?

X He was under the bed, supporting himself forward upon his two hands, with one foot placed against each of the two posts, either on one side or at the bottom of the bed, with his back pressed upwards against the bottom of the bed. I saw the cover of the bed, which was hanging down, move, which made me think that something was under the bed. I put my piece under the bed, and moved it along to see if there was anything. I found nothing under the bed when first I put my piece under it.

Afterwards you did see him?

The second time I put my piece under the bed, the piece struck his boot; the boot went from the post of the bed, and made a slip on the boards.

Did you find him under the bed?

I found him under the bed, in the same form I have told the Honourable Court.

How long had the Governor been searched for when you found him?

To the best of my knowledge, it was an hour and a half before we found him, from the time we went there first.

What sort of a room was it, in which you found the Governor under the bed?

It was a room at the back of the house, formed the same as a skilling, for the steward to sleep in. When we got up stairs, we asked the steward what was in that room; the steward said there was nothing but his bed and some lumber.

Did you see any papers with him?

No, sir, I did not, indeed. I saw some dirt that came from the bottom of

get possession of the Porpoise altogether unjustifiable.* It is said that at the Mutiny of the Nore the feeling of the rebel-

the bed hanging on his epaulets and skirts, that was the first sight I got of him.

Describe the situation of the bed ?

The bed had no top or curtains to it, and it was pretty high underneath.

How high was it from the floor ?

I cannot tell exactly how high ; it was that high that Governor Bligh had room for to keep himself close to the bottom of it, and I had room to move my piece along under it without touching his feet.

Who was in the room besides yourself, and saw the situation of the Governor ?

Corporal Marlborough and William Wilford ; they both spoke to him, as I did.

Other evidence confirmed this remarkable statement.

* The following is a copy of the document signed by Bligh, pledging himself to proceed to England in the Porpoise :—

“ The Conditions upon which Colonel Paterson gives Governor Bligh (while he was in close confinement in a Subaltern’s Barrack) the command of his ship.

“ Sydney, New South Wales, 4th of February, 1809.

“ It being deemed, by Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, absolutely essential to his Majesty’s service, and the interests of this colony, to send Governor Bligh immediately to England, and it being the intention of Lieutenant-Governor Paterson to take up the ship Admiral Gambier for his conveyance ; Governor Bligh has represented that it would, on many accounts, be much more desirable to him to be allowed to return home in his Majesty’s ship Porpoise.

“ Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, anxious to contribute as much as possible to the convenience of Governor Bligh, consents to his proceeding to Europe in the Porpoise, on the following conditions, to the strict and unequivocal observance of which Governor Bligh hereby solemnly pledges his honour as an officer and a gentleman, viz. :

“ That he will embark with his family on board the Porpoise on the 20th instant, and will put to sea as soon after as the wind and weather will admit.

“ That he will proceed to England with the utmost despatch ; and that he will neither touch at, nor return to, any part of this territory, until he shall have received his Majesty’s instructions, or those of his Ministers. That he will not in any manner, or under any pretence whatever, while he remains in this colony, interfere in the government or affairs thereof, and that he will not throw any impediment in the way of the Porpoise being equipped and proceeding with him on her voyage at the stipulated time.

“ In consequence of the above pledge, Lieutenant-Governor Paterson consents to remove the additional restraints which have been laid upon Governor Bligh since the 27th of last month, and to permit him to return to Government House, and to communicate with his friends in the same manner as previous to that day ; to make such arrangements as he may deem necessary for his voyage, and to allow such persons to accompany him as he may think proper to name, agreeable to the proposition contained in the Lieutenant-Governor’s letter of the 28th ult.

“(Signed) WILLIAM BLIGH.”

“(Signed)

WILLIAM PATERSON.

lions sailors against him was very strong, and that he was the first captain deprived of his ship. Yet, in justice it must be confessed, that no instance of inhumanity, personal cruelty, or even of undue severity, has ever been substantiated against him;* and by the country settlers and the poorer classes of the colonists no governor was more beloved or regretted.†

• Captain Bligh, in refuting the imputations of inhumanity, injustice, and partiality, brought against him on Colonel Johnston's trial, spoke as follows:—

"I left the command of a 74-gun ship in the channel to take the government of the colony. In all my general orders or public regulations, not one appears founded on private interest or even friendly partiality. The barter of spirits, a source of emolument to other Governors, I prohibited. Their confined distribution, an advantage to myself in common with all the officers, I extended. The former practice of irregular committal to prison I abolished. The limits of arbitrary punishment I contracted. I consulted the general good of the colony, instead of allowing myself to be guided by the selfish policy of a few individuals, and I determined that all ranks alike should be respectful and obedient to law. But were these offences which rendered me unfit to govern?"

"From my whole conduct and character before I took the command, I ask for a favourable construction of my actions. To the regulations and orders made during my government; to the public despatches sent home to the Secretary of State; to the written instructions in opposition to any supposed verbal orders; to the list of papers seized at my arrest; I appeal, and with confidence, for proofs of my general providence, attention, and humanity, my zeal for the welfare of my country, and my anxiety for the prosperity of the colony."

† That Governor Bligh was exceedingly popular with the country settlers, and other colonists beyond the immediate influence of the military and official clique by whom he was deposed, is proved by the tenor of an address presented to him a few days before his arrest. The address was signed by eight hundred and thirty-three settlers and land-holders. It is dated January 1, 1808, and its first paragraph reads as follows:—

"May it please your Excellency,—We the undersigned free and principal proprietors of landed property, and inhabitants of the rising and extensive colony of New South Wales, beg leave, on the beginning of another year, to approach your Excellency, and express the fullest unfeigned sense of gratitude for the manifold great and essential blessings and benefits we freely continue to enjoy from your Excellency's arduous, just, determined and salutary government over us, happily evinced by the present plenteous and flourishing state of this country, rapidly growing in population, opulence, and all improvements calculated by a wise and patriotic Government to make a large colony of people happy and rich in all their internal resources; and while enjoying, from year to year, such inexpressible benefits under your Excellency's auspicious and benign government, we feel and hold ourselves gratefully bound, at the risk of our lives and properties, at all times (as liege subjects) to support the same, and ever prove ourselves worthy of a continuation of your protection, attention, and encouragement, during your Excellency's gracious government over us, which may God long continue!"

It will be seen that Bligh, in his account of the condition of the colony when he assumed the government, painted it in the darkest colors. He represented many of the country settlers as in want of the common necessities of life, and Sydney itself as being in a state of decay. Yet in the address presented to him a few days before his arrest, and numerous signed by the very class of persons said by him a few months previously to have been starving, the existing state of things is mentioned as one of great prosperity, and the people as rapidly increasing in opulence. The truth probably lay between the two extremes. But whatever their physical and commercial condition may have been, it is certain that in a social, moral, and religious point of view, nothing could have been worse. There was during the greater part of the years 1808 and 1809 not a single ordained minister of religion of any denomination regularly exercising his functions in the colony. The first colonial chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, had left the colony some years previously; the Rev. Samuel Marsden was absent on a visit to England; the Rev. Mr. Fulton had been taken prisoner, and interdicted by those who usurped the government from practising his holy vocation; one of the refugee missionaries from Tahiti, the Rev. W. P. Crook, held divine service occasionally both in Sydney and Parramatta, but this was the only clerical instruction afforded to a population of several thousands, standing probably as much in need of the restraining influence of religious teaching as any community in Christendom. Holt, in his memoirs, speaking of the want of clergymen at this period, says:—"The Rev. Mr. Fulton was made prisoner, leaving us without minister or priest of any kind. There was no clergyman to visit the sick, baptise the infants, or church the women, so we were reduced to the same state as the heathen natives. My son wished to be married, and I approved the match, but there was no one to marry them. I remembered, however, to have heard that in such cases a magistrate might perform the marriage ceremony; so I went to Colonel Paterson, to procure a license from him for them to be married, and we all then proceeded to Major Abbott, who performed the ceremony in the presence of Mr. Finucane, the Secretary."

The Rev. S. Marsden in his visit to England at this time had a double object in view. In the first place to secure for the colony additional clergymen and schoolmasters; and in the second to obtain some fine-woolled Merino sheep for the improvement of his flocks, which, next to those of Mr.

Macarthur, were at this time the best and most numerous in the colony. He was successful in securing both the objects of his voyage. The late Venerable Archdeacon Cowper and the late Rev. Robert Cartwright were both brought to the colony through his instrumentality, as were also two or three schoolmasters, who were almost as much needed at this period as clergymen. Mr. Marsden found suitable ministers and schoolmasters, at that period, very difficult to procure, but the Merino sheep more difficult than either. He was, however, a man not easily daunted. He took samples of his colonial-grown wool to Leeds, had some of it manufactured, and by this means secured the co-operation of influential persons, and obtained an introduction to King George the Third. His Majesty, who had always taken a lively interest in the progress of the colony, when informed of Mr. Marsden's wish consented to grant his prayer for a couple of fine-woolled Spanish merinos. He indeed exceeded the request, and made the petitioner a present of five very fine animals, which arrived safely in the colony, and probably became the progenitors of millions. Mr. Marsden was absent on his visit to England more than two years, and in addition to the clerical and scholastic assistance which he brought back with him, returned loaded with donations of books and other articles calculated to be of great benefit in the then state of the colony.

[END OF THE THIRD PART.]

AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION.—PART IV.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNOR MACQUARIE, HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY—HIS PARTIALITY FOR THE
EMANCIPIST CLASS—HIS EXTENSIVE BUILDING OPERATIONS. DISCOVERY OF
A PRACTICABLE ROUTE ACROSS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS. A NEW CHARTER OF
JUSTICE.

COLONEL LACHLAN MACQUARIE, the successor of Captain Bligh in the government of New South Wales, was a very different man from his predecessor. He was as politic, wary, and courteous, as the other was rash, impulsive, and violent. Macquarie, at the time of his appointment, was lieutenant-colonel of the 73rd Regiment. He entered upon his duties as governor under most favourable circumstances. The two classes of colonists—the small settlers and the emancipists—upon whom Governors King and Bligh had depended for support when placing themselves in antagonism to the military and official monopolists and exclusives, were neither numerous enough nor wealthy enough to back them up, effectually while the power of the little oligarchy remained unbroken. The former had, however, been gradually acquiring wealth and influence, and now that most of the New South Wales Corps were removed, and the Governor, as colonel of the regiment of the line which formed the garrison, was ruler in fact as well as in name, Mr. John Macarthur prohibited from setting foot in the colony, and many of the other members of the once dominant clique under a cloud in consequence of the steps they had taken in connexion with Bligh's arrest, they—that is the small settlers and emancipists—were able to assert and maintain their claims to consideration, and in return for the vice-regal patronage extended to them, were willing to give effectual support to a governor who showed himself disposed to recognise their rights and to free himself by their influence from the shackles which had proved too strong for his predecessors.

Macquarie was, however, far too just, politic, and far-seeing a man to thwart intentionally the designs of those who were

endeavouring to enrich themselves by developing, in a legitimate manner, the great natural resources of the country. Whilst protecting the industrious, and rewarding the thrifty amongst the smaller settlers and emancipated convicts, he desired to encourage capitalists and men of energy and ambition, in the prosecution of their enterprises. The countenance which he extended towards the emancipists took the form of social as well as civil and political recognition. As colonel of the 73rd Regiment he was in a position to introduce to the mess table such persons as he thought entitled—from the way in which they had conducted themselves during their colonial career, and the consideration in which they were held by most of their fellow-colonists—to be restored to that station in society from which they had for a time fallen. From the regimental mess table their introduction to the houses and families of the before exclusive class was, he thought, comparatively easy; and when this was to a small extent accomplished, mainly through the influence of his personal example, he did not hesitate to elevate some of them to the magisterial bench. It is difficult now to justify all that Macquarie did in this matter, and it is happily impossible to reproduce such a state of things as then existed. He had thrown himself, from the necessity of his position, on the support of the people, as distinct from those who had hitherto formed the ruling class—and he probably found it absolutely necessary in self-defence to elevate some of the more popular and influential of the emancipated settlers to a social and civil position corresponding to that of the privileged few who had dictated to previous governors the course they should adopt.

It has before been mentioned that the first acts of Macquarie's rule were the issuing of proclamations declaring all the proceedings of the usurping government null and void. The instructions he had brought with him left him a discretionary power as to the ultimate steps to be taken with regard to these illegal proceedings. The many grants of land and other important matters which Colonel Johnston and others had issued and undertaken, would, if entirely set aside, bring ruin upon many innocent people. Macquarie, therefore, as soon as he had sufficiently vindicated the prerogative of the crown, and the authority of the regularly appointed officers, consented to ratify the acts of the temporary government, to endorse their bills on the Imperial Treasury, and to confirm their grants of land.

In August, 1809, a few months previous to Macquarie's arrival, occurred the highest flood which had ever taken place since the settlement of the colony. It is stated to have been six or eight feet higher than the great flood of March, 1806; and the Hawkesbury is reported to have risen eighty-six feet above the usual level of the stream. This seems almost incredible, for such a rise must have covered nearly the whole of the country for miles around Windsor to the depth of several feet. There does not appear to have been any recognised standard or gauge in those days by which the relative heights of the different floods, or the actual height of any particular inundation, could be satisfactorily ascertained; and under such circumstances traditionary accounts are almost sure to be exaggerations. It seems to be generally allowed, however, that the flood of 1809 was the highest ever known at the Hawkesbury. The destruction of life and property was larger than on any previous occasion; and the distress occasioned appears to have been of a very severe character. When Macquarie arrived, and up to the middle of 1810, many months afterwards, bread was still at famine price, and almost all kinds of provisions exceedingly scarce.

Macquarie took a deep interest in the welfare and advancement of the rural population of the colony, and shortly after his arrival visited most of the country districts, in order that he might be able to judge from personal observation as to the condition of the people, and be in a position to suggest means of improvement. What he thought of the state of things which he saw may be gathered from the following paragraph in a General Order, which he published on his return to Sydney:—

“His Excellency cannot forbear expressing his regret, that the settlers in general have not paid that attention to domestic comfort which they ought to do, by erecting commodious residences for themselves, and suitable housing for the reception of their grain and cattle; nor can he refrain from observing on the miserable clothing of many of the people, whose means of providing decent apparel, at least, are sufficiently obvious to leave them without any excuse for that neglect. His Excellency, therefore, earnestly recommends and trusts that they will pay more attention to those very important objects; and, by a strict regard to economy and temperance, that they will, on his next annual tour, enable him to give a more unqualified approbation to their exertions.”

In order to raise the condition of the settlers, to bring them within reach of a market, and under the protection of the laws, Macquarie set about improving the roads and other means of communication, which had for some time before his arrival been allowed to fall into a state of dilapidation. In order to encourage a better class of buildings, he set the example by erecting in Sydney and several other places many very substantial and convenient public structures. It is probable also that the necessity under which he found himself of finding employment for the fast increasing numbers of the prison population which the Home Government poured upon the shores of New South Wales at this period, had much to do with the extensive building operations in which he engaged. He erected barracks, stores, hospitals, public offices, churches, school-houses, watch-houses, gaols, bridges, wharves, and many other buildings. The total number of these places built during his administration, extending over a period of about twelve years, was upwards of two hundred in New South Wales and about fifty in Van Diemen's Land. Many of them were very substantial structures, but several which still remain afford much stronger evidence of the energy than the taste of their founder. Their architectural merits, however, ought to be estimated rather with reference to the wretched and unsightly structures which they displaced than the more costly and elegant public and private edifices erected in the colony during the last few years. Macquarie's lavish expenditure of labour in building has been very strongly condemned, and characterised as a foolish and wasteful employment of great means, which properly applied might have tended to the advancement and permanent prosperity of the colony. But his apologists and admirers say, that the number of free settlers was then too small, and the capital at their command too limited, to absorb all the prison labour which the Governor had to dispose of; and that he was therefore driven to cut out work in order to keep the people placed under his charge from idleness. There can be no doubt, however, that at last he rode his brick and mortar hobby most unmercifully. He appears to have been in some respects a very vain man, and to have carried to a ridiculous extent his desire to see his name cut on stone on every public building. To such a degree was his passion for this mural tablet sort of fame pursued that nearly every one of his two hundred and fifty buildings bore on its front the name of Lachlan Macquarie. Perhaps in this respect no king or conqueror ever left his impress on a country

to such an extent as did the Governor of the then insignificant penal settlement of New South Wales.

Among Macquarie's earliest and most useful works were the construction of greatly improved roads to Windsor and Liverpool, the main thoroughfares to the principal agricultural districts. He soon afterwards extended these roads many miles further, and ultimately carried them beyond the Blue Mountains. The discovery of a route across these hitherto impassable barriers, which took place in 1813, was indeed the most remarkable event of his administration. Soon after his arrival, seeing the comparatively narrow space to which the colonists were confined, he held out every encouragement to those who were desirous of exploring the interior. The fact has been previously mentioned that, in 1799, a convict named Wilson, with five companions, succeeded in crossing these formidable obstacles to the extension of colonisation. Their statements on their return were, however, so generally discredited and ridiculed, that no result followed, and the circumstance had apparently been long forgotten, when, in 1812 and 1813, the prevalence of a drought compelled the settlers to seek new pastures for their flocks and herds. The live stock in the colony at this period amounted to 65,121 sheep, 21,543 horned cattle, and 1891 horses, a wonderful increase considering the obstacles at first encountered to their introduction and breeding.

It was in May, 1813, that Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson made a successful attempt to penetrate the mountain chain which had so long confined the efforts and energies of the colonists to a narrow space. In their first attempt they succeeded with considerable difficulty in reaching Mount York, upwards of thirty miles, in a direct line, beyond the Nepean River, and discovered the beautiful vale of Clwyd lying before them to the north-west. The following account of their journey, and the difficulties they experienced in overcoming natural obstacles now traversed by good roads, and where a line of railway is almost ready for working, will be read with interest. It is compiled from a narrative published by Mr. Blaxland a short time afterwards:—

The party consisted of Mr. Gregory Blaxland, Mr. William C. Wentworth, and Lieutenant Lawson, attended by four servants, with five dogs, and four horses laden with provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries. They left Mr. Blaxland's farm at the South Creek on May 11, 1813, crossed

the Nepean, or Hawkesbury River, at the ford at Emu Island, and having proceeded, according to their calculation, two miles in a south-west direction, through forest land and good pasture, encamped at five o'clock at the foot of the first ridge. On the following morning they proceeded about three miles and a quarter, in a direction varying from south-west to west north-west; but for a third of the way, due west. The land was covered with scrubby brushwood, very thick in places, with some trees of ordinary timber, which much incommoded the horses. The greater part of the way they had deep rocky gullies on each side of their track, and the ridge they followed was very crooked and intricate. In the evening they encamped at the head of a deep gully, which they had to descend for water; they found but just enough for the night, contained in a hole in the rock, near which they met with a kangaroo, which had just been killed by an eagle.

After travelling about a mile on the third day, in a west and north-west direction, they arrived at a large track of forest land, rather hilly, the grass and timber tolerably good. They computed it at two thousand acres. Here they found a track marked by an European, by cutting the bark of the trees. Several native huts presented themselves at different places. They had not proceeded above two miles, when they found themselves stopped by a brushwood much thicker than they had hitherto met with. This induced them to alter their course, and to endeavour to find another passage to the westward; but every ridge which they explored terminated in a deep rocky precipice; and they had no alternative but to return to the thick brushwood, which appeared to be the main ridge, with the determination to cut a way through for the horses on the next day. This day, some of the horses fell several times under their loads. The dogs killed a large kangaroo. The party encamped in the forest track, with plenty of good grass and water.

On the next morning, leaving two men to take care of the horses and provisions, they proceeded to cut a path through the thick brushwood, on what they considered as the main ridge of the mountain, between the Western (Cox's) River and the River Grose; keeping the heads of the gullies, which were supposed to empty themselves into the Western River on their left hand, and into the River Grose on their right. As they ascended the mountain, these gullies became much deeper, and more rocky on each side. They now began to mark their track by cutting the bark of the trees on two sides.

Having out their way for about five miles, they returned in the evening to the spot on which they had encamped the night before. The fifth day was spent in prosecuting the same tedious operation; but, as much time was necessarily lost in walking twice over the tract cleared the day before, they were unable to cut away more than two miles further. They found no food for the horses the whole way.

On Sunday they rested, and arranged their future plan, and on Monday, the 17th, having laden the horses with as much grass as could be put on them, in addition to their other burdens, they moved forward along the path which they had cleared and marked, about six miles and a half. The bearing of the route they had been obliged to keep along the ridge varied exceedingly; it ran sometimes in a north-north-west direction, sometimes south-east, or due south, but generally south-west, or south-south-west. They encamped in the afternoon between two very deep gullies, on a narrow ridge, Grose Head bearing north-east by north; and Mount Banks north-west by west. They had to fetch water up the side of the precipice, about six hundred feet high, and could get scarcely enough for the party. The horses had none this night. The following day was spent in cutting a passage through the brushwood, for a mile and a half further. They returned to their camp at five o'clock, very much tired and dispirited. The ridge, which was not more than fifteen or twenty yards over, with deep precipices on each side, was rendered almost impassable by a perpendicular mass of rock, nearly thirty feet high, extending across the whole breadth, with the exception of a small broken rugged track in the centre. By removing a few large stones they were enabled to pass.

On Wednesday, the 19th, the party moved forward along this path; bearing chiefly west, and west-south-west. They now began to ascend the second ridge of the mountains, and from the elevation, for the first time, they obtained an extensive view of the settlements below. At a little distance from the spot at which they began the ascent, they found a pyramidal heap of stones, the work, evidently of some European, one side of which the natives had opened, probably in the expectation of finding some treasure deposited in it. This pile they concluded to be the one erected many years before by Mr. Bass, to mark the end of his journey. That gentleman had attempted, in 1796, to pass the mountains, and to penetrate into the interior; but, having got thus far, he

gave up the undertaking as impracticable, reporting, on his return, that the achievement was impossible.*

On the 20th, they proceeded nearly five miles, and encamped at noon at the head of a swamp. The ridge along which their course lay now became wider and more rocky, but was still covered with brush and small crooked timber, except at the heads of the different streams of water which ran down the side of the mountain, where the land was swampy and clear of trees. The track of scarcely any animal was to be seen, and very few birds. Their progress, the next day, was in a direction still varying from north-west by north to south-west. In the beginning of the night the dogs ran off, and barked violently. At the same time, something was distinctly heard to run through the brushwood, which they supposed to be one of the horses got loose; but they had reason to believe afterwards, that they had been in great danger—that the natives had followed their track, and advanced on them in the night, intending to have speared them by the light of their fire, but that the dogs drove them off.

On Saturday, the 22nd, they proceeded in the track marked the preceding day, rather more than three miles in a south-westerly direction, when they reached the summit of the third and highest ridge of the mountains southward of Mount Banks. From the bearing of Prospect Hill, and Grose Head, they computed this spot to be eighteen miles in a straight line from the River Nepean, at the point at which they crossed it. From the summit they had a fine view of all the settlements and country eastward, and of a great extent of country to the westward and south-west. But their progress in both the latter directions was stopped by an impassable barrier of rock, which appeared to divide the interior from the coast as with a stone wall, rising perpendicularly out of the side of the mountain.

In the afternoon they left their little camp in the charge of three of the men, and made an attempt to descend the precipice, by following some of the streams of water, or by getting down at some of the projecting points where the rocks had fallen in; but they were baffled in every instance. In some places the perpendicular height of the rocks above the earth below, could not be less than four hundred feet. Could they have accomplished a descent, they hoped to procure mineral

* See page 175.

specimens which might throw light on the geological character of the country, as the strata appeared to be exposed for many hundred feet from the top of the rocks to the beds of the several rivers beneath. The aspect of the country which lay beneath them much disappointed the travellers; it appeared to consist of sand and small scrubby brushwood, intersected with broken rocky mountains, with streams of water running between them to the eastward towards one point, where they considered they probably formed the Western River, and entered the mountains. They now flattered themselves that they had surmounted half the difficulties of their undertaking, expecting to find a passage down the mountain more to the northward.

On the next day the bearing of their course was at first north-east and north, and then changed to north-west and north-north west. They encamped on the side of a swamp, with a beautiful stream of water running through it. Their progress on the following day was four miles and a half, in a direction varying from north-north-west to south-south-west; they encamped, as before, at the head of a swamp. This day, between ten and eleven a.m., they obtained a sight of the country below, when the clouds ascended. As they were marking a road for the morrow, they heard a native chopping wood very near them. He fled at the approach of the dogs.

On Tuesday, the 25th, they could proceed only three miles and a half in a varying direction, encamping at two o'clock at the side of a swamp. The underwood being very prickly and full of small thorns, annoyed them very much. This day they saw the track of the wombat for the first time. On the 26th they proceeded two miles and three quarters. The brush still continued to be very thorny. The land to the westward appeared sandy and barren. This day they saw the fires of some natives below; the number they computed at about thirty, men, women, and children. They noticed also more tracks of the wombat.

On the 27th, they proceeded five miles and a quarter, and on the 28th, about five miles and three quarters. Not being able to find water, they did not halt till five o'clock, when they took up their station on the edge of the precipice. To their great satisfaction, they discovered that what they had supposed to be sandy barren land below the mountain was forest land, covered with good grass, but with timber of an inferior quality. In the evening, they contrived to get their horses down the mountain, by cutting a small trench with a

hoe, which kept them from slipping, where they again tasted fresh grass for the first time since they left the forest land on the other side of the mountain. They were getting into miserable condition. Water was found two miles below the foot of the mountain. The natives moved off before them about three miles.

On the 29th, they began to descend the mountain through a pass in the rock, about thirty feet wide, which they had discovered the day before, when the want of water put them on the alert. Part of the descent was so steep, that the horses could but just keep their footing without a load; so that, for some way, the party were obliged to carry the packages themselves. This pass was, according to their computation, about twenty miles north-west in a straight line from the point at which they ascended the summit of the mountain. They reached the foot at nine o'clock, a.m., and proceeded two miles, north-north-west, mostly through open meadow land, clear of trees, the grass from two to three feet high. They encamped on the bank of a fine stream of water. The natives, as observed by the smoke of their fires, moved before them as yesterday. The dogs killed a kangaroo, which was very acceptable, as the party had lived on salt meat since they caught the last. The timber seen this day appeared rotten and unfit for building.

Sunday, the 30th, they rested in their encampment. One of the party shot a kangaroo with his rifle, at a great distance across a wide valley. The climate here was found very much colder than that of the mountain, or of the settlements on the east side, where no sign of frost had made its appearance when the party set out. During the night, the ground was covered with a thick frost, and a leg of the kangaroo was quite frozen. From the dead and brown appearance of the grass, it was evident that the weather had been severe for some time past. They were all much surprised at this degree of cold and frost, in the latitude of about 34 degrees. The track of the emu was noticed at several places near the camp.

On the next day, they proceeded about six miles south-west and west, through forest land, remarkably well watered, and several open meadows, clear of trees and covered with high good grass. They crossed two fine streams of water. Traces of the natives presented themselves in the fires they had left the day before, and in the flowers of the honeysuckle tree scattered around, which had supplied them with food. These flowers, which are shaped like a bottle-brush, are very

full of honey. The natives on this side of the mountains appeared to have no huts, like those on the eastern side, nor did they strip the bark, or climb the trees. From the shavings and pieces of sharp stones which they had left, it was evident that they had been busily employed in sharpening their spears.

The party encamped by the side of a fine stream of water, at a short distance from a high hill, in the shape of a sugar loaf. In the afternoon they ascended its summit, from whence they descried, all around, forest or grass land, sufficient in extent, in their opinion, to support the stock of the colony for the next thirty years. This was the extreme point of their journey. The distance they had travelled, they computed at about fifty-eight miles nearly north-west; that is, fifty miles through the mountain and eight miles through the forest land beyond it, reckoning the descent of the mountain to be half-a-mile to the foot.

They now conceived that they had sufficiently accomplished the design of their undertaking, having surmounted all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented the interior of the country from being explored, and the colony from being extended. They had partly cleared, or, at least marked out, a road by which the passage of the mountain might easily be effected. Their provisions were nearly expended, their clothes and shoes were in very bad condition, and the whole party were ill with dysentery. These considerations determined them, therefore, to return home by the track they came. On Tuesday, the 1st of June, they arrived at the foot of the mountain which they had descended, where they encamped for the night. The following day they began to ascend the mountain at seven o'clock, and reached the summit at ten; they were obliged to carry the packages themselves part of the ascent. They encamped in the evening at one of their old stations. On Sunday, the 6th of June, they crossed the river and reached their homes in good health.

Such is the modest narrative of the successful accomplishment of an undertaking, the difficulties of which had set the efforts of preceding explorers, during a quarter of a century, at defiance. Its achievement was the commencement of a new era in the history of the colony. No longer confined to the comparatively barren strip of coast land to the east of the mountains, the settlers acquired fresh vigour as they found their prospects expanding, and saw the great plains of the interior thrown open to their occupation. It is from this time that the real prosperity of the colony dates.

The discovery by Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson, of a practicable route across the mountains was quickly followed by important results. In the month of November following (1813), the Governor despatched an exploring party, under the direction of Mr. George William Evans, one of the assistant land surveyors, to follow up the discoveries made and to traverse the country to the westward as far as practicable. Mr. Evans's statement on his return more than confirmed the anticipations which had been formed with respect to the new country. His account says, that on the fifth day after crossing the Nepean, he and his party having effected their passage over the Blue Mountains arrived at the commencement of a valley on the western side of them. This valley Mr. Evans describes as beautiful and fertile, with a rapid stream running through it. It was the termination of the tour lately made by Messrs. Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson. Continuing in a westerly direction, for twenty-one days from this station, Mr. Evans at length found it necessary to return; and on the 8th of January he arrived back at Emu Island, after an absence of seven weeks. During the course of this tour, he passed over several plains of great extent, interspersed with hills and valleys, abounding in the richest soil, and with various streams of water and chains of ponds. The country he traversed was ninety-eight miles beyond the termination of Messrs. Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson's tour, and one hundred and fifty miles from the Nepean. The greater part of these plains are described as being nearly free of timber and brushwood, and in capacity equal (in Mr. Evans's opinion) to every demand which the colony might have for an extension of tillage and pasture lands for a century to come. The stream already mentioned continued its course in a westerly direction; and for several miles passed through valleys, with many and great accessions of other streams, and at length became a capacious and beautiful river, abounding in fish of very large size and fine flavour, many of which weighed not less than fifteen pounds. From the summits of some very high hills, Mr. Evans saw a vast extent of flat country, lying in a westerly direction, which appeared to be bounded at a distance of about forty miles by other hills. The general description of these heretofore unexplored regions given by Mr. Evans was, that they very far surpassed in beauty and fertility of soil any he had seen in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land.

One of the extensive tracts which Mr. Evans discovered was

named Bathurst Plains, and the streams he traced for some distance, the Macquarie and Lachlan rivers. One of them, as had been described many years before by Wilson and his party, ran to the north-west and the other to the south-west into the great unknown interior. This discovery of extensive tracts of fine grazing country gave great encouragement to the settlers and an impetus to the progress of the colony, which sent it rapidly forward in the road to prosperity.

Governor Macquarie, almost from the first, appears to have discouraged, as much as possible, the influx of free settlers. He was fond of power and fearful of strengthening by numbers the influence of a class that could not be ruled by general orders and prison regulations. Previous to his time there had been a small but steady influx of free persons—small capitalists for the most part—attracted by the grants of land and cheap labour which the Home Government very liberally offered to those who were willing to brave the discomforts and dangers of a five or six months' voyage, and who could reconcile themselves to pass a considerable part of their lives in a penal colony at the antipodes. The opposition which the wealthier portion of the free settlers showed to Macquarie's policy of elevating some of the emancipists to the magisterial bench and to social equality with themselves, was met on his part by daily increasing manifestations of favour towards those on whose support he was in a great measure driven to rely. He saw that his predecessor had been deposed by a few wealthy colonists and their military friends, and self-preservation suggested the desirability of raising up a class on whom he could calculate with certainty; and whose numbers, rapidly increasing wealth, and daily extending influence, would be sure to be exerted in opposition to those who had so long been dominant. With the view of encouraging the class of emancipists, Macquarie did not hesitate to depart from the practice of his predecessors, which had been to give grants of land only to free or freed persons of good character. His opponents say that he bestowed farms on all whose sentences had expired, without requiring the slightest evidence that they were worthy of such favours. Many of these men, indeed the majority of them, averse to the practice of honest industry, soon disposed of land so easily acquired. A few quarts of rum, or any other means of gratifying their passion for present and sensual indulgence, offered too great a temptation to be resisted by people of

their habits and character. There can be no doubt that the hope of possessing property, particularly in land, affords a very strong motive for industry and good conduct; and had Macquarie's liberality been kept within reasonable bounds, and conferred only on such persons as had given some signs of reformation, or offered some pledge that they would not be likely to abuse it, nothing could be said in its disparagement. But the opposition he manifested to the introduction of a free immigrant population, and his avowed opinions in favour of the prison class, were so strong as not only to put a complete stop to the influx of the former during the greater part of his administration, but to create and sustain an opinion among the latter that they alone had any right in the colony, and that the others were intruders whose presence ought scarcely to be tolerated.

Macquarie's first act towards humbling the pride and lowering the position of the wealthy free colonists, and raising that of the emancipated prisoners, was the elevation of one Andrew Thompson to the magistracy, and his introduction to the society at Government House. Thompson was a storekeeper at the Hawkesbury, and appears to have been a man of considerable natural ability and great force of character; but he had the reputation of being by no means a very scrupulous or moral person. It is said that the influence and advice of Colonel Foveaux caused Macquarie to select Thompson for this special mark of favour and distinction. The story is, that Foveaux disgusted with Macquarie's strong leaning towards the class to which Thompson belonged, thought to make the Governor suffer for his error by recommending the man most likely to get himself and his patron into a scrape; and that, upon learning that Thompson had actually been gazetted as a justice of the peace, he exclaimed, "I have placed a blister upon Governor Macquarie which he will never be able to remove." Macquarie, who was by no means deficient in that kind of ability which finds its expression in cutting sarcasm, said in reference to the opposition raised in consequence of his appointment to the bench of a man of Thompson's antecedents, that he had but two classes to choose from, those who had been transported and those—who ought to have been. Thompson, perhaps fortunately for Macquarie, died soon afterwards; and although the mere fact of his appointment widened the breach before existing between the wealthier portion of the free colonists and the emancipists, it does not appear that any particular act of his

as a magistrate either compromised the Governor or degraded the bench. The next emancipist appointed to the magistracy was Mr. Redfern, a surgeon. He had been transported in consequence of having shown some sympathy with Parker and the seamen at the Mutiny of the *Nore*. He was at that time a mere youth, acting as surgeon's-assistant in one of the ships of the fleet. Like most young men of spirit, and of generous feelings, he felt for the wrongs of the seamen, and did not hesitate to say so. An indiscreet expression having come to the ears of some person in authority, he was accused of complicity with the mutineers, and being placed upon his trial, was found guilty, and condemned to death. The extreme penalty, however, was not carried out, but commuted to transportation for life. It was admitted on all hands, after the mutiny had been put down, that the seamen had been driven to open revolt by ill-treatment and tyranny, and the sentiments expressed by young Redfern were shared by a large majority of the nation. No further stain was upon his character, and it was evident that he had been punished as an example, at a time of great national commotion, for an offence which, if noticed at all, would at any other time have escaped with a reprimand. His appointment to the bench could not be objected to on any other ground than that he was an emancipist. There was, however, great opposition to his reception at their mess-table by the younger portion especially of the officers of the two regiments then in the colony. The course they took, however was not approved by some of their seniors. There can be no doubt that Macquarie was fully justified in endeavouring to elevate the position in society of those of the emancipist class who had given evidence of a reformation of character; and in the case of persons transported for political offences, and for crimes of the nature of that for which Mr Redfern was punished, there could be no good objection against their being made magistrates, if their character during their residence in the colony, and their position in other respects, were such as to justify the step, or the circumstances of the colony to require it.

The circumstances connected with Bligh's deposition, and the complaints which during many years had reached the British government relative to the monopolising and grasping spirit of the officers and their friends, led at length to a Parliamentary inquiry into the state of the colony. This took place in 1812, and many witnesses—returned prisoners as well as colonists and officers—were examined. Some of the

evidence received has been given in a previous chapter.* The principal result which followed was an alteration of the mode in which the law was administered. The courts of justice in existence in the colony up to this period were those which had been established under the authority of 27 George III., at the foundation of the settlement in 1788. The sittings of these courts were presided over by a judge-advocate or his deputy; and the jury, or rather members, were six military officers. The court could only assemble on the summons of the Governor, who likewise nominated the officers composing it—that is, the Governor chose the jury, while the judge-advocate framed the indictments, and exercised the functions of a grand jury. It is not at all wonderful that such arbitrary power was frequently abused; but it is strange that it should have been allowed to continue for nearly a quarter of a century. The method of procedure in these courts was as follows:—The prosecutor conducted his own case, and the witnesses were heard in open court. Unanimity in the jury was not required. The verdict of five out of the seven persons composing the court was sufficient in even capital cases. The judge-advocate deliberated with the jurors in secret, and delivered their sentence or finding when the doors were opened. Bad as this was, the alteration made in consequence of the Parliamentary inquiry of 1812 could hardly, in some respects, be regarded as an improvement. The new charter of justice then conferred upon the colony called two courts into existence, termed the Governor's Court and the Supreme Court. The machinery of the first, which was in fact rather a modification of the previously existing tribunal, than a new court, consisted of a judge-advocate and two assessors appointed by the Governor, and its jurisdiction was restricted to civil causes in which the sum of money or the value of the land or chattel property in dispute did not exceed £50. The Supreme Court consisted of a judge, appointed under the King's sign manual, and therefore comparatively independent of local authority, with two magistrates as assistants or assessors, appointed by the Governor. This court had all the powers incident to a court of record, and was specially authorised to nominate the necessary officers and clerks to carry out its functions and to execute its decrees. It possessed an ordinary, an equity, and an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and was empowered to administer justice in accordance with the rules and practice of the Court of Chancery in England. A court was also established in Van Diemen's Land, called the

* See page 384. Digitized by Google

Lieutenant-Governor's Court, with powers corresponding to those of the Governor's Court in Sydney.

In July, 1814, the first judge of the Supreme Court, Jeffrey Hart Bent, Esq., arrived in the colony. There was considerable delay, however, in carrying out the purpose for which he came; and it was not until May in the following year that the Supreme Court was formally established, and when it was established circumstances arose which for a long period prevented its practical operation. One of the first collisions which Macquarie had with the officers of his government arose out of his partiality for the emancipist class, and occurred in connexion with the establishment of the Supreme Court, on account of certain attorneys who had originally been transported, but who had become free by the expiration of their sentences, claiming the right to practice in it. They applied to Macquarie to sanction and enforce their claim, and when Judge Bent was about to open his court, they brought him a letter, addressed to him by the Governor, (enclosing petitions from themselves and other persons soliciting the desired permission to practice,) strongly recommending compliance with their request. Upon the court being constituted, it was found that both the assessors were in favour of granting the prayer of the petitioners, but that the judge was as deaf to their wishes as inattentive to the Governor's letter. He addressed the court on the subject, in a tone which gave great offence to the Governor's party generally and to the emancipists in particular. The general tenor of his remarks may be gathered from his concluding observations, which were as follows :—

“It is with considerable regret that I have to state, that the undue steps resorted to with regard to these petitioners have in some degree prevailed; and that gentlemen have been found who have thought proper to differ from me on a point of pure professional feeling and practice; and to say that those persons, whom they confess it is a disgrace to admit to their tables or to suffer any part of their families to associate with, are fit and proper persons to be admitted to the situation of attorney in his Majesty's Supreme Court, notwithstanding gentlemen have been sent out by the Crown for that purpose.

“I do now solemnly declare, that I will not admit as attorneys of this Court, nor administer the oaths to persons who have been transported here as felons: It is contrary to

law, and no circumstances and no necessity can exist so strong in my mind as to induce me to do it."

An altercation between the judge and the assessors followed, and the Court was adjourned *sine die*, without any business having been transacted. Macquarie, as might have been expected, espoused very warmly the cause of the emancipist attorneys, and forwarded strong representations of Judge Bent's conduct to Earl Bathurst, then the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He contended that it was an unjustifiable interference with the policy which guided his administration, and with the salutary measures he had initiated for the reformation of the convict population. It is difficult to understand how such a person as Mr. Bent—a man who was unable to distinguish between social usages and legal rights—could have been selected for the very responsible office he held. His refusal to allow attorneys to practice in his court, because he did not choose to invite them to his table, shows to what an extent class feelings were at that time carried. Even if he had been right in the abstract, the circumstances in which he and the Governor were placed were such as to render the course he took not only highly impolitic but injurious to the community. It must be recollected that the colonists had then, for the first time, by the institution of the Supreme Court, received a small instalment of constitutional rule. Hitherto law had been administered by machinery far more arbitrary than any despotism of the present day. But the substitution of a judge and his two assessors for the Governor and his General Orders or the Judge-Advocate and his jury of officers, would have been considered a retrograde step rather than an advance or a benefit conferred, if the judge and assessors were to administer the law unchecked by the presence of counsel or advocates of any kind. The emancipist attorneys were then, with the exception of the officials, the only lawyers in the colony—for no gentlemen of the legal profession had at that time found their way to New South Wales except at the Government expense, and presumably for the good of the country they had left. Such advocates were certainly better than none at all; for even in much more straight-laced communities than that of New South Wales, the cause of a prisoner or a client is not as a rule considered to be much damaged by the want of moral character in the attorney he employs. Judge Bent's exclusion of emancipist attorneys from his

court was in effect the exclusion of legal advocates altogether, and made his tribunal as completely or more despotic than if it had been a military one.

Earl Bathurst saw at once that it was necessary to uphold the authority of the Governor, in order to prevent a repetition of the course pursued towards Captain Bligh; and it is probable that to avoid the possibility of another such outbreak he would have sanctioned any course, however objectionable, which Macquarie might have thought proper to take. The result was that Judge Bent was at once recalled by a despatch, in which Earl Bathurst on behalf of the Government used the following words: "Considering the removal of the said Jeffrey Hart Bent, Esq., from the colony as necessary to mark the sense and disapprobation which they entertain of the measure which, so indiscreetly for the colony and himself, the said Jeffrey Hart Bent, Esq., thought it necessary to adopt, and which for so long a period has occasioned all the serious evils of a total suspension of justice, to the manifest injury of the best interests and public credit of the colony." Earl Bathurst, in addressing Mr. Bent at the same time, expressed "the high displeasure of his Royal Highness, and his positive recal by his Majesty's government, on account of conduct which, in their opinion, could admit of no justification."

The absolute necessity for supporting the Governor's authority, and the desirability of allowing a man placed in such a position as he was to carry out his policy without undue interference from others, may in some degree excuse, but cannot wholly justify, the singular harshness with which Judge Bent was treated by Earl Bathurst.

In reference to Macquarie's conduct in this matter, and the general effect of his policy, Mr. Commissioner Bigge, who was some years afterwards sent out from England especially to report upon the state of the colony, says:*

"The differences that took place between Governor Macquarie and Mr. J. H. Bent, upon the question of allowing these persons to practise in the courts as solicitors, were productive of great injury to individuals; and although Governor Macquarie was not responsible for it, yet it cannot be denied that his interference with Mr. J. H. Bent, upon a

* See Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 19th June, 1822.

regulation of the court in which he presided, was founded upon a great mistake of the extent of his authority; and I have often been assured by persons who were much acquainted with Mr. Bent, that it was a sense of this interference that first excited resistance in him; and that but for that feeling, his objections to the admission of convict solicitors would have yielded to the strong necessity by which it was supported, and would have been justified.

"I have detailed, more at length, the events to which this question has given rise, because they will enable your lordship to form a more accurate view of the manner in which it has affected the situation of the emancipated convicts, and to account for those feelings that now separate them from the free classes. Those of the former have been greatly excited. Their ambition has been encouraged by the manner in which their conduct, as well as their exertions, have been viewed and rewarded by Governor Macquarie. The same feelings have been disappointed and exasperated by the events of the late trials, to which I have adverted; and no compromise is now to be expected, as long as they are left in a state of uncertain dependance upon the discretionary power of any individual for the enjoyment of the rights to which they have considered themselves entitled.

"Both parties look upon each other as intruders. The free settlers considering that the rank, as well as the rights of the emancipated convicts, should be always kept in subordination to their own; while the emancipated convicts look upon no title to property in New South Wales to be so good or so just as that which has been derived through the several gradations of crime, conviction, service, emancipation, and grant. Both parties are equally disposed to depreciate the pretensions of each other, but I sincerely believe that the great body of the emancipated convicts do not partake of the ambition of their leaders; that they would be satisfied with protection from oppression and insult, and due encouragement in their undertakings; and that they feel great indifference about their admission either to public offices, or to any other rank in society than that which their own industry and good character will justly and naturally procure for them.

"In the encouragement of marriage amongst the convicts, Governor Macquarie has shown the most anxious disposition to improve their morals and condition; and in admitting them to society, if his selection does not appear to have been the most judicious, or his mode of introducing them the

most successful, he has certainly had to contend with prejudices of a very powerful kind in the free population.

"These prejudices are now, I fear, too deeply fixed to be removed; and the ambitious feelings of the higher classes of emancipated convicts have been too long encouraged and cherished, to expect from them either submission or conciliation. Governor Macquarie has thus left to his successor the difficult, and I may even add the hopeless, task of bringing back to their proper and just standard the pretensions of two large classes of the inhabitants of New South Wales, without giving to the one party a supposed ground of triumph, and without inflicting upon the other too large a measure of vexation and disgrace."

The delays and complications arising out of the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the claims of the emancipists for full admission to all the privileges of citizenship, lasted for several years. The gentleman sent out to supersede Judge Bent was Mr. Barron Field, who, like his predecessor, was an English barrister. He was sent to heal the wounds in the body politic, but got himself into disputes with the emancipists almost as quickly as Judge Bent himself, and with even less reason. It will be readily admitted by every unprejudiced mind that Mr. Bent had a sort of tinge of abstract right on his side, however injudicious and improper the enforcement of such a right might have been under the circumstances in which he was placed. Mr. Field had no such excuse. He was wrong in principle and wrong in practice. One of his first acts after entering upon his duties was the giving of a decision which allowed a defendant to plead a plaintiff's conviction for felony many years previously in England as a bar to a civil action. This ruling in reality amounted to this, that a conviction for felony deprived a man of his civil rights for life; that even after he had undergone the full punishment which the law awarded, he had no right to demand common justice if he was wronged—to appeal to the law courts to enforce the payment of a just debt, or to resist an unjust claim. All will agree that if Judge Bent was right in the abstract, he was, considering the peculiar circumstances of the community, entirely wrong in the application of his principles, but no man it is presumed can be found in this day who will agree that Judge Field's decision could by any possibility be right under any circumstances.

It should be recollected, in estimating the claims at this

time, of the emancipists to be placed in a position of civil and social equality with the free class, that many of the latter were men of notoriously immoral lives, some of them having convict women living with them in a state of concubinage, and many giving way to habits of gross intemperance and immorality; while, on the other hand, many of the emancipists—especially those who had been transported for political and other offences not usually considered to involve personal degradation—were men of really estimable character, who, having acquired the means by their industry and integrity, were bringing up families in a very careful and praiseworthy manner. To such men as these, the pretensions to superior virtue of many of the drunken and vicious would-be-exclusives, must have appeared preposterous. In point of fact there was not near so much difference as regards personal character between the two sections of the community as might have been expected from their origin. Many of the emancipists were temperate, energetic, and honest, while many of the others were the very reverse. The social line, however, was drawn so as to exclude every person who had arrived in the colony under sentence of the law; and like social rules in other countries it had very little reference to the vices or virtues of personal character. No doubt, as a rule, the wealthy free class was superior to the emancipist class in education and general conduct, but the exceptions were very numerous, and in some cases very remarkable.

To give a connected and intelligible account of the contest waged by the emancipists for a recognition of their legal rights and civil status, a great departure from chronological order would be necessary. Many of the emancipist class, it should be remembered, had under Macquarie's rule become wealthy and respectable members of society. They, in fact, by this time formed a large majority of the trading and mechanical, as well as the agricultural and grazing, sections of the community; and it is not surprising that they showed a well-grounded alarm at the helpless position in which Judge Field's decision placed them. They at length initiated a movement for redress by signing a requisition to the Provost Martial asking him to call a public meeting in order to decide on what steps should be taken to enable them to obtain relief from their legal disabilities. The meeting, which was numerously attended, was conducted in a very loyal and orderly manner. The result of the movement was that the following resolutions were adopted:—

"1. That by the humane and benevolent policy of Governor Macquarie—a policy hitherto sanctioned by the mother country—the emancipated colonists had been encouraged and protected, had created and acquired, and were now possessed of, the larger moiety of the property of the colony, and were becoming the middle class of society therein; 2. That from the establishment of the colony up to April, 1820, it had been held and acted upon, that persons arriving in the colony under sentence of transportation, and afterwards obtaining their pardon, either by service of the term or otherwise, might acquire and possess landed and other property, and enjoy all the civil rights of free citizens; 3. That by a late determination of the Court of King's Bench, in England, and acted upon lately in the courts of civil jurisdiction in the colony, whereby it had been declared that conditional and absolute pardons granted by governors of the colony were of no effect to the parties holding them, in restoring them to the legal enjoyment or exercise of any civil right, until their names should have inserted in some general pardon under the great seal of England, the vital interests of the emancipated colonists had been exposed to infinite prejudice and danger, and their restoration to their rights as citizens protracted beyond the period that either justice or policy could require; 4. That this state of the law, in its consequences, also affected a very considerable part of the property of the emigrant colonists, because the titles to a considerable portion of the property possessed by the emigrant class had been derived through and from the emancipists; 5. That the meeting, taking all these circumstances into consideration, resolves to address the Throne and Parliament by petition, humbly praying for such relief as their situation and circumstances might, in the wisdom of the Sovereign and the justice of the British Parliament, seem to merit at their hands."

Macquarie, as might have been anticipated, warmly espoused the cause of the emancipists. Nay more, in his communications with the Home Government he adopted the tone of a partizan, and not content with demanding that justice should be afforded them, he lauded them almost to the skies, speaking at the same time in the most disparaging terms of the free settlers. The following is a passage from one of his letters to Lord Sidmouth on this topic: "A few free settlers had certainly honoured the country so far as to establish themselves in it; they accepted lands and stock from the

Government ; these they had taken care to increase, and by disposing of the meat at the public store, and by trafficking with the convicts and others, had become possessed of property to a large amount ; but it was only lately these gentlemen had commenced cultivation ; nor was the government yet indebted to them for any assistance in the supply of grain, but in so small a proportion as to be unworthy of notice." The emancipists had, he said (this was in 1820) 92,618 acres of land in cultivation ; and owned 40,643 head of horned cattle and 221,079 sheep ; and "in fact to them New South Wales owed its existence as a colony."

It is impossible to deny that Macquarie evinced on this, as on most other occasions, an undue leaning towards the emancipist class ; and it is easy to see the motives by which he was influenced. The position in which he was placed on first assuming the reins of government, affords, when fully considered, a clear explanation of his conduct. He saw the necessity of curbing the power of those who had deposed his predecessor, and to accomplish this effectually he thought if necessary to leave nothing undone which could advance the interests of the emancipists—the superiors in numbers, and the rapidly growing rivals in wealth and influence of the dominant class. He succeeded at length in breaking down all legal barriers between the two classes ; but the social barriers were too strong for him ; and the more he endeavoured to destroy them the more jealously were they guarded. The more the emancipists attempted to force their way into the upper stratum of society, and the more their patron the Governor attempted to advance them in social position, the more jealous became the conduct of the wealthy free settlers, officers, and civil servants who formed the exclusive class. The pretensions of some of these gentlemen were very absurd, and may to some extent be estimated by what fell from one of them on a certain occasion, years after the period now referred to. He said he considered the class to which he belonged to be the representatives of the highest aristocracy in the world—because it was an aristocracy founded on virtue. Although there was sufficient ground for his boast to give it an air of truth in the eyes of his own class, there was not enough to save its author from the ridicule of the rest of the community.

The rapidly increasing flocks and herds of the colonists necessitated a constant advance towards the interior, and

caused a steady invasion of the hunting grounds of the aborigines. The farther the settlers advanced from the coast the wider became the debatable land, and the more frequent their conflicts with the natives. To chronicle a tithe of these murderous feuds would occupy volumes. One which took place in 1816 will serve as a sample of the whole. On the banks of the Nepean River a band of about thirty savages plundered the homestead of a settler. On the following day seven well armed white men went in pursuit of the robbers, in the hope of recovering some of the property. The blacks expecting this, had placed themselves in ambush on the other side of the river, and as soon as the settlers had crossed, rushed from their lurking place, surprised, and disarmed them almost before they were aware of their presence. Having their enemies at their mercy, they deliberately commenced the work of murder. Four were killed instantly, one was desperately wounded, but the other two managed in the confusion to escape by flight. Emboldened by their victory, the blacks next day assembled in increased numbers, attacked and plundered several farms, and destroyed a large amount of property. Most of the frightened inhabitants fled for their lives. At one house however the mistress and a servant man remained, because the suddenness of the attack left them no time for flight. They took shelter in a barn into which the raging savages tried in vain to force an entrance. They then tried to unroof the building, when the man attempted to parley with the ringleader, whom he had known years before. The impulsive child of nature hesitated at once on recognising a former friend, declared that the white man should not be killed, induced his companions to desist, and persuaded them to leave the place without committing the slightest depredation or inflicting the smallest injury.

The circumstances above related afford a fair sample of both the good and bad qualities of the native blacks. The success of some of these attacks on the settlers, or an unusual scarcity of food, or both these causes combined, brought a larger number of aborigines into the settled districts at this time (1816) than had ever before been seen. The drays on their way to the new country, as the Western or Bathurst district was then called, were frequently attacked and plundered, and the depredations became more numerous and the aggressions bolder and closer to Sydney almost every day. Bodies of eighty or a hundred men attacked the houses of settlers within sight of Sydney. Macquarie took prompt and

effectual means to put down these high-handed proceedings. He caused a meeting of a large number of friendly blacks to be assembled in Parramatta, and endeavoured to enlist them in behalf of the settlers. Rewards were offered for the ring-leaders of the depredations dead or alive. Detachments of the 46th Regiment were placed in a circuit round the out-stations. Grants of land, agricultural implements, seed, and clothing were offered to such of the blacks as would agree to come in and adopt the habits of civilised life. An institution for the reception and instruction of their children was established, and numbers of young savages were soon placed under its care. The military came into collision with the aboriginal marauders on several occasions. In one conflict in the district of Airds, a pitched battle on a small scale was fought. On this occasion fourteen of the blacks were killed and several others wounded and taken prisoners. Numbers of captives were brought to Sydney from the various districts. They crowded the prisons for a time, but were ultimately dismissed, with no other punishment than their imprisonment. The result of these steps was that the condition of the relations between the races, which had been somewhat suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted, was after a time restored. On one side solitary settlers were still cut off at times, and on the other a blackfellow was now and then shot, but no more organised attacks were made in the settled districts.

In his administration of affairs Macquarie displayed great personal activity and energy. His excursions and journeys were frequent and sometimes long and fatiguing. In the second year of his rule he made a voyage to Van Diemen's Land. Colonel Collins, the founder of the Hobart Town settlement, and the first Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, had died suddenly in March, 1810, about three months after Macquarie's arrival in New South Wales, and the latter took the earliest opportunity, after he had surmounted the first difficulties of his position, to visit the Derwent, and personally inspect the progress and resources of the country. Collins had administered the government at Hobart Town for upwards of six years. His rule was perhaps the most absolute despotism at that time in existence, and under a man deficient in benevolence and tact the condition of the settlers would have been intolerable. But, with all its drawbacks, the rule of a benevolent despot was, perhaps, more suitable for the state of society which prevailed there than a more

complicated and cumbersome government. It will be remembered that the expedition under Collins, which founded Hobart Town, was originally sent to Port Phillip. The Home Government had accordingly provided a court of criminal jurisdiction for that place only, and not anticipating the removal of the settlement to Van Diemen's Land the powers conferred were strictly local. This, when the colony was transferred to the Derwent, rendered the commissions of the law officers practically void, and they ceased to act. The defect could not be cured by the New South Wales Government, for the criminal jurisdiction of that colony was limited to the mainland and to islands adjacent to the eastern coast; and as this did not include Van Diemen's Land, which at the time of the foundation of the Sydney settlement was believed to be part of the Australian continent, no criminal court could be legally constituted at Hobart Town. In default of this, and to prevent utter disorder, Collins, and those he placed in the commission of the peace, set up courts of their own, in which a sort of rough and ready justice was administered in a very simple and arbitrary manner. It is probable that substantial justice was generally meted out to offenders; but some of the proceedings of those self-constituted tribunals were of so startling a character as to be almost incredible. The nature of their action and the penalties inflicted were more of a military than a civil character. No pretence of adherence to law or legal formalities was made. The ordinary mode of punishment was by the lash, and little or no difference was observed between the free and bond. Power like this was of course open to the grossest abuse, and there is no doubt that it was sometimes abused. The natural benevolence of Collins's character was, however, sufficient to prevent anything like mere brutal cruelty, or the infliction of purposeless pain.

This state of things lasted for ten years, until, in 1814, Major Abbott, one of the officers of the old New South Wales Corps, was sent down from Sydney as Judge-Advocate, under the new charter of justice a short time before conferred by the Crown upon the Australian colonies. His administration of the law, although an improvement on the system or rather want of system before pursued, was not remarkable for adherence to form or precedent. In fact he was forced by surrounding circumstances to accommodate the law to the condition of the people. Where convicts were concerned he dealt in a summary manner even in capital cases; and when

he thought the offence merited severity, he sometimes was not to be deterred from imposing illegal sentences even in the case of free people.

Colonel Collins's literary habits led him to desire the establishment of a newspaper in the infant capital of his colony. Accordingly, in February, 1810, appeared the first number of a small journal under his auspices. Its name was the *Derwent Star*. It was but a quarto leaf, of the humblest pretensions, and lived for a few weeks only. It might have had a more enduring existence, but for the loss of its patron, for in less than a month after its advent Collins himself was suddenly overtaken by death. Several years elapsed before another and more successful attempt was made to establish a newspaper in Van Diemen's Land, and the fact that such a journal as the *Derwent Star* was ever published is chiefly worthy of notice as showing that, even at that early period, surrounded as were the settlers by the most severe trials, and borne down by the most pressing wants, there were some who indulged in plans for the elevation and improvement of those around them, and manifested desires for something beyond the sordid pursuits in which they were engaged.

On the death of Colonel Collins the charge of the settlement devolved for a short period upon Lieutenant Lord, until the arrival of Captain Murray, of the 73rd regiment, who then assumed the office as senior military officer in the island. It was during the administration of the latter gentleman, which lasted less than two years, that Governor Macquarie visited the colony. He arrived, accompanied by Mrs. Macquarie, in the schooner *Nelson*, in November, 1811. The visit of the Governor-in-Chief was regarded as a great event by the colonists. He was received with strong demonstrations of loyalty and many marks of respect. Deputations waited upon him with addresses couched in the most flattering terms. One, which purported to come from the inhabitants of the settlement at Hobart Town, said:—"When men, whose characteristic is industry, consider themselves governed by an officer in whom his Majesty has reposed merited confidence, who in order to promote agriculture, encourage morality, efface dissension, and patronise the industrious and deserving part of our community, leaves his seat of government, and exposes himself and his worthy consort, under many privations, in a small vessel, to the dangers of a coasting voyage on these seas, a natural emulation must necessarily arise in

the breasts of the inhabitants to merit, by an inviolable attachment to the laws, and an adherence to the regulations of the colony, the patronage, favour, and protection of such an unequalled Governor."

To this Macquarie replied:—"I beg you to believe that the inconveniences I have experienced in my voyage to Van Diemen's Land have been amply compensated in the pleasure I feel on seeing one of the finest countries in the world in a state of rapid improvement by the exertions of his Majesty's loyal subjects settled here, in whose welfare I shall at all times feel a warm interest; and sincerely hope that the industry so happily begun will be persevered in with success."

Macquarie on this occasion could not resist the indulgence of that vanity for which he was remarkable. He affixed his name or that of his "worthy consort" (as the settlers in a spirit of pardonable flattery had termed his wife,) or some of his belongings, to almost every street and public building in the place. The flattery of the Hobart Town settlers was well repaid. They had found his weak point, and the great man dealt out his favours with a liberal hand. The extent to which the weaknesses of men in power can be played upon by those who have the address to take advantage of their opportunities, has seldom been shown in a more striking manner than in Macquarie's case. Innumerable anecdotes were current among the last generation of Australians in illustration of this. An old lady, it is said, obtained a valuable grant of land by proceeding to government house, on one occasion soon after Mrs. Macquarie's accouchement, and inquiring after the health of "the young prince." These stories, if not literally true, are no doubt true in spirit, and serve to indicate the popular appreciation of character far more clearly than an elaborate description or the most studied treatise.

The condition of Van Diemen's Land at this period (1812), although Macquarie had termed it "one of the finest countries in the world in a state of rapid improvement," was by no means a very prosperous one. The population did not exceed 1500 souls, and their habitations were of the most wretched description; there were no fences, very few cattle, and little worthy of the name of agriculture had been attempted. There were no capitalist settlers, as in the older colony, and very few persons in a position to employ others. There were a few free persons, but the great majority of the people were

or had been convicts. The want of employment, or the absence of that sturdy energy required to subdue the forest and make homes in the wilderness, impelled many idle and reckless men to seek a living by hunting. The prisoners, for whose labour there was little demand, if not encouraged were at least permitted by the authorities to follow the same irregular and lazy course of life. Many of the most vicious and abandoned of these people associated with the aboriginal natives of the island—at first the most gentle and inoffensive of all the Australian tribes, but rendered at length by the oppressions and crimes of these outcasts of the civilised world the most intractable and remorseless of foes. When the unfortunate aborigines had been reduced in numbers or driven from the vicinity of the settlements, many of the white savages turned their hands against their more peaceful and industrious neighbours. This was the first outbreak of Australian bushranging.

Colonel Geils succeeded Captain Murray as acting Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land in February, 1812. He devoted much attention to agricultural pursuits, but being ordered to India shortly afterwards had no opportunity of witnessing the successful result of his endeavours to benefit the colony. At length, in February, 1813, three years after Colonel Collins's death, his successor, Colonel Davey, of the marines, reached the Derwent. His arrival was unexpected—for opportunities of communicating with the mother country were few—and the manner of his entrance into his capital exceedingly singular. The day was a very hot one, and he landed, with his coat under his arm, from the vessel which brought him out, and after stating who he was, requested temporary accommodation at almost the first house he approached. What led to Colonel Davey's appointment to the government of Van Diemen's Land has never been discovered. He was a man whose disregard of conventional forms and outward appearances amounted to eccentricity, but this did not prevent his quickly becoming very popular. He had gained the character of a brave soldier in many a battle with the enemies of his country, and was like many of his class in that day a hard drinker. He was willing to join in a carouse whenever invited, and was by no means fastidious as to the companionship in which he found himself. Yet it does not appear that he neglected his duties, although the way in which they were performed was not perhaps quite so studied and deliberate as might have

been desired. He seems to have thought the place was in reality what it was called, "the Camp,"—for such was the common designation of Hobart Town in his time, and for many years afterwards. His period of rule lasted about four years, and was characterised by the prevalence of crime and particularly of bushranging to a deplorable extent. Colonel Davey was not the man to devise a suitable remedy for such a condition of things. If the desperadoes who infested the country would have met him in a body in the open field, he would probably have been able to give a good account of them, but nature and habit had alike unfitted him for coping with such men in a manner in accordance with civilian notions and appliances.

His proceedings did not lack energy, but were often in direct opposition to law. Sometimes, if suspected persons escaped conviction, the witnesses were flogged; and many captured prisoners were hanged on very slight evidence. Colonel Davey's proceedings at length brought him into collision with Macquarie, the Governor-in-Chief, who did not hesitate to express his dislike and disapproval of the Lieutenant-Governor's proceedings. Many of the inhabitants, however, commended Davey for his promptness and eulogised his stretches of power. Finding himself thus hampered by his superior officer, he at length relinquished his office, and turned settler. His agricultural operations were not, however, very successful, and soon afterwards he returned to England. His memory is still cherished by some of the old colonists as that of a plain, open, generous man, if not quite a model governor.

It was during Colonel Davey's period of rule, however, notwithstanding all the drawbacks of that period, that the press first became a permanent institution in Van Diemen's Land. Colonel Collins's abortive attempt to establish a newspaper in 1810 has already been noticed. A second attempt, also a failure, occurred in 1814. A third, and more successful effort was made in 1816. In June of that year Mr. Andrew Bent commenced the publication of the Hobart Town Gazette, a newspaper which existed for several years, and which became the forerunner of the many journals which afterwards sprung into existence in Tasmania.

The social and moral condition of the Van Diemen's Land settlements appears for many years after their foundation to have been inferior to that of New South Wales. The example of men of character and position was almost wholly

wanting in the former ; the regulations for enforcing order, and even the usual appliances of government, were in a great degree absent ; very insufficient means of controlling the turbulent and vicious were at hand ; the examples of immorality often set by the officers themselves, completely removed as they were from the curbing restraint of public opinion, exercised a most deplorable influence on the characters of those over whom they were placed. Sydney was bad enough in this respect, but the presence of a virtuous, active, and popular lady like Mrs. Macquarie, and the influence of some of the officers' wives, was sufficient to give a healthier tone to society there, and to check at least any open or unblushing display of vice on the part of those who would otherwise have set a bad example, and whose private lives, notwithstanding their compliance with the external forms of propriety, were anything but what they ought to have been. In Hobart Town things might not have been much worse in reality, but there was less restraint practised. Colonel Collins, himself, if contemporary accounts can be relied upon, was far from blameless in his social relations. The wife of Colonel Davey, his successor, was too meek, retiring, and timid a woman to exert that authority and to exercise that influence in social life which her position entitled her to assume. Besides, there were few or none to second her efforts, if she had been inclined to make any, for at that period the women of the colony were for the most part of a class that it would have been impossible for her to associate with. The practice of assigning female convicts to the military and other officers, which had obtained from the earliest days of the colony, was a fruitful source of vice, and for many years the cause of the most deplorable social demoralisation.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVICT SYSTEM. ASSIGNMENT—ITS BENEFITS AND DEFECTS—ITS
GENERAL RESULTS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

ABOUT the middle of Macquarie's period of rule (1815-1817,) the convict system had attained its greatest development, both as an institution and as to the proportion of the prison class to the rest of the population, and their influence on the character of the community. Some account of the characteristic features of the system will, therefore, be particularly appropriate here. A short-sighted patriotism, more anxious for the supposed good name of the country than jealous in the cause of truth, would perhaps slur this disagreeable portion of Australian annals, or refer to it in terms too gingerly and delicate to convey a correct impression of its features. But the cause of truth, however distasteful, must not be sacrificed to a false national pride or a mistaken love of country. And, if rightly appreciated, the fact that—notwithstanding the great mass of crime and vice poured upon their shores for half a century—the Australians have emerged from beneath their burthen as healthy, energetic, and sound-hearted a community as any in the world, will redound much more to their honour on the one hand, than the disgrace of having borne that burthen will affect them on the other. The old convict system, although it has unfortunately left its traces in many directions, now survives only in the lingering memories and fading recollections of the people of the last generation. It was on the whole a thing of so mixed a nature of good and evil that while it is impossible to speak of it in terms of eulogy it is also difficult to condemn it altogether.

The convict ships on their arrival in Port Jackson were generally anchored in Sydney Cove, and although, according to the regulations, the sentries were ordered to prevent unauthorised persons from coming on board, and to stop all written or verbal communications with the shore on the part of the prisoners, without the permission of the officer in charge, the duty was generally performed in so feeble and careless manner that little difficulty was experienced by the convicts who had friends in the colony in making them aware of

their arrival and the circumstances in which they were placed. Those who are acquainted with the general habits and character of the criminal classes in the parent country, know the extent and the nature of the sort of freemasonry which prevails among them. It may to some persons sound like exaggeration to say, that they appear to have an instinctive knowledge of each other, but such is the fact. That they frequently show great devotion, and evince the most self-sacrificing kindness, not only to their immediate friends when "in trouble," but to persons of their own class of whom they had no previous knowledge, is well known. This fellowship is not, however, extended in any considerable degree to prisoners who, for want of a better term, may be called the criminals of chance;—that is, those who—mostly young persons under circumstances of strong temptation—have by a single false step, a solitary lapse from virtue, become temporary criminals. Such persons, when opportunity offers, soon emerge from their fallen state, wiser, and, in many cases it is to be hoped, better members of society. It is the class of professional criminals only amongst whom the freemasonry spoken of exists to its full extent. This class no doubt formed a large proportion of the prisoners sent to New South Wales in the old convict times; and most of them on their arrival had friends or acquaintances ready to receive, or at all events to offer, them such advice and assistance as would enable them to evade the more severe kinds of labour, or perhaps even to escape from enforced labour altogether. The general means of communication between the shore and the convict ships was through the Government boats crews, who were themselves prisoners assigned to the service of the harbour master, the health officer, the pilots, or other officials. Under the facilities afforded by these men, wives or women who had just arrived were able to communicate with husbands, or those who should have been their husbands, who had preceded them in the voyage "across the herring-pond;" and old associates in crime were enabled to see each other, to compare notes, and to concoct plans of future action. Boats manned by convicts, either in private or public employment, hovered round a prison-ship from the first moment of her arrival to the last of the discharge of her living freight; and the interval that elapsed between the two periods afforded opportunities for the fullest exercise of ingenuity in the arts of imposition and concealment. Assignment to private persons was generally considered a much less dreadful fate by

these people than being sent to government or public labour. The latter was, indeed, looked upon as the lowest depth of degradation to which misfortune could reduce them; and hence all means were resorted to in order to evade it. Macquarie's extensive building operations, and his numerous public improvements, necessitated the retention in the government gangs of all who could use the hammer, the chisel, the axe, or the saw. All who could work in wood, in stone, or in iron were kept "in government," as the phrase was. And it was to enable them to avoid this fate, that friends on shore sought to communicate the means of escape from it to those who had just anchored. For many years the records sent out with prisoners were so few and scanty, that on their arrival in the colony little or nothing beyond what they themselves chose to reveal was known to the authorities as to their occupations or callings before conviction. The selection of almost every convict mechanic for the Government works became at length so notorious, and so much dreaded by the class affected by it, that it was almost impossible to get any newly arrived prisoner to acknowledge that he knew any handicraft connected with the building art. The utmost vigilance of the authorities was often at fault, and it became at length necessary to award a heavy punishment to those who were found guilty of concealing their trades. The chief engineer at Sydney was particularly charged with the duty of discovering the callings of those who were suspected of deception in this respect, and when he could not succeed the superintendent of convicts was authorised to watch closely those who in private assignment gave evidence of their handicraft knowledge or skill; and upon his report the concealed mechanic was taken from the employment of the master who had been lucky enough to secure his services, and forthwith sent to join one of the Government gangs. There can be no doubt that the want of skilled labour for private enterprise was such that most of the free settlers and emancipist employers willingly afforded assistance to prisoners who tried to evade the regulations. The great demand for skilled labour and its almost entire absorption by the Government, were indeed productive of the worst results; favouritism, bribery, and petty scheming were fostered; the most barefaced falsehood on the part of both master and convict frequently resorted to; and at the same time private enterprise was checked and hampered in a most deplorable manner. It likewise often happened that convicts who had relatives or

friends in Sydney procured themselves to be assigned to them by professing a knowledge of the particular trade or pursuit (if not connected with building) in which they were engaged, and in some cases even considerable sums of money—the fruits probably of former crimes,—were paid by prisoners to influential parties to induce them to apply for them as assigned servants. The assignment was of course in such cases merely nominal; and if the application was successful, as in fact it generally was, the convict was thenceforth almost as free from interference and control as if he had landed in the colony a free man. This inequality of punishment—these premiums held out to craft and cunning—were amongst the worst features of the transportation system. The country mechanic or labourer, transported perhaps for some share in a poaching affray, but comparatively innocent in heart, unsophisticated in character, and unknown to the criminal class, was generally doomed to the heaviest toil; while the successful city swindler, forger, or pickpocket managed, with the help of money or the assistance of former friends and associates who had preceded him in his enforced exile, not only to escape the just penalty of his offences, but to enter upon a new stage of existence, where labour was better paid and life much more easily supported than in the country from which he had been banished. Whatever its benefits to particular colonists, or even to the colony at large in developing its resources, the system of private assignment was fertile in the production of plans of petty scheming, craft, and evasion; as well as frightfully unequal in its operation on the prisoners.

The course generally pursued on the arrival of a prison-ship was as follows: The Governor's secretary proceeded on board, and in the presence of the surgeon-superintendent, the captain, and the ship's company, the convicts were mustered on the quarter-deck. Each prisoner was asked his name, the time and place of his trial, his sentence, native place, and trade or occupation. His exact height was then measured and carefully registered, together with the colour of his eyes, hair, complexion, and any particular mark that might tend to establish his identity. Inquiries were made as to his conduct during the voyage, his general capacity for labour, and other matters likely to be useful in determining the nature of the employment for which he was best fitted. When this mustering of the prisoners was complete, the Governor appointed a day for their debarkation; and at the time fixed they were all

provided with new clothing, landed, and marched to the gaol yard, and there drawn up in lines for his Excellency's inspection. The captain of the transport, the surgeon-superintendent, the chief engineer, and the superintendent of convicts attended the Governor at these investigations. The superintendent of convicts, when all was ready, read out from a list previously prepared the destination of each man; if to the use of the Government, to what department; if to private assignment, to whose service. In rare cases, and under peculiar circumstances, prisoners were sometimes allowed to go at large immediately after arrival. This course was generally adopted in consequence of some communication originating in the influence of private friends in England. When the inspection was finished, the Governor usually addressed to the prisoners a few words of advice and encouragement—expressing his hopes that the change which had taken place in their situation would lead to a change in conduct, and that as they had now the opportunity to reform they would endeavour to take advantage of it. In the new career upon which they were entering, he took care to explicitly assure them that the past would be forgotten; that henceforward their success and happiness in this life would depend upon their future conduct; and that good behaviour alone could entitle them to any indulgence or mitigation of their sentence. The prisoners were then marched off, under charge of the constables, to enter upon the various employments to which they had been assigned. Those destined for service in the interior were usually sent by water to Parramatta, and from thence forwarded to the various districts where the settlers resided who had applied for their services. They were usually lodged in the gaols of the different towns through which they passed, and handed over to the charge of their new masters as opportunity offered.

In the reception and distribution of female convicts, the proceedings were somewhat different. After being mustered on board ship, they were permitted to land in their own dresses, and not in those provided by the Government. It was thought highly desirable in their case to promote a feeling of self-respect, and to encourage a regard for personal appearance. Those who had husbands in the colony were allowed to join them, if the character and condition of the men were such as to justify the expectation or to give reasonable hope of reformation. Women, who had been assigned to private service, were forwarded to their various destinations, and the

remainder—the refractory, the incorrigible, the invalids, and those who had young children, to the female factory at Parramatta. Each person who received a female assigned convict had to sign an agreement, by which he bound himself, under a penalty of twenty pounds, to retain her in his service for the space of three years, finding the necessary subsistence, clothing, and lodging; and in no case to allow her beyond his control, except with the approbation of a magistrate, or in case of misconduct legally proved.

In deciding on the nature of the employment to which the newly arrived prisoners were sent—whether they were doomed to labour on government works or were assigned to the service of private masters,—the differences of their crimes, their terms of punishment, and their previous characters in Great Britain, were entirely overlooked. So that the convict's fate was in no degree proportioned to his offence, but rather depended upon his physical strength, mechanical knowledge, or real or imagined aptitude, in the opinion of the officials, for any particular pursuit or employment. The conditions of those who were assigned to private persons were as widely various as it is possible to conceive. It depended upon the circumstances and characters of people of all ranks and all descriptions. The class of convicts in private assignment most envied by their fellows were those acquainted with the lighter in-door trades—such as tailors and shoemakers. The services of these prisoners were often applied for by the lower class of government officials, overseers, clerks in offices, and others in similar circumstances of genteel mediocrity. These people, from their position and opportunities usually possessed considerable influence with those who had the disposal of the assigned convicts; and as the class of prisoners now referred to were for the most part unsuited to bush labour, and consequently not in much request with the country settlers, and were almost useless on the Government works, their applications were generally successful. The labour of the convict artisan who was fortunate enough to be assigned in this manner was of course not required by his official or clerical master; but nevertheless the latter expected to make a considerable profit out of the arrangement, and therefore, for a direct money payment, varying from five to ten shillings weekly, he usually agreed to allow his assigned man to employ himself elsewhere in the best manner he was able. In return for this weekly payment, and so long as it was regularly made, the convict was allowed to be at large, and his time

and talents were entirely at his own disposal. He either hired himself for wages to some employer in his own trade, or, if so minded, set up in business on his own account. The condition of a skilled workman under this indulgence was very superior to that of most of his fellow-prisoners; and if he was moderately industrious he found no difficulty in paying to his nominal master the weekly amount necessary to ensure his liberty. In some cases convicts who were possessed of money on their arrival, and who managed to get some suitable person to apply for them as assigned servants, bought off the master's interest in their labours at once; the employer of course in such cases agreeing to forego all future claims, and to exercise merely a nominal control in order to keep up appearances.

There were still worse features of the assignment system than those previously mentioned. One of them was the practice of assigning prisoners to magistrates and other influential Government officers in payment of their salaries, or as part of the recognised emoluments attached to their offices. Some magistrates had no less than six or eight prisoners assigned to them in virtue of their office, and quite irrespective of the number to which by the regulations they were entitled as settlers, to work on their farms, as house servants, or in any other capacity. Magistrates and public functionaries drew rations from the public store for all the prisoners assigned to them in virtue of their office. The prisoners were, indeed, supposed to be in public employment. The value of the rations of course varied with the price of provisions; about fifteen pounds sterling a year was considered the average value of a ration. In many instances, this system of paying officers by assigning them the services of prisoners, was carried to such a length that the most frightful immorality and vice were the direct consequences. Such was often the case where the assigned prisoners were females. Magistrates, in some of the more remote districts, did not hesitate to appear in public with their assigned women, with whom it was notorious that they were living on terms of improper intimacy. The indirect consequences were, if possible, still worse. The magistrate or officer whose emoluments depended on the prisoners assigned to him being able to work at their trades, or otherwise to procure money and to pay him a certain portion of their earnings, had of course a direct personal interest in shielding them from the consequences of any crime they might commit. If, as often happened, an assigned man "got into trouble," or

was in danger of losing his liberty, it was his master's interest to do all in his power to prevent it. The amount paid by these men to their masters for being allowed to employ themselves when and how they liked, added to the value of the rations which the master drew from the public store, and either sold or devoted to the purpose of feeding those who had been assigned to him as a private settler, could not have been less than thirty to forty pounds sterling a year in each case. Six assigned men would thus have been equal to a salary of about two hundred pounds a year. The direct interest which a master had under such circumstances in shielding his men from punishment for their offences acted as a strong encouragement to crime. The prisoners knew that even if detected they had little to fear, because it was their masters' interest that they should escape. They knew that if flogged or imprisoned he would be the loser, and therefore felt assured that he would exert himself to prevent it. They were also aware that so long as they regularly brought him the weekly amount agreed upon he would not be inclined to look too narrowly into the means by which it was obtained. There were of course many exceptions to such disgraceful conduct as this on the part of public officers, but that the result was in many cases such as is here stated it is impossible to deny.

But even this lowest depth has a lower still ; and the deepest depth of the assignment system has not yet been revealed. The masters spoken of above—magistrates and the higher class of public officers—were generally compelled, by the prominence of their position, to pay something like a proper regard to outward decency and propriety in their connexions with their assigned servants. But there was a lower class of officials, many of whom were indeed convicts themselves, who were not under any such security for good behaviour. These were the petty superintendents and overseers of government gangs, and others in similar subordinate positions. Of 107 superintendents, overseers, and clerks in charge of road and other gangs, in 1818, only thirty-eight belonged to the free class of the community, while sixty-nine were convicts. All these men were remunerated in whole or in part in the way stated above—that is, by having prisoners assigned to them, whose rations they drew and disposed of to the settlers, or in any way they thought proper, while the men were allowed to hire themselves out wherever they thought fit, and so long as they regularly handed over to their nominal masters a due proportion of their earnings or plunder were seldom interfered with.

The consequences of assigning prisoners to men who were convicts themselves, and whose sentences were still unexpired, had a most disastrous effect on the morals of both master and servant. It is impossible to conceive anything which could tend in a greater degree to the promotion of crime, or which was more calculated to destroy all the landmarks which society has set up, than the relative positions in which this feature of the assignment system placed a certain section of the community. The 107 petty overseers and superintendents of gangs above referred to had 108 men assigned to them, who were what was called "on the store," that is, victualled by the Government, and whose weekly rations they drew; together with twenty-five who were "off the store," or not provided with Government rations. The proportion of the earnings of these 133 men which went into the pockets of their masters varied according to the ability and skill of the prisoner and the character of the master. A Parliamentary paper, published in 1822, but having reference to a period some years previously says:—

"The manner in which the overseers are remunerated has appeared to every one capable of forming a judgment of its effects to be highly objectionable; it consists in the allowance of a ration and a half, and the assignment of one or more convicts, who are in most cases victualled by Government, and who in return for the exemption that is allowed to them from all control, and the pursuit of any occupation, engage to pay their overseer a sum amounting to five shillings per week, if they allow the overseer to draw their ration, and ten shillings in case they draw it themselves. The effects produced by this arrangement on the convicts at their first distribution have already been observed, and its continuance is no less injurious to the system of discipline than to the parties whom it is intended to remunerate. The assigned convict becomes in many instances responsible to a person who is in no higher condition than himself, many of the overseers being themselves convicts. The selection of the assigned convicts being left principally to the overseer, it is made with reference to the means of payment possessed by them, and not to their characters or conduct; hence it has happened that the most guilty individuals have enjoyed all the privileges that were declared to belong exclusively to good conduct, and that they have purchased them with money instead of gaining them by long servitude.

"The majority of the assigned convicts consist of

mechanics, who are enabled by their industry to fulfil their engagement to their overseer as long as their labour is in demand; and they are protected from arrest by being furnished with passes signed by the superintendent, as a special protection in the districts to which they may resort; but if the demand for their labour or their industry should fail, or what more frequently occurs, if the profits they may derive from it be spent in luxury and excess, the weekly payment to the overseer falls into arrear, and he is compelled to apply either to the magistrate for punishment, or to the principal superintendent for the assignment of another convict; again, if the employer of the assigned convict fails in paying his wages, the overseer is not only a loser, but the convict is returned to the service of Government, by which a certain amount of punishment is inflicted upon him for the default of another."

It was manifestly the interest of these convict overseers to wink at the crimes of the men assigned to them, to throw every opportunity for plunder in their way, and to shield them from the consequences of their crimes. They were the better able to do this, because the duties of many of the higher class of superintendents and overseers in the service of the Government were performed in merely a nominal manner. They were too much occupied by interests of their own to attend to the labour or conduct of those over whom they were placed, so that most of their duties were left to their convict subordinates, who were thus able to carry out their schemes, and to play into the hands of their assigned men for their mutual interests. As to the control these petty convict superintendents generally exercised over the gangs left in their charge it was of the slightest possible kind. They neither possessed the power to compel the men to work nor the skill to direct them. The convict overseer was often so mixed up with his men and implicated in their offences that he dared not inform against them. And even had he possessed sufficient courage and integrity to attempt to compel them to labour, or to expose their evil doings, he would have been visited by the bitter animosity of the whole gang. Under such a condition of things the amount of work performed was very trifling. Those best able to judge say that the labour of three prisoners in the public service was not more than equal to that of one free man.

To remedy as far as possible the want of efficient control over the gangs of men employed in public works, a system was introduced in 1817 by which, wherever it was practicable,

the men were allotted certain weekly tasks. If they performed the required quantity of work before the end of the week they were allowed to employ themselves with private persons for the portion which remained. The result of this change was surprising, and the circumstance which brought it about illustrates very forcibly the necessity which existed for some alteration. It was as follows:—Governor Macquarie complained that Mr. Greenway, the architect and builder entrusted with the erection of the stables which still stand near Government-house, made very slow progress with his work, and desired to know the reason. The account says: “Mr. Greenway insisted that it was owing to the defective system of government labour, and offered the Governor that if he would allow him to select ten stonemasons, and to employ them exclusively in the cutting and finishing of the stone work of one of the towers of the stables, and in fixing the embrasures, which, according to the system then being pursued would take the labour of thirty men for six weeks, he would undertake to accomplish it in one, by simply offering to the ten workmen as much time for their own profit as they found they could make out of the week. This offer was accepted; and such was the alacrity with which the men worked that in three days and a half the Government task was finished, and they had the rest of the week to work for themselves.” This is no doubt an extreme instance, but to those who know how time was wasted and worked delayed in the old convict times, it will not appear by any means an incredible one.

The result of the change from day work to task work was at first hailed with pleasure by all parties. The settlers had been so much inconvenienced by the almost complete absorption of skilled labour by the Government, that they were rejoiced at the opportunity of obtaining a portion of it however small. The convicts themselves were also delighted. The most efficient mechanics had long complained that they were punished not for their offences but for their skill. Unskilled labourers, and other convicts of trades not connected with building, had for many years previously to this been allowed tickets-of-leave, to employ themselves for their own benefit, after serving three years of their sentence. This was even the case with those who had been assigned to private persons; while the skilled mechanics in the employ of the Government were kept from all hope of liberty, because their services were considered essential to the progress of the

public works, and could not be dispensed with. Even after the expiration of the full term for which they were transported there is reason to believe that many of these persons were detained at forced labour because they could not prove, without the assistance of records to which they had no means of access, that their sentences had terminated. These circumstances bred in the minds of persons so situated not only a strong distaste for work, but a most unwholesome feeling of antagonism against those who were instrumental in keeping them in such an inferior and unfavourable position. There existed indeed amongst them what may be termed a passive conspiracy against work. It was regarded as disgraceful on the part of any man amongst them to do any more than he was absolutely compelled. It was made a point of honour to do as little as possible at all times, and under all circumstances, and to such an extent was this carried that there was a regular system of signs and manœuvres by which the approach of any officer or other person before whom it was considered desirable that some show of activity should be maintained, was rapidly communicated from one part of a building or public work to another.

The Parliamentary paper before referred to, speaking in reference to convict labour on Government works, says:—"The labour required by the chief engineer from the Government convicts, is in its nature purely coercive; they derive no advantage from it, and have no interest in improving or augmenting it; they have not even the ordinary incentive held out to other convicts, from the hope, or rather the expectation, of a remission of their punishment at the periods at which they are granted to others; and they are well aware that any skill that they may acquire or display in the service of Government will be the cause of their further detention in it. From the nature of the superintendence under which it is carried on, and the difficulty of procuring better, no accurate information is afforded of the progress that is made."

Under such circumstances, the men, as might naturally have been expected, frequently absconded from their work. The Parliamentary paper goes on to say:—"The defence made by these convicts when apprehended, very naturally refers to the greater extent of compulsory service that they are made to endure in the service of Government than is allotted to any other description of convicts; not on account of their crimes, but on account of their mechanical skill, or the value of their services. This distinction, so prejudicial to the real objects

of discipline, has received some limitation in the 17th article of the regulations made by Governor Macquarie in the month of June, 1819, in which it was declared, that on the expiration of four years passed in the service of Government, convicts who should have conducted themselves honestly, soberly, and diligently during that time, should be entitled to receive, and should actually receive, tickets-of-leave. The convicts in the service of Government are thus placed in a worse situation than those in the service of a settler, to whom a term of three years' service is assigned by Governor Macquarie's regulations of the 9th January, 1813."

And again :—"The distribution of the convicts in the first instance, the resumption of their services at subsequent periods, the extension of them beyond the terms assigned to others, have contributed to create an universal impression upon the minds of the convicts that skilfulness in work, rather than immoral conduct, was the cause of their first enthrallment, and the measure of its continuance. This feeling produces discouragement, carelessness, and not unfrequently malicious and wanton destruction of the property of government."

The extraordinary results obtained at first from convict labour by task work, as compared with the lazy, dilatory system previously in use, occasioned the general adoption of the former after a short trial, although Governor Macquarie was strongly opposed to the change. The amount of work required of the prisoners under the task-work system was, in most cases, fixed at what free men would consider a very low standard. In clearing land each labourer was required to fell the timber on an acre of ground for a week's work ; and to burn off sixty rods in the same period. Sawyers were to cut 700 feet of timber a week. Road gangs were required to make good a certain length of road in a month ; stonemasons to cut or to lay a certain quantity, according to the nature of the work ; and other trades were tasked in a similar manner. The chief centres of convict industry in Sydney were the lumber yard and the dockyard, both situated in Lower George-street. The trades carried on in the former place were blacksmiths, locksmiths, nailers, iron and brass founders, bellows-makers, coopers, sawyers, painters, lead casters, harness and collar makers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, joiners, and cabinet-makers. In the dockyard, in addition to the construction and equipment of boats and small vessels, and the loading and unloading of the cargoes of timber and

other building materials, many trades not immediately connected with ship work were carried on. Very large bodies of men were also employed in various localities about the city in quarrying, stone-cutting, brick-making, lime-burning, and other pursuits more or less connected with building operations. In 1819 the number of prisoners working in the Government gangs or upon Government works throughout the colony was upwards of 2600, those at Sydney alone amounting to about 1400.

After the introduction of task-work for the day labour system, for a short period, things appeared to go on very favourably. It was found that in most cases the men were able to finish their week's work by Wednesday night, when their time being at their own disposal they were eagerly hired by the settlers at good wages for the rest of the week. This not only gave them the opportunity of earning the means of sensual indulgence, but afforded them an amount of liberty that they had no right to expect, and had before hardly hoped for. The change on the condition of the prisoners in the Government gangs and in the public works was so great, that the order of things which before prevailed was soon completely reversed. Instead of desiring to be assigned to private persons, as had previously been the case, it became the almost universal desire of the convicts to be "in government," as they termed it. The effect, so far as private employers were concerned, was most disastrous. The dread of being "returned to Government" if they misbehaved themselves had up to this time exercised a most salutary influence on the conduct of the prisoners in private assignment. Most of them had always regarded a threat of that kind from their masters with far more apprehension than the lash itself. But the change in the system of Government employment made what had long been an object of dread, an object of desire. This altered disposition on the part of the prisoners could only be overcome by the granting of improper and unreasonable indulgences on the part of the masters. Many employers, to prevent the inconvenience, and perhaps ruin, which would follow the loss of the services of their assigned men, were obliged to wink at their crimes, and some agreed to pay them the same rate of wages, and to allow them the same rations, as their free servants. By the convict regulations, which of course, under the circumstances, had the force of law, the commission of any offence, however trifling, not merely against law but against discipline—ensured the return of

prisoners in private assignment to gaol or to labour on the public works. The very stringency of the regulations enabled the prisoners, if so inclined, to take advantage of them, and to such an extent was this carried by those who wished to be "returned to Government," that all discipline was at an end, and efficient control no longer possible.

"There was thus neither constraint nor control over them," says Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in his report, "and although the Government task was quickened, yet the profits that the convicts made by their own labour, were too frequently spent in dissipation and profligacy." The effect of the change in system on the quality of the work performed for the Government soon became a subject of general observation. It was found that not only was the work done by task executed in the most slovenly and careless way, but that enormous quantities of material were wasted or destroyed instead of being used; and that the utmost laxity prevailed on the part of the foremen and overseers in measuring and estimating the quantity of work said to have been accomplished. An official investigation into the latter feature of the system proved the existence of a guilty and general connivance on the part of the convict overseers in certifying to the quantity of work performed. Many officials of much higher standing were believed to have been cognisant of the false returns, and to have profited indirectly if not directly by them. Nearly all the Government officers were engaged in private undertakings of some sort or other; and from the absolute monopoly of the skilful mechanics by the Government, they often found it impossible to obtain labour of that kind except by conniving at the men's slovenliness in executing their tasks or their dishonesty in tale or measurement. The system which placed the coveted labour of the skilled prisoners at their own disposal for a considerable portion of the week was therefore extremely popular with them; and they did every thing in their power to conceal its defects and to exaggerate its benefits. Macquarie, himself and Mr. Wentworth, the police magistrate of Sydney, had always been opposed to the task-work system. The former had been prevailed upon to give it a trial in consequence of the tardy rate at which the public works proceeded previous to its introduction, but he had constantly watched it with jealousy and seen its effects with dislike and alarm. The complaints of the settlers were loud and frequent. They found it impossible to get a proper amount of work done while the Government held out such

strong inducements to their assigned men to laziness and insubordination. "At last," says the Parliamentary paper before quoted, "the question was reduced to this, whether the Government was likely to be better served by retaining the whole labour of the convicts that they fed and maintained at an increased ration, though the labour was conducted at a slower rate, in consequence of the taking away of all sources of profit to them and all stimulus to its increase; or by allowing them to divide their time for Government and for individuals, when maintained at a lower ration, to do as little as they could for the former and as much as possible for themselves."

Great influence was brought to bear by those who profited by the task-work system of employing the prisoners in order to improve its working and to ensure its continuance; but the want of honest and efficient superintendence was a fatal defect. It went on for a time, with various changes and modifications, but continued to get from bad to worse. In order to keep the prisoners in Sydney under more strict control and efficient inspection, it was resolved to erect a large barrack where they could all lodge, and at which they were mustered every morning, and where they were obliged to return every evening at a certain hour. The large building formerly known as Hyde Park Barracks, and now used partly as an Immigration Depot and partly as a branch of the Benevolent Asylum, at the east end of King-street, was accordingly erected for that purpose. Here, for many years, about a thousand convicts, under a system of something like military regularity and discipline, were kept. But the plan of congregating in one place so many men, most of whom were desperate and depraved characters, was found to be attended with the worst results. Those who suffered most from the change were the more reformed and decent portion of the prisoners. Previous to the erection of the barracks, a large number of this class of prisoners—in fact all of them who were able to do so—had been allowed to provide themselves with private lodgings, where they were free from the debasing and corrupting influence of their more hardened associates in crime, and were seldom interfered with by the authorities if they conducted themselves properly and duly attended muster. To most of those persons, who maintained themselves by honest industry, and who had given some evidence of a reformation in character, it was a severe blow to be sent to live with the worst class of convicts—perhaps

the most unmitigated ruffians to be found anywhere. Their complaints, however, which were frequent, were too well founded to remain long unheeded, and after a time they were allowed to return to their former mode of life, that is, to provide themselves with private lodgings, only attending at the barracks when the daily musters took place. Mr. Bigge's report, in referring to the aggregation of so great a number of prisoners in one establishment, says :—

“The association of so many depraved and desperate characters in one place is an evil that is complained of even by the convicts themselves ; and although it might not have been entirely, yet it might have been partially remedied on the opening of the convict barrack, by placing the best conducted men in one or more of the twelve sleeping rooms into which it is distributed. Robberies amongst the convicts in the barracks of their clothes and bedding, and concealment of it, are very frequent ; and they are encouraged in these practices by the facility with which they cast them over the barrack wall to persons who are ready to receive them on the other side. To remedy these evils, several expedients have been resorted to by the chief engineer, such as searches of their persons at the gate, and the painting of large letters and broad arrows on different parts of the dress ; and these precautions have in some measure diminished the great losses sustained in the clothing. It was likewise the intention of Governor Macquarie to have surmounted the barrack wall with an iron paling, but the erection of it was deferred on account of the high price of that commodity, and the delay of its arrival from England.

“It is somewhat extraordinary that instances of violence, or of attempts to force the gate of the barrack, should not have occurred more frequently, considering the temptations that exist in the town of Sydney and the general disposition to indulge in them that is shown by the convicts whenever they have opportunities. Absence from it on the nights of Saturday and Sunday are frequent, and are punished by confinement to the barrack on those days for certain periods. With these absences are likewise combined offences committed in the town of Sydney, of which a greater number is always brought before the police on Mondays than on any other days in the week.

“Major Druitt does not conceive than any danger to the [peace of the] colony has arisen, or is likely to arise, from the confinement of so many criminals in the same place.

Conspiracies to cut out vessels from the harbour, or to effect escape, are frequently made there; but the accumulation of numbers seems rather to have afforded means of timely detection, than of the perpetration of outrage; and the chief engineer and the superintendent have always depended upon the treachery of accomplices for information respecting it, and have not been deceived in that expectation. The security, indeed, arising from the treachery of the convicts towards each other, is common to all establishments in which they are collected together. It is not, however, against the perpetration of offences committed in the barrack alone that precaution is necessary; for on marching them to and from thence, either to work or to church, it is found very difficult to prevent them, especially the boys, from entering houses as they go along, and from snatching at property and secreting it. The employment of a number of seafaring men in the navigation of the boats has also led to the engagement of themselves and others in enterprises of escape; and latterly in some very desperate attempts to surprise and cut out boats and vessels in the harbours both of Port Jackson and Hobart Town."

The foregoing remarks on convict management refer almost exclusively to the condition of the prisoners whose services were retained by the Government. That class, towards the end of Macquarie's rule, numbered little short of three thousand. Those in private assignment were probably fully as numerous. It is to the latter class that the following remarks mainly apply.

In the early days of the colony, when private enterprise was feeble, and the class of wealthy employers hardly existed, those who were willing to undertake to feed and clothe prisoners in return for their work were looked upon as public benefactors, and all sorts of inducements were held out to them to engage in agricultural and other pursuits requiring unskilled labour. The remarkable success which attended the operations of the early capitalist settlers soon brought from England and India many competitors for the cheap labour and liberal grants of land and stock which the Government had to bestow; and after a time this influx of men of means and enterprise more than kept pace with the labour supply afforded by prisoners sent to the colony. The demand for the services of the convicts consequently increased, and instead of the Government having to offer inducements to employers, to take the surplus prisoners "off the store," the

authorities were at length able to dictate terms, and to enforce regulations respecting the treatment, the food, the clothing, and the employment of the assigned men. Up to this time (about the year 1800), the position of the convicts in the service of private persons had been one of extreme hardship. They appear, indeed, to have been very much at the mercy of their masters, many of whom, whenever they complained, answered them with the lash. Their numbers were previously so great in proportion to the demand for their labour that the masters were able at any moment to exchange unsuitable, or discontented, or worn-out men for others more capable or more willing to toil for them. Afterwards competition for the services of the prisoners brought about some amelioration in their condition; and in January, 1804, Governor King issued a general order, requiring all persons who applied for convicts to sign an indenture covenanting to clothe and maintain, in a prescribed manner, the prisoners entrusted to their charge, for a period of twelve months. The food and clothing to which the prisoners were entitled were specified; and in return for this allowance they were bound to perform a certain amount of work for their masters. At first every convict was required to labour for ten hours throughout the year for five days in the week, and six hours on Saturdays. If a man was able to perform a specified daily task in less than ten hours, he was at liberty to employ himself during the remainder of the time for his own benefit; reservation being made in favour of the master of a preferential right to the extra services of his convict servant, if he thought fit to employ him and pay for them. The rate of payment for this extra labour was also fixed by a general order, and set forth in a schedule annexed. It was never permitted by the law, at any period, for a master to inflict corporal punishment on his own men; but as many of the masters were magistrates, and there was a strong class feeling among them, the protection afforded to the convict servants by this circumstance was more apparent than real. Neighbouring settlers "obliged each other" when they thought it necessary to inflict punishment; and it made very little difference to the man who was flogged whether the number of lashes he received were ordered by his master or his master's friend. As the prisoners punished in this way became free in course of time, and many of them soon acquired property, and ultimately became the rivals in business pursuits of their former masters, it is easy to understand the feeling of antagonism that gradually

arose between the two classes. As the emancipists or freed class acquired property and influence, the condition of the assigned prisoners became gradually ameliorated; and the stringency of the rules respecting them was at length so much relaxed that what had been at first conceded as an occasional indulgence, came at last to be regarded as a right to be regularly insisted upon. Of this class was the usage by which their period of labour for their masters ceased at three o'clock each day. The more the prisoners were favoured the more the breach between the two classes became widened; and there can be no doubt that one principal cause of the outbreak which led to the deposition of Governor Bligh was the jealousy excited by the free settlers and the military at the growing power and wealth of the emancipists and the indulgences granted to the prison class. Complaints of the laziness and insubordination of the prisoners, and the presumption of the emancipists, were loud and frequent at that time. Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in his report upon the state of the colony, refers to the then condition of things in the following terms:—

“It was the general opinion in New South Wales, that although the state of crime in the convict and general population had neither exceeded the proportionate augmentation that had taken place in it, or had been marked with such characters of atrocity and desperation as had distinguished the earlier periods of the colony, yet that the labouring classes of the convicts were not under such good control as formerly, and that although they were better fed, yet that their labour was not so severe. These circumstances were more particularly observed by the older inhabitants of the colony, both by the class that had suffered, and by those that had profited by them. The character of the population, at those periods, had also much influence upon the state of discipline. The only distinction that then prevailed in the condition of the inhabitants, consisted of that of free persons and convicts; and in the former (consisting of civil or military, or as it frequently happened, a compound of both) the convicts saw only a combination of physical and moral strength, and a monopolising enjoyment of civil benefits, that inspired them with fear and with obedience; all external marks of deference and respect that the free people could devise were demanded and enforced from those of the convict classes. They are still required to be paid to civil and military officers, but not to persons who have not that rank.

"The feelings of the individuals who took a leading part in the government that immediately preceded that of Governor Macquarie, and who had co-operated in the violent suspension and expulsion of Governor Bligh, strongly partook of the spirit by which the superiority of the free population over the convicts had been maintained: severity of discipline in the labouring class of convicts, and a distant and haughty demeanour towards those who had lately emerged from that class, were the characters by which their short administration was marked. Since that period an intermediate class has arisen and become numerous, consisting either of the lower classes of settlers who came free, and who do not partake the same sentiments, and of persons whose sentences of transportation have expired, or who have received emancipation and pardons. To many of these persons convict servants have been assigned, without a sufficient attention to the superiority that it is so essential to preserve in the relation of master and servant, many of them being mere tenants, although they are described in the returns as landholders, and some of them only holding tickets-of-leave. In this description of persons it is that Mr. Cox, a gentleman much distinguished for experience and sagacity, has observed a want of authority over their convict servants, and an unwillingness to appear against them, arising from sympathy with a condition that was once their own, that tends to relax the severity of discipline, and to defeat the efforts of the magistrates to maintain it."

Colonel Macquarie, on assuming the reins of government, found it to be in accordance with his interest or inclination to patronise the emancipist class; and from the moment of his arrival to the date of his departure, a period of nearly twelve years, the amelioration of the condition of the convicts and their restoration to civil rights and to social recognition appear to have been his constant aim. The condition of well conducted assigned servants in New South Wales at that period was no doubt far superior on the whole to that of the labouring poor of the mother country. The weekly ration to which each assigned prisoner was entitled by law was seven pounds of beef or four pounds of pork, and eight pounds of wheat. But this was generally regarded as insufficient; and in a general order issued by Governor Macquarie on 7th October, 1820, was spoken of "as inadequate to the support of a man." As a matter of fact it was supplemented by the settlers with more or less liberality, according to their means or disposition,

or the deserts of the individual prisoner. Fourteen pounds of wheat, instead of eight, were allowed by most employers, and tea and sugar formed a constant accompaniment to the meals of the generality of assigned prisoners. In some cases the more wealthy class even gave their convict servants milk and vegetables. The allowance of wheat had to be ground into flour by the prisoners themselves, and this was generally performed by means of portable steel hand mills, with which the houses of most settlers were provided.

During Macquarie's time the immense number of convicts sent to the colony, and the impediments and discouragements thrown in the way of the immigration of free settlers, again produced a large surplus of unskilled prison labour: and employers were allowed the services of almost any number of convicts they were willing to support, and to exchange them as frequently as they wished. But the prisoner element of the population being now in the ascendant, in consequence of their enjoyment of the Governor's patronage and countenance, the assigned men were free from anything like systematic oppression, and, indeed, were in general well treated by their masters, both as a matter of policy and because public opinion was in favour of such a course.

The condition of the assigned prisoners, as it chiefly depended upon the circumstances and temper of their masters, was of course widely unequal. While those who were fortunate enough to be allotted to humane employers were better off than persons in their condition had any right to expect to be, those who were assigned to cruel and grasping masters in remote parts of the country, and who were therefore practically beyond the reach of legal redress, often had to endure quite as much suffering as could have been inflicted on a negro slave plantation. Indeed their position was in many respects worse than that of slaves, for as their masters could generally supply their places without cost or trouble to themselves, they had little or no interest in preserving their health or consulting either their physical or moral welfare. Cases of this kind, however, were the exception and not the rule. The class of prisoners whose position afforded the least opportunity for amendment or reformation of character, were those assigned to large employers engaged in extensive agricultural or pastoral pursuits. These men were generally under the immediate control of ignorant and brutal overseers, and being not only far removed from any court of justice but beyond the influence

of popular opinion, were frequently unable to obtain redress for any ill-treatment or oppression to which they might be subjected. It was this class of men who, driven to desperation, frequently "took to the bush," as the usual phrase went.

The class of assigned convicts most favourably placed, both as to the treatment they experienced and the opportunities placed within their reach for reformation, were those whose masters being of a less wealthy class than those referred to above, superintended their own workmen and lived on their farms with their families and dependents. This class of settlers had usually but two or three, or at most half-a-dozen assigned servants; and as many of them had young families of sons and daughters growing up, it was their interest, and generally their aim, to preserve a domestic atmosphere of decency and something like purity around them. If the masters were not always so successful in this respect as could have been desired, they at all events generally maintained a freedom from the open and unblushing vice which prevailed where large number of prisoners were congregated; while the gross and disgusting language and conduct which too frequently characterised gangs of prisoners when herded together almost like cattle, was entirely suppressed. Many of the convicts assigned to this middle class of settlers became reformed and useful members of society; although, unfortunately, in too many instances the younger branches of the settlers' households suffered from the evil example and designing character of their parents' assigned men.

Another class of settlers—men who never ought to have had prisoners assigned to them—were those who had been convicts themselves. These men, many of them the very worst of characters, had been placed in possession of land by Governor Macquarie as soon as their sentences expired. They had, of course, no means to enable them to work their farms properly, even if they possessed the inclination, which was very seldom the case. The Governor, however, with a generosity which in many instances proved to be more noxious than beneficent, generally allowed them rations for a time from the public store, lent them cattle from the public herds, and supplied them with one or more assigned men as labourers. These men and their masters were so much upon an equality that no subordination whatever was observed. Master and man lived together, worked together, and got

drunk together whenever they had the means. No circumstances under which men could be placed could well be more unfavourable to improvement. The usual course of things was that the master, so soon as the rations allowed him from the public store were exhausted, found himself in a state of destitution, and so far from being able to keep a convict servant in rations, was often unable to support himself. The consequence was that numbers of lazy and vicious men were allowed to prowl about the country, and, under the pretence of seeking employment, to commit depredations on their more industrious neighbours, and to acquire the habits of vagabonds. Mr. Bigge's report says :—

“The employment of convicts in the service of the lower classes of settlers, who cannot afford to pay them anything beyond their rations, or to stimulate or reward their industry by paying for their extra labour, is very pernicious. The convict is thus allowed to leave his home in pursuit of labour that he cannot find there, and he is out of the reach even of the imperfect control of his necessitous master. Governor Macquarie has endeavoured to restrain this practice by several orders ; and in some of the districts, chiefly occupied by the lower class of settlers, the magistrates have lately found it necessary to enforce their execution, both by exacting the fine imposed by those orders, and by removing the convict labourers from the control of those settlers who could not furnish them with employment.

“The great inconvenience and interruption that complaints against these servants occasion to the settlers, and the risk to which they are exposed in leaving their property to seek redress from the magistrates, is severely felt by all the inhabitants of the colony ; some of them, especially those who had themselves been convicts, feel a degree of commendable reluctance in making a complaint against a convict labourer for mere incapacity, and would rather submit to the unrequited expense of his maintenance than be the cause of the infliction of unmerited punishment. This feeling is in some degree attributable to a sympathy with that condition which was once their own, and is not corrected until they acquire property, and a disposition to improve and augment it. Others, influenced by less humane considerations, or by a dislike of the trouble of complaining, allow the convict to seek employment where he can find it, or leave him in the towns, where he is apprehended. He is in these cases sent to gaol, where he receives an allowance of one pound of bread

per day, until he is taken by another settler; and if he should be sent to Sydney or Parramatta, he is placed in one of the Government gangs. By this means his incapacity for agricultural labour is not removed, and his disposition and habits of indolence are in most cases confirmed."

The large number of convicts sent to the colony during Macquarie's period of rule, and the numerous favours extended towards them as a class, had the effect, for a time, of making the emancipists, if not a dominant party, at all events a very influential section of the community. It is difficult to ascertain the precise numbers of criminals transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land during the twelve years of Macquarie's administration; but the average for a considerable period was little less than 2000 a year. Of this large number probably four-fifths were men. With all this mass of thews and sinews to employ and direct, and crime and vice to control, and seeing the impossibility of employing, controlling, and ultimately absorbing it effectually without the aid of a numerous and prosperous community of free men, it is difficult to understand Macquarie's opposition to the influx of emigrant settlers, except on the supposition that he considered their presence inimical to the exercise of that almost unlimited and practically irresponsible power which he was for a long period allowed to enjoy. In the absence of that effectual control which could only be kept up by the help of a class far superior in numbers to the then free class, and to the well-conducted portion of those who had been convicts, Macquarie resorted to all sorts of favours and indulgences to secure the good behaviour and to promote the reformation of the prison class. This mode of treatment was the more readily adopted because in unison with the benevolence of his own character. In large numbers of cases there can be no reasonable doubt but that his kindness and leniency were entirely misplaced; yet in justice it must be conceded that in all probability no instance can be produced in the world's history where so large a proportion of fallen men and women were rescued from crime and vice, and restored to lives of honest industry and to positions of substantial comfort, as was the case with the offenders transported to New South Wales. Yet with all his leniency towards prisoners whose offences had been committed in Great Britain, Macquarie was not wanting in the exercise of a reasonable severity in the case of those who, having had the advantage of a fresh start in life on reaching the colony, refused to abandon their old habits, relapsed into crime, and

were again convicted. This class of prisoners—the doubly convicted—were, in addition to flogging, for the most part further punished by being sent to the Coal River, as the Hunter was then usually termed on account of the coal mines at its entrance. They were there worked in chains, in the mines, or employed in lime burning and wood cutting, under very stringent regulations, and kept on rations of an inferior quality.

The indulgences held out to well-behaved convicts were of various sorts. The grant of a ticket-of-leave, after the expiration of a term of about three years in private assignment, or four years' labour on public works, although at first intended as the special reward of good behaviour, came at length to be regarded as the right of every person who had managed to escape a second conviction. A ticket-of-leave enabled the holder to follow any employment or occupation he might choose, but he was obliged to confine himself to a certain district, out of which he could not move without incurring the loss of his liberty. In the case of persons transported for life, if they maintained a good character for ten years, they were conditionally pardoned—that is, were allowed to live in any place they wished, but could not leave the colony. If they continued to maintain their character for another five years, they were at liberty to make application for an absolute pardon; and if upon investigation their case was found to be in accordance with their representations, their petition was usually granted. Persons transported for any specified number of years were allowed to apply for absolute pardons when three-fourths of their sentences had expired.

An absolute pardon of the Governor of New South Wales contained a declaration under his hand and the seal of the territory, that the unexpired term of transportation of the holder was absolutely remitted to him. It was registered in the Governor's secretary's office on payment of a fee of 5s. to the principal clerk. A conditional pardon contained a like declaration, that the convict's sentence had been conditionally remitted, the conditions being that he should continue to reside within the limits of the colony of New South Wales during the full term of the original sentence, under pain of incurring all the penalties of re-appearing in Great Britain as if the remission had never been granted. A ticket-of-leave was a less formal document, and merely contained a declaration of the Governor's pleasure to dispense with the attendance at government work of the convict holding it, and

of his being permitted to employ himself (off the Government stores) in any lawful occupation, within a given district, for his own advantage, during good behaviour, or until the Governor's pleasure should be further made known. Certificates of freedom attested that the parties holding them, having served the full term of their sentence, had again become entitled to all the rights of free subjects. To each of these documents a full description of the person to whom it applied was added, and a duplicate copy registered in the office of the Governor's secretary. During Macquarie's period of rule he granted about four hundred free pardons, fifteen hundred conditional pardons, and two thousand five hundred tickets-of-leave.

The above, it should be understood, were the general rules on which Macquarie acted; but they were deviated from at various times in order to suit official convenience, or the real or supposed requirements of the public works. Whenever he found the operation of his rules likely to interfere with the progress of any pet scheme, or the completion in what he thought a reasonable time of a building or a road, Macquarie did not hesitate to set them aside, and to keep men at forced labour long after the period when, according to his own regulations, they should, if well conducted, have had their liberty. Suspensions of general convict regulations, founded upon this principle of expediency, were ordered to take place in 1816, in 1818, and again in 1820. The consequences, as a matter of course, were discontent, insubordination, and a more than ordinary desire to evade their tasks on the part of those who were deprived of the indulgences to which they had so long looked forward with pleasurable anticipations. Macquarie's behests, however, were not to be disobeyed or even questioned, and right or wrong had to be submitted to.

During the first year or two of his rule Macquarie received and granted applications from prisoners for tickets-of-leave and other indulgences almost daily. To be the dispenser of pardons—to grant liberty to the captive—partook so much of the power and attributes of royalty, that while the novelty lasted his vanity was easily flattered into a too ready compliance with the kindly promptings of his heart. Constant indulgence, however, soon blunted the pleasure of exercising this vice-regal function; and what had at first been a source of gratification, at length became an almost intolerable nuisance. Macquarie himself was not only prevented by the constant appeals of prisoners from attending to other business,

but the settlers were placed at great inconvenience by the frequently recurring absences of their assigned men in journeys to Sydney to present their petitions and applications for his favours. The days on which these requests could be received from prisoners were after a short time limited to once a month ; but even this soon became so tiresome and inconvenient that 1813 regulations were issued containing new and stringent requirements, and restricting all such applications to one day in the year, viz., the first Monday in December. This was going from one extreme to the other, and occasioned very serious inconveniences by bringing large numbers of prisoners to Sydney from all parts of the colony at the same time ; and was particularly annoying to the farmers, as it often took almost all their men away just at the commencement of harvest. The practice, nevertheless, was persisted in for several years ; and was the occasion of some very remarkable and disorderly scenes taking place in Sydney, and even at government house itself. An eye witness gives the following account of what he saw there in 1819 : " In the year 1813 a regulation took place respecting the applications of convicts, that they should thenceforth only be made in one day of the year, viz., the first Monday in each succeeding month of December. I was once present at government house on the day on which the petitions were presented. The crowd upon the occasion was very great, and observing their impatience the Governor addressed them and informed them that he would grant no tickets-of-leave to those who had not been three years in the country, nor any other indulgence except in conformity with the terms of his proclamation of the year 1813. This address produced no effect ; and there was great difficulty in preserving order in the presentation of the petitions that were delivered to the Governor ; who, on perusing the statements and looking at the certificates, either wrote in pencil on the margin the initial letters of the indulgence that was to be given, or rejected the petitions altogether. The petitions presented on this occasion exceeded 700 in number. They were collected by the major of brigade and two clerks, who, with the superintendent of convicts, were the only other persons present."

One of the greatest difficulties which Macquarie had to contend with, and one in which his conduct was the least satisfactory to most of the colonists, was in disposing of that class of convicts who had occupied superior positions in life. These men could not work—at least no settler would give

them food and clothing for the amount of labour they were able or willing to perform. They possessed neither mechanical skill nor that amount of rude physical strength which could be turned to account in the ordinary occupations of bush life. They were, in fact, the most useless of men in a new colony. Yet many of them brought with them considerable means, and proved by their conduct that they possessed no small amount of sharpness and tact in business. Macquarie's usual rule with such persons was to allow them tickets-of-leave soon after their arrival. By this means, if let off too easily, they were no longer a charge on the public funds, and they were afforded an opportunity, if so inclined, of redeeming their character and position. Many of them became very prosperous retail dealers and traders, and being generally very pushing and forward in their ways, succeeded in attaining considerable local notoriety. This circumstance, added to the undue leniency which had been shown them on their arrival, was always a source of discontent with prisoners who had been made to bear their share of labour, on public works or in private assignment, before they were allowed the slightest indulgence; and was productive also of annoyance to the free part of the community. The position occupied by these "long-coated gentry"—such was the term by which they were generally known—is thus referred to in Mr. Bigge's report: "The system of granting tickets-of-leave to these convicts on their arrival too quickly and abruptly, elevates them from a condition of punishment to a state of comparative enjoyment; there are many instances in Sydney of the successful exertion of these people as retail traders; but their success feeds their vanity as well as their vices, and they speedily lose that sense of humility and contrition which is essential to a state of punishment and reform. Another evil arising from it is the state of comparative equality in which it places them with that part of the population which came free to the colony; and with those who, having been sent as convicts at a period when similar indulgences were not so freely granted, feel surprise, and some degree of mortification, when they see them bestowed upon persons who, in their opinions, have done nothing to deserve them. But it must be acknowledged that there is some difficulty in disposing of those convicts who have been in the higher situations of life, and to whose attainments some respect is naturally paid even in a state of punishment."

The records of a census, or, as it was then termed, "a

muster," taken by Macquarie's directions in 1820, throw considerable light on the condition and numbers of the emancipists, or persons of convict origin, then in the colony. The figures show their proportion to the free part of the population, as well as other facts which, to a certain extent, enable a judgment to be arrived at as to the influence they exercised on the moral, social, and political aspects of the community. It appears from this muster, that the total population of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in the month of October, 1820, amounted to about 30,000 souls. Of this number 4969, or about one in every six of the population, were emancipists, that is persons whose sentences had expired or who had been pardoned either conditionally or fully. The number who had received absolute pardons was 182; those who had been pardoned conditionally 1170; and those whose sentences had expired 3617. The total quantity of land owned by private colonists at this time was 389,288 acres; of this quantity 71,144 acres, or somewhat less than a fifth part, was the property of persons of the emancipist class, or who were or had been convicts. It appears from this, so far as the possession of landed property can be taken as an indication of means or position, that in proportion to their numbers the emancipists were quite equal to the free class. As a matter of fact, however, they occupied a much lower social position, for although many of them had attained to considerable wealth, those who cared to surround themselves with the conveniences and luxuries which generally accompany the possession of ample means, were very few. A very large proportion of their number were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, occupying for the most part the little grants of land with which Macquarie usually presented every prisoner on the expiration of his sentence. From their previous habits, and want of the necessary knowledge and skill, their farming operations were usually conducted in a very rude and wasteful manner. Most of their habitations too were of the most wretched kind—consisting of nothing but a few poles and sheets of bark, with the bare earth for a floor. In referring to their position and circumstances Mr. Bigge says:—"Having in general begun farming with very limited means, they have been obliged to depend solely upon the return of the produce of their land. It is through their means, therefore, that the greatest quantity of grain has been produced for the consumption of the colony; and it is also through their want of means, and their want of skill, that the

productive powers of the soil, that is not generally a fertile one, have been exhausted by repeated cropping. * * * Pressed by their necessities, as well as by their love of excessive indulgence, and unable, from the want of proper buildings, to secure their produce when gathered, these thoughtless persons hasten to Sydney at the first opening of the King's store, and if unable to obtain immediate admission for their grain, or baffled in their expectations by the confusion and want of regulation that prevail there, they sell it to the publicans, who are the only persons in the colony that possess the means of storing grain. They then buy dearly a few articles of the first necessity, which, with a supply of spirituous liquors, are soon consumed, and leave them in poverty and wretchedness until the return of the next harvest brings with it a diminished return of produce, but affords a repetition of the same improvident indulgence."

A common result of such a course of conduct on the part of these people was, that their little farms soon passed into the hands of a wealthy neighbour, or some Sydney store-keeper or publican; and their owners either sunk into crime and poverty, or became the tenants, on what were called clearing leases, of larger landed proprietors. The authority above quoted says in reference to this phase of the subject, "The returns from the districts of Evan, Castlereagh, Windsor, and Wilberforce, show that as many as 240 of the remitted convicts in those districts are only tenants under other proprietors. This mode of tenure is either a consequence of the system already described, by virtue of which the impoverished owner of a grant of 50 acres of land becomes at length the tenant of an avaricious landlord, who is his creditor; or it is the consequence of a system by which the owners of the larger properties find it convenient to get their land cleared free of expense to themselves. For this purpose they let small portions of it upon what are called clearing leases, for five or seven years, to convicts who have been in their service, or who, upon their recommendation, have received remissions of sentence. The tenant clears as much land as his means will allow him during the term, and subsists upon the produce, or occasionally works for hire to the landlord. From the mode of cultivation that is pursued by these tenants (and they cannot afford to make it better) the land is returned into the hands of the landlord in an exhausted state at the end of the term; and it is generally found that this description of settlers, when placed at a

distance from the towns, and not having the opportunity of a ready market, gradually decline in circumstances and then resort to the plunder of their neighbours for support."

The writer of the above was strongly adverse to Macquarie's system of granting land to emancipated prisoners, and therefore his picture was probably somewhat darkly coloured. The opinion of the Rev. Mr. Cartwright was much more favourable to the character and habits of the class in question. That gentleman's representations are entitled to the greatest weight, as well on account of his high character as from the frequent opportunities of observation he possessed in the performance of his clerical and magisterial duties. He said that out of this class of the population in the districts of Windsor, Richmond, Wilberforce, Portland Head, and Pitt Town, amounting to 149 persons, settled on their own property, and generally married, there were 83 persons whom he considered to be industrious and well disposed, living upon their property and educating their children. The Rev. Mr. Cowper's opinion of the class of emancipists (having reference, however, only to those resident in Sydney) was not so favourable. He said, "While some are well conducted persons, little that is praiseworthy can be advanced concerning many. They are generally poor and immoral. There is not much religion amongst the best, and the far greater part have not the appearance of it." Opinions of this kind depend of course very much upon the stand point from which the view is taken. Where a clergyman would be likely to pass an unfavourable verdict, a mere man of the world, who looked, without reference to religious professions, mainly at the evidences of improvement and of substantial comfort which he saw around him, might possibly come to a very different conclusion. The truth appears to be that coexistent with much that was exceptionally vicious, as compared with the condition of ordinary society at that period, there was amongst the class now referred to a large amount of industry, energy, and force of character; ill-directed frequently, no doubt, but capable under favourable circumstances of much that was praiseworthy and elevating.

Instances, indeed, of extraordinary zeal and well-directed exertions in the cause of morality and religion were not entirely wanting among these men, as the following circumstance will show. At Pennant Hills, on the northern shore of the Parramatta river, a number of prisoners were usually employed in timber cutting and shingle splitting. They were

under the control of an emancipist overseer named Kelly, a man who had become free by the expiration of his sentence. These men were for a long time without any religious instruction, but such was the desire of several of their number, and particularly of the overseer, for some improvement in this respect, that after their usual task was accomplished they devoted their leisure hours to the erection of a place of worship, and so built by their own labour a very decent chapel, capable of holding 150 persons. In this chapel a man named Home, who had been a convict, a person of some intelligence and education, performed Divine service for a considerable period. The erection of this building cost the Government nothing but the price of the nails used, and, except felling the timber, the work was accomplished in about six weeks. Instances of conduct similar to this were certainly uncommon, but evidences of better things than could reasonably have been expected from men in their position, who had been guilty of serious crimes, were of frequent occurrence.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the authorities had to contend, in connexion with the transportation system, was the control and disposal of convict women. Their numbers, as compared with those of the other sex, were comparatively few—not more probably than 25 per cent.—but, as most of the modes of punishment applicable to men could not be employed in their case, they gave vastly more trouble to those who had charge of them. The knowledge of the comparative immunity they enjoyed on account of their sex, the great demand for their labour as house servants, and the avidity with which they were sought as wives by ticket-of-leave holders and other male prisoners, all tended to encourage rather than restrain their tendency to vicious indulgence and that reckless disregard of consequences which is a common characteristic of fallen women. Those among them who had husbands in the colony were allowed, almost immediately after arrival, to join them; those who had paramours willing to marry them had no impediment thrown in their way, as it was ever the policy of the authorities, from the foundation of the colony, to encourage as many as possible amongst the prisoners to enter into the marriage state. Transported women who had young children generally arrived in the colony accompanied by their offspring, and were sent with them to the Female Factory at Parramatta. To this place were also sent such females as having at first been assigned to private persons,

had misconducted themselves. There they were employed in spinning and weaving for the settlers, and in making clothing for male prisoners in the gaols and Government gangs. The cloth they made was a grey woollen, of very coarse texture, but well suited to the purposes for which it was intended. The ordinary practice was for settlers to send in their own wool to the factory, and to receive a yard of cloth for every five pounds of wool. It was calculated that four pounds of the raw material were sufficient to make a yard of cloth; and the other pound was retained on account of the labour expended in manufacturing it. It was the wool so acquired that was made into clothing by the factory women for the male prisoners. This practice obtained up to the year 1819, when, in consequence of the general introduction of fine-woolled sheep, it became no longer possible to continue the system, and coarse wool had to be imported by the Government for the purpose of being manufactured into clothing for the prisoners.

Although a majority of convict women appeared reckless and incorrigible while under restraint, it is a singular and pleasing fact that many of their number became after they had acquired their freedom very useful members of society, and some of them estimable wives and mothers. Many who had the good fortune to marry steady and industrious men found in the duties of domestic life and the absorbing cares of maternity sufficient employment for their previously ill-regulated minds and erratic energies; and in the protection of a husband and the sanctuary afforded by a comfortable home, a refuge from the buffetings of a world with which they had before been at war. Many of them, like their husbands, were persons of great strength of will and force of character, and the members of numerous households in New South Wales can yet bear testimony to the tact, energy, industry, and good management of these rescued and reformed women. But, unfortunately, instances of this kind were the exception and not the rule, for in New South Wales as in other countries those who emerged from the fallen condition in which vice or misfortune had placed them were proportionately less numerous in the case of women than of men.

Almost everything which has been said by public speakers and writers relative to the evils or the benefits of the convict system is open to so many exceptions and deductions, that it is difficult to arrive at anything like general or satisfactory conclusions. If, through its instrumentality, the roads and

public works of the colony were maintained and carried out on a scale which would have been impossible under any other circumstances in a new and remote colony, the cost to the mother country was so great under the wasteful and extravagant system almost inseparable from convict labour and management that it is impossible to say that, in an economical point of view, the money was well spent, or that vastly greater benefits might not have been obtained if the funds had been devoted to promoting the immigration and settlement in Australia of the honest and industrious poor of the mother country. If the assignment system reformed many convicts, by rescuing them from the frightful demoralisation of gaols and road gangs, and placing them under the control and making them almost members of the families of well-conducted private settlers, this reform of many individuals of one class was purchased at the fearful cost of introducing to the domestic hearth of almost every family in the country, dishonest men and abandoned women, whose depraved habits and vicious conversation were constant sources of demoralisation to the younger members of their masters' households, and the effects of whose baneful example and teaching brought sorrow to many a parent whose wealth had flown from the very source that thus threatened to destroy his domestic peace and to make shipwreck of the happiness of his children. If it be said that the command of forced labour enabled the early settlers the more readily to push their farming and grazing operations into the interior, and to cover with their cattle a vastly larger expanse of territory than would otherwise have been possible, it may be replied that the mere nomadic occupation of a country for the purpose of consuming its natural herbage, by a few wretched convicts in charge of widely scattered flocks and herds, living without any of the appliances of civilisation, and almost utterly regardless of the teachings of morality and religion, was at best but a questionable gain to colonisation ; and, when taken in connection with the demoralisation and destruction of the aboriginal occupants of the soil, in no degree advantageous to the cause of humanity. Yet, in some points of view, it cannot be denied that the convict system as carried out in New South Wales was decidedly beneficial. Both in public employment and in private assignment, men were forced to work, to learn habits of order and regularity, and in many cases to acquire a knowledge of useful trades, by which, after they became free,

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they were able to maintain themselves in honesty and comfort. By their removal from the scenes of their former vices and crimes they were afforded an opportunity for reformation such as they never could have had in the old country; and their transportation from a densely populated to an almost uninhabited land relieved to a certain extent that desperate struggle for the means of existence which had, perhaps, been one of the chief causes of the crimes or misfortunes which rendered their banishment necessary.

But however great may have been the material benefits derived from the labour of transported felons in a new and remote colony, there are probably but few unprejudiced observers who, having witnessed the moral, social, and political evils arising from the presence of convicts, have come to any other conclusion than that no material advantages which could possibly be conferred were sufficient to counter-balance them.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF AUSTRALIAN EXPLORATION—OXLEY'S EXPEDITIONS TO THE LACHLAN AND THE MACQUARIE—DISCOVERY OF THE SOUTHERN INTERIOR—CAPTAIN KING'S VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-WEST COAST.

THE discovery, in 1813, of a practicable route across the Blue Mountains, has been chronicled in a previous chapter. The prospects revealed by that discovery quickly aroused the colonists from the state of lethargy into which they had been for some time in danger of falling; and its effects soon changed the settlement from a position little better than that of a great gaol to a prosperous and rapidly advancing colony. It was the first step in that long and brilliant career of Australian exploration which has since developed in the colonists some of the noblest characteristics of their race, and afforded instances of endurance, self-denial, and energy which have never been surpassed.

Almost immediately after the return of Mr. Surveyor Evans,

in January, 1814, from the journey in which he followed up the track of Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson, and, after passing the spot where they had turned back, penetrated to the banks of the Macquarie and the Lachlan rivers, measures were taken for constructing a road across the mountains as far as Bathurst Plains. This work was carried out by convict labour, under the direction of Mr. Cox; and such was the energy and judgment with which it was prosecuted, that in about fifteen months—that is by April, 1815—the most difficult parts were completed, and it was then formally opened by Governor and Mrs. Macquarie, who passed over it on horseback, attended by a cavalcade of most of the leading colonists. On this occasion the site of the town of Bathurst, the future capital of the western districts, was fixed upon by the Governor; and many of the opulent and enterprising colonists in his train were so much delighted with the verdure of the plains, and the great pastoral capabilities of the new country, that they immediately made arrangements for occupying a very large extent of it with their fast increasing flocks and herds.

In order to ascertain something of the nature of the great unknown country beyond, soon after Macquarie's return to Sydney he resolved to despatch the surveyor-general, Mr. Oxley, with a well equipped party, to follow up the discoveries of Mr. Evans, and to make further explorations in the direction of the rivers which had been found running into the western interior. These streams, like almost everything else at that period, had been honoured with the names of the vain and good-natured Governor—one having been called the Lachlan and the other the Macquarie.

Various causes contributed to delay the starting of Mr. Oxley's expedition until the month of April, 1817. Its leader was accompanied on this occasion by Mr. Evans, the deputy-surveyor; by Mr. Allan Cunningham, botanist, who had been sent from England by the Home Government for the express purpose of investigating the flora of the country; also by Mr. Frazer, as colonial botanist; and by Mr. Parr, as mineralogist. The party consisted in all of thirteen persons, well provided with beasts of burthen and all the necessary scientific and other appliances. The expedition arrived at Bathurst on the 14th April, and found the settlement which had been formed there in a most flourishing condition.

It was determined to explore first the largest and most southerly of the two rivers seen by Mr. Evans in his previous

journey; and on the 20th the party started from Bathurst towards the Lachlan, through a country which although at first very picturesque in appearance soon became flat and uninviting. They reached the river on the 26th, at a place where it was about a hundred feet wide, with deep banks, and its course marked by large trees, many of which, having fallen into the stream, obstructed the current, and rendered progress difficult. Here a depot was established, and two boats constructed to assist their progress down the river. Finding by their instruments that they were not more than six hundred feet above the level of the sea, they inferred from this and from flood marks which were everywhere visible—some of them thirty-six feet above the stream—that the ocean could not be nearly so distant as had before been supposed. It was believed that the Lachlan united somewhere with the Macquarie, and probably with other rivers, and fell into the Pacific on the southern coast, at a distance of not more than five or six hundred miles.

Considerable numbers of natives were found encamped on the banks of the river, and the lagoons and pools were full of fish and covered with wild fowl. The natives behaved throughout in a very peaceable and friendly manner, and the travellers proceeded through apparently endless plains and swamps, with no other obstructions than those offered by the nature of the country. On the 12th May the stream appeared to terminate in a vast marsh, and they resolved to attempt to go no further in that direction; but as another branch had been seen to the south-west they proceeded towards it. They reached an elevated range on the 4th June, after passing through a monotonous and desolate region, destitute of water, and exceedingly difficult for travelling. Their horses were almost worn out with fatigue and want of food, most of the country crossed being of the kind known as malle scrub; and the prospects on all sides, from the hills on which they now encamped, were of the most dreary and disheartening kind, with recent flood marks in all directions.

After stopping to rest and recruit for a few days they resolved to turn back towards the north, in hopes of regaining the river; and on the 23rd June again reached the Lachlan, at a spot where it had emerged from the great swamps which had before caused them to abandon it. It was now enclosed between deep banks, running to the westward, and so hidden by trees that it was not perceptible until

close at hand. Fish were abundant, consisting mostly of a species of perch of two or three pounds weight, and the fine large fish afterwards known as the Murray cod, weighing from fifty to seventy pounds each. Birds were also plentiful, and easily procured; and with all these advantages in their favour it was resolved to make another attempt to follow the course of the river towards its mouth. These encouraging prospects were however but of very short continuance, for the disappointed explorers again came to almost interminable swamps and bogs, in which the strength of both men and horses quickly became exhausted. The stream, too, was again obstructed with fallen timber to such an extent that the boats were useless. From every elevation they ascended the prospect presented was of the same monotonous and sterile description—enormous flats and almost impervious scrubs stretching in every direction, and dotted with shallow lagoons, from which a sickly and decaying vegetation sent up an offensive odour and poisoned the atmosphere with miasms.

After pushing through this difficult and disheartening country for a considerable distance they were again brought to a stand by an impassable and apparently endless swamp. They had now reached a point which they reckoned at about five hundred miles in a direct line from their place of departure, and more than double that distance by the devious route they had been compelled to follow. The river, which they had traced so great a distance, had not, so far as they had been able to discover, received a single tributary in all that vast extent of country. Being unable to proceed further they buried a bottle containing the names of the party, the course they then proposed to pursue, and the date at which they had reached the spot. The place where they turned back, after following the course of the river for so many hundreds of miles, was, singularly enough, within a short distance of the junction of the Lachlan with the Murrumbidgee; and they missed the discovery of that fine river only by a day or two's journey. Their furthest camp was about latitude 34 and longitude 145.

They retraced their steps on the banks of the Lachlan until the 1st of August, and then struck across the country in a north-east direction, in order, if possible, to reach the Macquaria. The country over which they now travelled consisted principally of a red sandy loam, with patches of cypress, box,

and acacia trees, and tracts of malle scrub. On the 14th August, having travelled about a hundred miles, and suffered from want of water, without having seen any signs of the Macquarie, they changed their course to the eastward. Their provisions were now beginning to fail, and they feared that if they proceeded further from the settled districts they would be unable to return. After facing to the eastward, they crossed many fine streams, and at length reached the Macquarie about fifty miles beyond the place to which Mr. Evans had traced it upon his first journey. They followed down the course of the river for some distance, but the state of their provisions and other circumstances compelled them to return without having obtained any definite information as to its further course. The country on its banks, so far as they went, was of the most promising description; and their return journey towards Bathurst was through a district of beautiful hills and fertile valleys, in which the streams abounded with fish and the plains with game. They reached the settlement after an absence of about four months and a half, having added greatly to what was previously known of the interior if they failed to achieve all at which they had aimed.

The result of this exploring expedition was to awaken a strong desire in the colonists to ascertain more about the character of the great unknown interior on whose fringe they had so long waited and wondered. Macquarie and the Surveyor-General were fully alive to the benefits likely to flow from the prosecution of enterprises of this kind, and soon after the return of the party from the journey to the Lachlan, above related, it was resolved to equip another expedition to explore the country watered by that still more promising river which had been found running to the north-east, and whose further discovery had to be abandoned at a most interesting part of its course in consequence of the failure of supplies. In the month of May following—that is, in 1818—Mr. Oxley again set out, with a well-equipped party, consisting of Dr. Harris, a surgeon of the old New South Wales Corps; Mr. Evans, the deputy surveyor; Mr. C. Frazer, botanist; and twelve men, with nineteen horses, and six months' provisions. Previous to the departure of this party preparations had been made for facilitating their proceedings by building two boats at the point on the Macquarie which they had first struck on their former journey in returning from the

Lachlan. In these boats they embarked the heaviest portions of their provisions and equipments, while the horses thus relieved proceeded along the banks. They found as they proceeded that the river received the waters of various tributaries, and in its increased volume was frequently as much as three hundred feet wide, proportionately deep, and varied with magnificent reaches, with extensive flats of the richest land on either side, on which no traces of floods could be discovered. The natives were numerous and not unfriendly, and wild fowl and kangaroos abundant. On the hills which formed the backgrounds of the picturesque scenes through which they passed, were discovered mineral indications of a most promising character; and altogether the splendid prospects which seemed to lie before the party raised their most enthusiastic expectations. Here at length the Australia of the old navigators—the bright vision which had lured the world for centuries—was about to meet the gaze of civilised men. Here, in the innermost recesses to which the coy genius of Australia could retreat, she was at last about to reveal her choicest treasures. Never was enthusiasm doomed to quicker disappointment. As they advanced the scene gradually changed. At every mile the country became flatter and more uninteresting, until, having reached the 148th degree of longitude and the 31st of latitude, the river lost itself in apparently interminable marshes and swamps, amid which further progress appeared impossible. Mr. Oxley thought he had now reached the margin of an inland sea. His account says:—"To assert positively that we were on the margin of the lake or sea into which this great body of water is discharged, might reasonably be deemed a conclusion that has nothing but conjecture for its basis; but, if an opinion may be hazarded from actual appearances, which our subsequent route tended more strongly to confirm, I feel confident we are in the immediate vicinity of an inland sea." Mr. Oxley's speculations, however, on this as on other important points in Australian geography, although by no means improbable when made, turned out to be erroneous. Defeated but not dismayed by the obstacles before them, and hoping to achieve in another direction something more worthy of note than seemed possible in the great marshes of the Macquarie, the faces of the party were now turned towards the east. A lofty range of hills, which in their outward journey they had seen in that direc-

tion, was the object to which they now steered their course. These hills were bare and dark in appearance, and had been named Arbuthnot's Range, but were afterwards, and are still, known as the Warrambungle Mountains. Their course towards them lay over a difficult country of alternate swamp and scrub. Much of the ground, even where dry on the surface, was rotten and treacherous, and the horses sank almost knee-deep at every step; the consequence was, that in a short time they lost several of their best animals and almost exhausted the remainder.

On the 27th July, when they had been out about two months, they reached the banks of a considerable stream—more than five hundred feet wide, and apparently in flood by the heavy rains which were now falling. This river was named the Castlereagh, and after waiting on its banks for a few days it fell so much that they were able to cross it. The heavy rains, however, had rendered the country almost impassable: but they struggled on, and at length reached a hill which they named Kangaroo Hill from the numbers of those animals found there, but which was afterwards called Loadstone Hill from the remarkable effect it produced on the compass, which was suddenly reversed, so that the needle pointed to the south. On ascending Arbuthnot's Range they ascertained that its loftiest point (Mount Exmouth) was about three thousand feet high. From this elevation Mr. Oxley described the surrounding country as follows:—

"To the north-east, commencing at N. 33 degrees E., and extending to N. 51 degrees E., a lofty and magnificent range of hills was seen lifting their blue heads above the horizon. This range was honoured with the name of the Earl of Hardwicke, and was distant on a medium from 100 to 120 miles; its highest elevations were named Mount Apsley and Mount Shirley. The country between Mount Exmouth and this bounding range was broken into rugged hills, and apparently deep valleys, and several minor ranges of hills also appeared. The high lands from the east and south-east gradually lessened to the north-west, when they were lost in the immense levels which bounded the interior abyss of this singular country, the gulf in which both water and mountain seem to be as nothing. Mount Exmouth seems principally composed of iron-stone; and some of the richest ore I had yet seen was found upon it."

Leaving the Warrambungle Range, they continued their

journey towards the coast, passing through a broken country with much good land, for about a hundred miles. Keeping still towards the eastern coast, they crossed Liverpool Plains, containing many tracts of splendid openly-wooded country, consisting of alternate hills and valleys, and abounding with game and with a numerous population of aborigines. They named many of the more prominent hills, visible from their track, but as the appellations then conferred have mostly given place to the original native or some more popular designation it would be useless to particularise them. From an elevation called Whitwell Hill they had a view of a magnificent country, with mountains stretching to the eastward. On the 2nd September they reached a deep and rapid stream, which they named the Peel; and after crossing it passed over some lofty elevations, and through fine valleys, with numerous streams running westward.

Beyond this they found the streams running to the eastward, and it was evident they had passed the dividing range, separating the waters of the great interior from those which fell into the Pacific, which washed the shores of the eastern coast. The rest of their journey was through an extremely broken and picturesque country, of a different geological character from that which had been the scene of their wanderings to the westward of the dividing range. Rocks and glens, lofty precipices and shaggy woods, alternated with rich open forest lands. They were at an elevation of several thousand feet,* and their descent to the lower coast district was extremely difficult. They at length reached a fine stream, which they named the Hastings, and which brought them to the coast, after having traversed, from their furthest western point in the great marshes of the Macquarie, an extent of country measuring nearly four hundred miles in a straight line, and on which the foot of civilised man had never before been set. The spot where they reached the sea was Port Macquarie: and as this was before any settlement had been formed there, they still had a difficult journey before them in order to reach the settled districts. The coast, between the place where they struck the Pacific and Newcastle, the nearest spot where civilised men were to be found, was interrupted and broken by numerous indentations and salt water lakes, difficult to cross and impossible to avoid. In these circumstances the travel-

* Mount Sea-view, at the head of the Hastings, is about 6000 feet high.

lers were fortunate enough to find a boat, half buried in the sand, the remains probably of a wreck. This boat the men carried on their shoulders for about ninety miles from one inlet to another.

With the natives, throughout their long journey in the interior, that had no conflict, and had experienced no difficulty up to this time in maintaining friendly relations. They found the coast natives, however, extremely treacherous; for although the savages professed to be most friendly, they attacked the party on more than one occasion, and dangerously wounded some of the men. They at length reached Port Stephens, and from thence were conveyed to Newcastle, where they arrived on 5th November, after an absence from the settled districts of more than five months, during which period they had accomplished by far the longest journey which up to that period had been undertaken into the interior of the Great South Land; and had added a vast extent of magnificent country to the previously known territory.

Never before in the history of colonisation had prospects so brilliant presented themselves as were before the settlers of New South Wales at the period of the first opening up of the great unknown interior. A boundless extent of rich and practically unowned country awaited their occupation; the transportation system supplied them abundantly with labour; while the profuse disbursement of British funds in the maintenance of that system afforded a ready market and good prices for their produce. On every side new life and energy were displayed by the settlers, and all were desirous of pushing forward to secure a share in the magnificent lands which had been discovered beyond the mountains.

Other routes through the coast range than that discovered by Wentworth and his companions were soon sought for and found. So early as 1814 Mr. Hamilton Hume and his brother, two youths, the sons of a Presbyterian minister, and natives of the colony, had penetrated through the mountains at a point sixty or seventy miles to the south-west of the previously opened route to the western interior, and had discovered the country around Bong-bong and Berrima. Two or three years subsequently, Mr. Hume, accompanied by Mr. Meehan, government surveyor, made further successful exploring journeys in the same direction; in these journeys Goulburn plains, and a great part of the county of Argyle, as far as Lake Bathurst, were discovered.

After this, for several years, the exploration of the interior was principally carried on by private colonists in search of stock stations; and from various sources during this period rumours reached Sydney of great rivers among the mountains to the south-west, which it was alleged exceeded in the volume of their waters and the magnificence of the country through which they flowed anything which had before been seen in Australia. These accounts, derived from the imperfectly understood statements of the aboriginal natives, were, however, a long time before they assumed any definite shape. The mystery attaching to rivers running apparently towards the centre of the continent was not yet destined to be solved, and many years elapsed before the true positions and courses of the Murrumbidgee and the Murray were revealed. During this interval, however, the colonists were not inactive, but were gradually pushing their grazing operations to the south as well as to the west, and within four or five years after Mr. Hume's discovery of Goulburn plains and the Argyle districts a large extent of land in that direction was taken up by private persons for pastoral purposes.

Governor Macquarie, ever active in the discharge of his duties, determined, in 1820, to pay a visit to the newly-settled southern districts, in order to be able to judge for himself as to the character of the country. The journal of a gentleman who was one of the vice-regal party on the occasion referred to affords a lively picture of the progress of settlement at that period, and contains some very interesting remarks on the appearance of the country and its capabilities for colonisation, as they presented themselves to an observant stranger, before the inroads of the white man had much modified the original aspect of things. The Governor's party left Liverpool (then the frontier town in that direction,) on the 16th October, travelling through the bush towards the south-west. At night they slept in the open air, and were disturbed by the roaring of a wild bull which had found its way into their camp. In the morning, on resuming their journey, they saw several herds of wild cattle, and kangaroos were numerous. On the 18th they reached what was then known as Throsby's country; and it is exceedingly interesting to learn that even at that early period the evidences of prosperity and enterprise there seen were of the most substantial character. The account says:—

“We entered on what is called ‘the New Country,’ or

'Throsby's Country,' so called after the person by whom it was discovered. A river of very moderate size divides it from the old country, and its general aspect differs widely indeed from any thing we had yet seen; richness of soil, and beautiful scenery, combining their charms to increase its interest. One of Mr. Throsby's herds, consisting, I believe, of between four and five hundred bullocks, was feeding on the plain, and their appearance bespoke at once the increased fertility of the country; they would have done credit to a first-rate English farmer. They were large sized, and exceedingly fat; some of them, we were informed, would weigh nine cwt. A ride of about one mile and a half further brought us to Mr. Throsby's cottage, which is situated on a rising and moderately elevated mount, commanding a good prospect of gently undulating hills and fine fertile valleys. We arrived at Mr. Throsby's by half-past one, having only travelled twelve miles; every one seems pleased with to-day's excursion, and delighted with the country we have now entered on. A short time made our little camp habitable, and our comfort was promoted by Mr. Throsby's hospitality. From Throsby Park to Tin-doon-bindahl is eleven miles, and the country beautiful. Scarcely a new spot opened to our view, but the exclamation was heard from some one or other, 'what a delightful situation for a gentleman's house and pleasure grounds!' The soil is in general shallow, but there are many tracts that appeared fit for every purpose of the farmer.

"We arrived at the Wollondilly before two o'clock. Mr. Throsby and I rode a mile and a half or two miles further to examine the soil, which had again assumed a fertile appearance, with the most beautiful prospects and scenery that can be imagined. I think, however, this district is better suited for the grazier than the agriculturist.

"Our tents to-day were pitched on the lowermost of a range of gently swelling hills, on the south bank of the river. We had some difficulty in selecting the most beautiful spot, for every spot was beautiful. This evening was passed pleasantly, as all the preceding ones had been. We all made little excursions, in different directions; and when we met again, each gave an account of what he had seen."

Roads were at this time being rapidly pushed into the new country, and on the 21st they came upon a road gang:—"We arrived at Cook-bundun about eleven, whither the road-

makers' party had worked their way. They were exceedingly clean and orderly. By two the baggage arrived, and the tents were put up in a sort of glen, something resembling an amphitheatre, formed by a range of hills, estimated to be between twelve and fifteen hundred feet high, the foot of which is washed by a murmuring stream, here and there collecting into deep reaches. On the banks of one of these, we took up our abode for the night. It was with considerable reluctance we separated to retire to rest about ten. At that hour, the moon shone with great brilliancy; not a cloud was to be seen; and the stillness of the night, combined with the majestic scenery by which we were surrounded, gave a degree of energy to the mind that fitted it for contemplating the beauties of nature."

On the 22nd Goulburn plains and Breadalbane plains were reached, and the latter named by the Governor, the name of the former having been previously conferred by their discoverer. The native denizens of the forest had at that early period hardly become aware of the danger which the proximity of the white man involved, and their curiosity almost overcame their fear. "We had ridden," says the account, "about three miles, when four emus were observed at a considerable distance. On seeing us they showed a disposition to run away; but, as we stood still, they turned, and after gazing a few minutes came towards us, stopping every now and then to reconnoitre, and then, coming a little farther, until they approached within twelve or fifteen yards, when, taking flight, they ran off with great rapidity." Lake Bathurst was reached on the 23rd. It was at that period a magnificent sheet of water, twenty miles or more in circumference, covered with flocks of wild fowl. The journal of the trip says:—"This morning presented beauties such as we had not seen during the journey;—a lake on one side and verdant plains on the other. The number of wild ducks floating on the smooth bosom of the lake was absolutely incredible. Considerable numbers of black swans, too, were swimming up and down in all the dignity and seeming self-importance that this graceful bird is known to assume." This was the extent of the writer's journey, who concludes his account by speaking in the warmest terms of Macquarie's social qualities; and extols his never-failing good humour and the ease and elegance of his manners.

Lake Bathurst and Lake George were believed at that

period to be the sources of some considerable river which entered the sea on the southern coast; and it was thought, if the mouth of this stream could be discovered, that it would, in all probability, afford an easy means of access by water to the rich and extensive districts which had just been opened up by the southern track across the mountains. In pursuance of this idea, Lieutenant R. Johnston, R.N., was shortly afterwards despatched, in the cutter *Snapper*, to explore that portion of the coast where it was thought the mouth of this imaginary river was likely to be found. Lieutenant Johnston was also instructed to make inquiries during the course of his voyage respecting the fate of Captain Stewart, and a party under his command, who had been sent by the Government in a small vessel a few months before to make an examination of the coast in the neighbourhood of Twofold Bay. Captain Stewart's party had never been heard of after leaving Sydney, and were generally believed to have perished at sea. As the idea that the waters of the southern lakes flowed into the sea on the southern coast was a mistaken one, Lieutenant Johnston was, of course, not successful in the main object of his voyage, but he was fortunate enough to discover a considerable river, called by the natives the Bundoo, but which he named the Clyde, and up which he sailed for nearly thirty miles, and learned from the aborigines on its banks some particulars as to the fate of the missing party under Captain Stewart which had been despatched on an errand somewhat similar to his own. From the Clyde natives he also obtained intelligence respecting a man named Briggs and his companions, runaways from Sydney, who were supposed to have left Port Jackson in a whale-boat, and had never afterwards been heard of. Lieutenant Johnston's account of what he ascertained from the natives was as follows:—"On my way up I saw several native fires near the banks. At one place I landed, taking with me two natives who had accompanied me from Sydney;—upon which we were met by a tribe, who showed no symptoms of hostility towards us, but entered freely into conversation; and through my interpreters I learned the particulars of the melancholy loss of Mr. Stewart and his boat's crew; as also of a man of the name of Briggs and his companions, who some time since made their escape from Port Jackson in a whale boat. Stewart, they said, having lost his boat near Twofold Bay, was endeavouring to make his way back by land to

Sydney, when he and his crew were cut off by the natives of Twofold Bay. Briggs and his companions were upset in Bateman's Bay, and being at a considerable distance from the land, were not able to reach the shore. Such was the account which the natives of this tribe gave of these catastrophes; but, as I saw knives, tomahawks, and part of the boat's gear in their huts, I am of opinion that these runaways suffered the same fate as the unfortunate Stewart, and that this very tribe were probably their murderers."*

The progress of interior exploration, and the uncertainty which surrounded the subject of the great rivers which had been discovered with courses trending in directions so unaccountable, awakened a desire for a more particular examination of various parts of the coast than had hitherto been undertaken. The seizure of the lamented Flinders, by the infamous De Caen, Governor of the Mauritius, had no doubt deprived the world of much valuable information respecting the northern and north-western shores of Australia; and many doubts concerning various parts of the coast still remained to be solved. The colony, however, was hardly in a sufficiently advanced state to undertake works unconnected with prospects of early gain; but in 1817 the British Government took the matter in hand, and resolved to send Captain P. P. King, son of Bligh's predecessor in the government of the colony, to complete the examination of the northern and north-western coasts.

In pursuance of this object, Captain King reached Sydney in September, 1817, accompanied by Messrs. Beddome and Roe, as assistants, and was there joined by Mr. A. Cunningham the botanist. A small vessel of 84 tons, called the *Mermaid*, was purchased and fitted out for the expedition, which sailed from Port Jackson on the 22nd December following, and took the route by Bass's Straits and Cape Leuwin. On March 24th the *Mermaid* reached Dampier's Archipelago, and identified the place which Dampier had visited more than a century before. In sailing northward the commander of the *Mermaid* made some unimportant discoveries at Rowley's Shoals, and then continued his course round Cape Van

* Captain Stewart was the father of Mr. Robert Stewart, late member of the Legislative Assembly for East Sydney. No further particulars respecting the fate of the Captain and his party were ever ascertained.

Diemen to the Goulburn Islands, which were discovered and named. On the north-western coasts, wherever they landed, Mr. Cunningham, as was his constant practice, planted the seeds of such fruits, plants, and herbs as he thought suitable to the soil and climate or likely to be serviceable to man. Proceeding westward, Port Essington was discovered and surveyed, Van Diemen's Gulf explored, and the Alligator River entered and ascended for thirty-six miles. This river, as its name implies, abounded in alligators. It was at first a very wide and deep stream, but its rapid decrease in volume damped any hopes that might have been entertained as to its affording an opening into the unknown interior. From Van Diemen's Gulf they proceeded to the island of Timor to refit, and returned to Sydney on the 29th July, 1818.

In July of the following year (1819) Captain King again proceeded to the north-west coast. He went on this occasion by Torres Straits and the Gulf of Carpentaria. He now examined the north-western coast from Clarence Straits to Cambridge Gulf, and from thence to Cape Loudonderry and Cassini Island, from which point he again proceeded to Coepang, in Timor, and from thence to Sydney. In this voyage the most remarkable object seen was a singular natural formation at Cambridge Gulf, which so much resembled a military fortification, with towers and ramparts, that it was difficult at first view to believe that it was not the work of human hands. The hill which was the site of this remarkable formation was named Mount Cookburn.

In the following year, Captain King, again accompanied by Allen Cunningham, resumed the survey of the north-west coast, from where he had left it on his second visit. The most southerly point reached on the third voyage was Prince Regent's River, in Brunswick Bay, a little to the north of the site of the unfortunate Camden harbour settlement lately formed by Victorian colonists.

In 1821 Captain King undertook his last voyage of exploring and surveying on the north-western coasts. Cunningham again went with him. A singularly interesting discovery, in connection with the aboriginal natives, was made in the course of this voyage. In passing Princess Charlotte's Bay, on the east coast of Australia, about two hundred miles to the south of Cape York, Mr. Cunningham discovered in some caverns in the cliffs a variety of native

paintings, representing animals, weapons, utensils, and other objects. They were executed upon a ground of red ochre, rubbed on the dark schistus rock ; the figures were outlined by dots, and the objects further delineated by transverse lines or belts of white argillaceous earth, which had been worked up into a paste ; they represented with tolerable accuracy figures of sharks, porpoises, turtles, lizards, trepang, star-fish, clubs, canoes, water gourds, kangaroos, and dogs. The total number of figures depicted was upwards of a hundred and fifty, and the work, whatever its object, must have occupied much time and called for the exercise of considerable patience and no little skill. This was the first time that anything of the kind had been noticed in connection with aboriginal customs, but since then many native rock paintings have been discovered in various parts of Australia.

On reaching the north-west coast, the scene of their labours, they sailed up Prince Regent's River for about fifty miles, and found that it was also infested with alligators, some of them twenty feet long ; and also by a curious creature, which, although in the shape of a fish, had two legs, and appeared to be amphibious, running about on the mudbanks with great speed, but instantly burying itself in the mud when alarmed. Captain King, after quitting this river, proceeded south as far as Cape Latouche Treville, in latitude about $18\frac{1}{2}$, and from thence sailed to the Mauritius. He then returned to King George's Sound, and from thence going northward commenced the survey of Swan River, and after proceeding as far as the Buccaneer Archipelago returned to Sydney, where he arrived in April, 1822.

Captain King's voyages occupied a period of about four years, and although they were not remarkable for striking discoveries or exciting adventures, they contributed very materially to enlarge the before scanty knowledge of the north-west coast, and added many facts to the natural history of the country.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE COLONY DURING
MACQUARIE'S ADMINISTRATION—PROGRESS OF PASTORAL ENTERPRISE—
FLOODS AND DROUGHTS—CHANGES IN THE PURSUITS AND HABITS OF THE
SETTLERS.

THE condition of the colony—religious, social, and political—during Macquarie's administration, was extremely peculiar. Great advances in all the outward appliances and means of improvement, both religious and educational, were undoubtedly made; and notwithstanding the peculiar social condition of the great mass of the community, there was a comparative absence of crimes of violence; but the influx of thousands of convicts, the general laxity of discipline, and the apparent indifference of the Governor himself to mere infringements of morality on the part of the prisoners, provided they avoided the commission of legal offences and showed a tendency to industry and a desire to improve their worldly circumstances, produced a very deplorable condition of manners and morals in the bulk of the community.

Previous to the period of Macquarie's rule, no religious denomination in the colony, except the Church of England, had had the benefit of the teaching and example of a regular pastor; and at the time of his arrival even the only regularly ordained Episcopal clergyman then authorised to exercise his functions in the colony—the Rev. Samuel Marsden—was absent. He returned from England, however, shortly afterwards, bringing with him the Rev. Messrs. Cowper and Cartwright, as before mentioned. In addition to these gentlemen, two or three other clergymen of the Church of England were shortly afterwards sent out by the Home Government; and in August, 1815, the first Wesleyan minister, the Rev. Samuel Leigh, arrived in the colony, and laid the foundation of what soon became a flourishing and numerous religious body. Another Wesleyan minister, the Rev. Mr. Carvosso, a gentleman of great piety and zeal, and of considerable attainments as a scholar and a naturalist, arrived a few years afterwards. The seeds planted by these zealous men have since flourished and yielded such an abundant increase, that the Wesleyan Church now occupies a prominent position in every one of the Australian settlements.

In 1817 the Rev. W. O'Flynn, a clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church, arrived in New South Wales. Although not the first Catholic priest that had visited the colony, he was the first deputed expressly to minister to the spiritual wants of the people of his communion, of whom at that period there must have been nearly ten thousand in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. The Catholics of that day, although strong in numbers, were so weak in position and influence, that Father O'Flynn had no sooner set foot on shore than a very determined opposition was raised against him; and so influential were his enemies that he was required by the Governor to produce a formal permission from the Imperial authorities to officiate in the colony. Being unable to comply with this demand, he was ordered to leave the country at once. Instead, however, of obeying this Algerian mandate, he endeavoured to conceal himself, but was soon arrested, confined for a time, and ultimately sent back to England; and this notwithstanding that a numerous signed petition was presented to Macquarie in his favour, praying that he might be allowed to minister to the spiritual wants of a large section of the people who would otherwise be left entirely destitute of religious teaching. Lord Donoghmore, shortly after Mr. O'Flynn reached England, brought the case before the House of Commons, and the matter, very naturally, created considerable excitement. What had at first been thought by the Catholics of the colony a great hardship and a gross wrong, eventually turned out most favourably to their interests. The attention awakened on the subject, and the sense of justice aroused in the public mind at home, at length induced Lord Bathurst to make provision for the salaries of two Catholic clergymen, who were forthwith despatched to the colony fully accredited by the Home Government. The rapid progress made by the Catholics from this period is evidenced by the fact that, a few years afterwards, that is, in November, 1821, before Macquarie's departure from the colony, the foundation stone of St. Mary's Cathedral—before its late unfortunate destruction by fire, the largest Catholic Church in Australia—was laid. The Governor himself performed the ceremony of laying the first stone; and the Rev. Father Therry, one of the priests who had then recently arrived, thanked his Excellency in suitable terms for his kindness and assistance. Macquarie replied by the expression of a hope that the

encouragement which the Government had afforded to the Roman Catholic body would prove an inducement to them to continue, as he had ever found them to be, loyal and faithful subjects of the Crown.

The Presbyterians had not up to this period any regularly ordained ministers of their own church, although a number of respectable free persons of that communion had long before settled in the colony; and at Portland Head, on the Hawkesbury River, some of them had, so early as 1809, erected a church and regularly assembled for public worship. It is stated in Dr. Lang's History that this church was the first place of worship erected in the colony by voluntary effort, but this appears to have been a mistake, since the first building used as a place of worship by the members of the Church of England owed its existence to private zeal. The place in question—perhaps it was hardly worthy of being called a church—was erected on the east side of Sydney Cove, in 1793, and was a few years afterwards destroyed by fire. It was built of what was called wattle and dab—that is, wattles or small rods and branches of trees plastered over with clay or mud—and mainly owed its erection to the Rev. Mr. Johnston. The church erected by the Presbyterians at Portland Head in 1809 was a superior structure, and cost upwards of £400, a large sum to raise among the members of a small religious community in those days. Divine worship was conducted in it for many years by one of the settlers, Mr. James Mein, a venerable old man, still remembered by some of the older settlers on the Hawkesbury.

The Church of England establishment, before the termination of Macquarie's rule, consisted of no less than nine ministers. Some of them, like Mr. Cowper and Mr. Cartwright, were gentlemen eminently qualified for the position which they occupied, and laboured zealously in the cause of religion; while others were so much engrossed in worldly pursuits that their sacred duties occupied very little of their time or attention. New South Wales was, at that period, nominally part of the Indian diocese, of which the celebrated Heber was then bishop; but, practically, the Rev. Samuel Marsden was the head of the church in the colony, and was usually called Bishop Marsden. This gentleman occupied a very conspicuous place for many years as a magistrate, a settler, and a trader, as well as a minister of religion, and probably the

character of few men, in any age of the world, has been pourtrayed in such various and contradictory colours as his. He arrived in New South Wales in 1794; was a man of most active and energetic character, but unpopular in the highest degree with the emancipists and those who espoused their cause. Mr. Wentworth, in his work on the colony, characterises him as a reverend hypocrite; a crafty, turbulent, and ambitious priest; a man of the most rancorous and vindictive spirit, whose character as a magistrate was stamped with severity, whose sentences exceeded, both in length and rigour, those of any two magistrates in the colony; and who had uniformly set his face against every philanthropic object; who had opposed the education and civilisation of the aborigines, and who, during a period of six years, had never once visited the institution established for their benefit, although it was next door to his own residence; and who had opposed the institution of Sunday schools, and of every means proposed for the education and amelioration of the condition of the poor. On the other hand, Mr. Marsden was spoken of by his friends and admirers as one of the most admirable and sainted characters the world had ever seen; he was, said one of them, "in humility a child, in vigour of mind and benevolence, an angel; full of enterprise for the good of mankind, and full of faith and reliance on the Divine promises; unborn empires are dependent on his exertions, and his name will be the theme of the new world, so long as there is a heart to feel reverence or a tongue to utter praise." Another eulogist, (Mr. Wilberforce,) in his place in the British Parliament, said Mr. Marsden was "a man who had acquired the admiration of all who knew his merits—a man who shone as a bright example in the moral world; who deserved the title of a moral hero; who had overcome difficulties for the amelioration of his species in the most unfavourable circumstances, which would always endear his name to the friends of virtue and humanity." It will be a sufficient explanation of these widely-ranging estimates of Mr. Marsden's character to state that he was regarded in the colony as the clerical representative of one section of the community—the dominating class, afterwards contemptuously called the "pure merinos." The more the virtues of such a man were trumpeted by his friends—the more they held him up to reverence and admiration—the

more he became a mark for the arrows of his opponents; and it is fair to conclude that he was neither such a saint as his friends painted him, nor such a sinner as his enemies professed to believe. As a representative of his class—the official oligarchy—and as a man who meddled in every thing, he necessarily made many and bitter enemies. He took a strong stand against Governor Macquarie's policy in favour of the emancipists, and after two or three persons of that class had been raised to the magistracy, he took occasion—on the Governor's interfering with his magisterial proceedings by releasing, before the expiration of their sentences, some prisoners whom he had tried and sentenced—to tender his resignation of his office as a justice of the peace. Macquarie, however, refused to accept it, but at once issued a general order which stated "that his Excellency the Governor had been pleased to dispense with the services of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, as justice of the peace and magistrate of Parramatta and its adjoining districts." Henceforth of course there was war between Macquarie and Marsden,—the latter declaring that "as he had been driven by the Governor into a corner, he had thrown away the scabbard, and would never give in till he had gained redress." Mr. Commissioner Bigge, who takes Mr. Marsden part in this matter, suggests that Macquarie, in addition to the irreconcilable difference between them on the subject of raising certain persons, who had been convicts, to places of rank and confidence, acted on "a suspicion that while Mr. Marsden was receiving his hospitality and attentions, and living upon terms of cordiality and friendship with him, he was secretly and by indirect means or anonymous letters, denouncing his administration to Lord Bathurst."

Mr. Marsden, in addition to being a partisan of the dominant clique, rendered himself liable to have the purity of his motives as a minister of religion impeached on account of the zeal with which he followed his farming and trading pursuits, and the persistency of his efforts to acquire wealth. One of the circumstances, however, which most contributed to render him unpopular, reflected the highest credit upon his character as a clergyman. This was his fearless denunciation at all times, and under almost all circumstances, not only of everything like open or unblushing vice, but even of a disregard for the proprieties of society on the part of those whose

position in life should have taught them the necessity of setting a good example to those below them. The following extract from his life by the Rev. J. B. Marsden will illustrate his course of action on such matters:—"He has been known to rebuke sin at a dinner-table in such a manner as to electrify the whole company. Once, arriving late, he sat down in haste, and did not for a few minutes perceive the presence of one who should have been the wife of the host, but who stood in a very different relation to him. Mr. Marsden always turned a deaf ear to scandal, and in the excess of his charity was sometimes blind to facts which were evident enough to others. The truth now flashed upon him, and though such things were then little thought of in the colony, he rose instantly from the table, calling to the servant in a decided tone to bring his hat, and without further ceremony, or another word, retired." His integrity as a man of business was unimpeachable, but his secular pursuits were clearly incompatible with the duties of a minister of religion. The most serious charge against him—that he trafficked in spirituous liquors—he answered in terms which will probably be considered satisfactory or the reverse, according to the reader's view of his character: "In the infancy of the colony, previously to my arrival, barter was established among all classes, from the Governor downwards. As there was neither beer nor milk, tea nor sugar, to be purchased at any price, wine and spirits became the medium of exchange. As the colony progressively advanced in agriculture, commerce, and wealth, barter gradually decreased, and money transactions became more general. I can affirm that for the last eighteen years I have not had in my possession as much spirits as would allow my servants half a pint a head per week. And at no period of my residence did I ever purchase spirits for sale."

Mr. Marsden died in 1838, after a life of great activity, in which a zealous discharge of his clerical duties formed but a small part of his labours. He was a man of strong understanding, great decision of character, and untiring energy. His long connection with the New Zealand missions, of which indeed he was the founder, made the name of Marsden familiar with a large section of the English public, and even in New South Wales his name and memory are better known and more favourably regarded in the present day with

reference to his efforts in that direction, than as a leading Australian colonist and clergyman.

It was highly creditable to several of the military officers in charge of outstations that they did their utmost to promote amongst the convicts an attendance upon their religious duties whenever an opportunity offered. At Newcastle, in particular, although there was no resident clergyman, all the prisoners were required to attend church regularly on Sundays, when divine service was read by one of the officers of the 48th regiment. In addition to this, Captain Wallis established and superintended a school for the training and education of the children of the prisoners. This school was held in the vestry of the church, and the children were taught by one of the convicts. The progress of the pupils as well as their appearance are spoken of in very favourable terms by those who had an opportunity of inspecting them. Some years afterwards—in 1821—a residence for a clergyman having been erected at Newcastle, the Rev. G. A. Middleton, one of the colonial chaplains, was appointed to that station.

In the promotion of benevolent objects, and in supplying means for assuaging the sufferings of the unfortunate victims of poverty, accident, or sickness, Macquarie and his wife seem to have been ever ready to set a good example. The Sydney Benevolent Asylum and other institutions of a similar character, still in existence, which date from this period, were greatly indebted to their efforts and liberal patronage. Mrs. Macquarie was generally called Lady Macquarie by the colonists, although she had no claim to that title except such as arose from popular gratitude, and a warm appreciation of her character. She took great delight in beautifying and improving the town and neighbourhood of Sydney, and her name will long be remembered in connexion with the delightful public walk, constructed under her orders and from her plans, around the Domain, near the water's edge. The Governor, who never allowed an opportunity of glorifying the name of Macquarie to pass without taking advantage of it, had this achievement of his wife recorded by an inscription in the face of a rock at the eastern point of Farm Cove, where rock seats were also cut, in consequence of which the spot is still known as Lady Macquarie's Chair. This place has always been a favourite resort of the citizens in conse-

quence of the fine prospect down the harbour and the beauty of the scenery on all sides.

The rapid expansion of the commerce of the colony led during Macquarie's rule to the introduction of what was afterwards known as the order system. The Governor gave, probably, a too ready sanction to the issue by private individuals of five-shilling promissory notes, payable on demand in copper. This opened the door to great abuse, and led to the practice—which after a time became an almost universal and intolerable nuisance—of settlers and others in the country paying their servants in orders on their agents in towns. Sterling money, under such a system, grew scarcer and dearer every day, and the "currency" became so depreciated that a note or order for a pound represented but fifteen shillings in silver. Another expedient to increase the amount of the circulating medium was then adopted. The Spanish dollar, the coin in general circulation, had its centre struck out, and was still circulated for a dollar of full value, while the piece punched out, called a dump, was made legal tender for fifteen pence. These "holey dollars," as they were called, and dumps, remained in circulation for many years, and, notwithstanding the objectionable character of the proceeding by which the practise was legalised, they no doubt served to facilitate the rapidly expanding commerce of the colony.

The distinguishing feature of the latter part of Macquarie's period of rule was the great advancement made in the production and export of fine wool for the supply of the English market. Up to this time most of the wool produced, being of a coarse kind, had been used in the colony; but the encouraging results obtained by Mr. John Macarthur, and one or two other enterprising settlers, at length occasioned many to turn their attention in the same direction. It is remarkable that the great advance in the production of fine wool which took place at this period was made in the face of a most restrictive enactment on the part of the British Government. By the 59 Geo. III. c. 52 (passed in 1819) a duty of one penny a pound was levied upon wool imported from any British colony. This act also enacted that the duty should be raised to three-pence in 1823, and to six-pence in

1826. Yet notwithstanding this heavy impost in favour of English home-grown wool, the quantity produced in Australia rapidly increased. The expenses of freight, too, were then so great as to make this increase appear the more remarkable. Up to about 1818, 4½d. per pound was the usual charge for wool shipped in Sydney for London; after that period the rate fell to about 3d. per lb., at which it remained for several years. These heavy charges, however, instead of checking the production, proved a strong stimulus to the growth of a finer class of wool; and acted more powerfully than any other circumstance in promoting the breeding of Saxon-Merino sheep instead of the coarser-woolled kinds which had been before in general use. The total expenses attending the carriage from the interior, sorting, packing, shipment, freight, commission, duty, &c., of wool exported to London, in 1819, were reckoned at not less than 9½d. per pound. On an article not worth more than about a shilling a pound this was of course a perfectly prohibitory expense; but on the finer sorts of Merino wool, which then sold at from 5s. to 10s. a pound, it was scarcely felt.

The quantity of wool exported from Sydney to London in 1819 was 71,299 pounds; in 1820 it rose to 112,616 pounds; and in 1821 to 175,433 pounds. The prices obtained at one of the sales of the latter year were as follows:—Three bales of Mr. Macarthur's wool sold, one at 10s. 6d., perhaps the highest figure ever paid for wool; and two at 5s. 6d. a pound; 19 bales sold at from 3s. to 4s., 84 at 2s. to 3s., and 223 bales at prices varying from 1s. 2½d. to 2s.; while a small quantity sold at only 1s., a price that hardly paid freight and charges. The bulk of the wool, however, brought about 2s. a pound.

Squatting, or the occupation on a large scale of lands of which the stockholders had received no grant or lease from the Government, commenced soon after the discovery of the routes across the mountains into the great plains of the interior. The condition and prospects of the settlers, and the field which the discovery of the interior had thrown open to capital and industry, are spoken of at considerable length by Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in a letter to Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. As the result of careful observation and inquiries, at the time and

on the spot, by a gentleman of considerable ability and discernment, the following remarks will be found useful in elucidating some of the circumstances and conditions under which the production of the great Australian staple took its rise :—

“Although I may be anticipating, in some degree, the mention of the resources of the colony of New South Wales, yet I cannot here omit the importance of one that has already been introduced to public notice in the colony, as well as in England, by the great success that has attended it, and as affording, in an eminent degree, opportunities of employing convicts to advantage. A great portion of the country that has been discovered to the west and north of Bathurst is found to be particularly calculated, even in its natural state, for the feeding of sheep and cattle. With some improvement of the most difficult passes of the Blue Mountains that separate that tract from the coast, the transport thither of wool and the driving of cattle may be rendered more practicable and less expensive than it is at present.

“Although the country that lies between Bathurst Plains and the course of the river Hastings has not yet been explored, I think it most probable that in this direction there will be found several large tracts of natural pasturage, that will afford the means of feeding and rearing numerous flocks of sheep : and, generally speaking, the character of the country, the temperature of the climate, and the pasturage, may be pronounced to be highly favourable to those more delicate breeds that have hitherto attained their greatest perfection in the warmer climates of the south of Europe. The success that has attended the perseverance and intelligence of Mr. J. Macarthur, in the improvement of his own flocks, affords an unquestionable proof of the value of this branch of rural industry in New South Wales, both as it regards the employment of the convicts, and the saving of all expense to Government in their subsistence, as well as in the production of an article of export to Great Britain, that is indispensable to the progress of her great staple manufacture ; and that while it renders her independent of foreign supplies, causes no interference with the natural and most beneficial course of her own agriculture, or with the produce of her own soil.

“With a view to encourage the most frequent and permanent residence of the proprietors on these distant stations, grants of land might be made to them, in proportion to the

number of convicts that they engaged to employ, as well as to the numbers of sheep and cattle, that the proprietors take with them in the first instance; a power being added of purchasing, at a low rate, such larger quantity as they might then require; and, with a further understanding that as the number of their flocks and herds increased, a further augmentation of land would be made to them gratuitously.

"The principal object of these regulations is, to induce persons of respectability to engage personally in the rearing of sheep and cattle, on an extensive scale, in the interior of the country, to employ convicts in that occupation, and to provide as much control as possible for them, through the presence of their masters, or a free overseer. No instance has occurred in which this system has been so steadily pursued as that of Mr. J. Macarthur. He now maintains, upon his estate at the Cowpastures, between 90 and 100 convicts, who are all employed in the management of sheep or cattle, or in cultivating as much grain as may be requisite for his own consumption.

"The local advantages possessed by this gentleman, in having had a large grant of good land made to him at the Cowpastures, and in the virtual occupation of a part of those lands that were reserved for the use of the Government herds, have been greater than have fallen to the lot of any other individual in the colony. Mr. Macarthur has, however, made the best use of them; and in the constant employment of a large number of convicts indiscriminately assigned to him as they arrived, and by the important improvement he has made in the value of his fleeces, he has well repaid the liberality of his Majesty's Government. Great as are the advantages that may reasonably be expected to be derived by persons who will embark in these enterprises, and pursue them steadily, yet I feel convinced that, in the first instance, they must be accompanied by great personal sacrifices, which will increase with the number of competitors in the same occupation, and with some outlay of capital and expenditure, the returns of which will be slow and distant.

"From the present state of the flocks in New South Wales, and of those in Van Diemen's Land, from the want of capital and intelligence that prevails amongst the greatest number of the proprietors of sheep, and the general disposition that I have observed amongst them, to devote them-

selves to pursuits that promise a limited but quick return, rather than to those that require time and perseverance, the number of the fine-woolled sheep in the colony cannot be expected to increase with rapidity; so that if the duty of 3d. per pound should meet the importations of next year, it is to be feared, that the efforts of those who are now endeavouring to improve their fleeces, and who are beginning to procure to themselves and to the colony the benefit of a valuable export, will be materially checked, and the advantages arising to Government from an extended employment of the convicts will be greatly reduced.

"The improvement of his flocks has been found by Mr. Macarthur, even under circumstances of great local advantage (greater, probably, than can again occur in New South Wales, and during a period when no duty was imposed), to be work that requires both time and experience. The losses occasioned by the carelessness of the convicts, even under the best superintendence, he has found to make heavy deductions from the annual increase of his flocks; it seems but reasonable, therefore, that some compensation should be made for the risks thus encountered, and that the expense incurred by the maintenance of the convicts should be relieved by the admission of the produce of their labour with as little incumbrance as possible from duties.

"In order to obtain the occupation of good tracts of land in the interior, for grazing sheep and cattle, it will be necessary for such persons to remove to a distance of not less than 120 or 150 miles from the sea coast. The cost of the transport of their wool will thus become heavy, and unless every encouragement be given to these enterprises, in the allowance of good labourers from amongst the convicts that arrive, and in a certain prospect that the [duty on the] importation of wool into Great Britain from New South Wales will not be raised for a period of ten years, at least, from its present trifling amount of one penny per pound, the sacrifice to which I have alluded will not be encountered, nor will that course of patient industry be entered upon, that can alone lead to extensive and beneficial results."

The important consequences which followed the discovery of a practicable route into the interior have been more than once slightly alluded to; but they were so remarkable, were

accompanied by so many contingent circumstances, and left such well-marked traces on the character of the population, as to deserve a more extended notice. The second decade of the century was, in fact, an era in the history of Australian colonisation, in which changes took place quite as remarkable, although perhaps not so sudden, as those which resulted from the discovery of gold a generation afterwards. The exploration and occupation of enormous tracts of fertile land, although the most notable, was not the only circumstance which tended to produce the changes alluded to. There were other causes in operation, at the period in question, of a physical as well as a social character, more or less intimately connected with those changes. What they were, and what were their immediate results and ultimate consequences, will be most conveniently stated here.

Before the great interior was thrown open to the enterprise of the colonists, agriculture—by which, however, must be understood merely the growth of wheat and maize—was almost the sole rural pursuit. For a period of nearly thirty years, the labour, skill, and capital of the colonists had been devoted almost exclusively to tillage. But soon after the Blue Mountains were crossed, pastoral enterprise began to usurp that place which had for so long a period been filled by agriculture. And a more complete revolution has seldom been witnessed than gradually took place not only in the industrial pursuits, but in the habits and prospects of the settlers. In accounting for this change from agricultural to pastoral pursuits it should be remembered that there were various causes which cramped the energies of the cultivator besides the narrow extent of the strip of territory to which the colony was for a long time confined; and which caused him to hail with pleasure the new prospects and new pursuits which at length opened before him beyond the mountains. One circumstance which threw constant impediments in the way of the agriculturist was the almost total want of skilled mechanical labour. With pastoral pursuits little or no skilled labour was necessary. A bark hut, which could be erected in a few hours, a rough stockyard, or a few hurdles, were almost all that was needed, so far as mechanical labour was concerned, to enable a commencement to be made in grazing, even on an extensive scale; while to carry on tillage successfully, the handicraftsman and mechanist were in constant requisition.

Very general and, it appears, well founded, complaints were made by the settlers during great part of Macquarie's time that their expectations of being able to procure a supply of labour of a suitable kind were disappointed in consequence of almost every skilled man being retained by the Government, for the erection of unnecessary buildings in Sydney and the other towns. They could, they said, if they were allowed a due proportion of skilled labour, employ a much larger amount of unskilled; and thus relieve the state from the necessity which Macquarie contended existed for the erection of buildings, not absolutely required by the wants of the colony, but undertaken for the purpose of providing employment for those who must otherwise have remained idle. Those who condemn Macquarie's policy in this matter give some very remarkable facts to prove that the complaints against him were well founded. They say that "most of the settlers had been so convinced of the impossibility of obtaining mechanics, from repeated refusals and disappointments, that they ceased to make applications to Governor Macquarie; and, when they observed that the pretexts for the refusal of mechanics multiplied with the buildings that were undertaken, they abandoned all hope of obtaining them." An official account shows that of the skilled mechanics who arrived in the colony during the years 1814 to 1820, the Government had retained 269 blacksmiths out of 284; out of 337 carpenters all but 16; and out of 284 bricklayers and brickmakers, all but five. The enormous number of these men employed in carrying out the building hobbies of the Governor, while private enterprise was cramped for want of their assistance, produced most prejudicial effects on the community. People of considerable wealth, and with every inclination to spend it in the improvement of their dwellings and in the erection of private works of use or ornament, were hindered or wholly prevented by the impossibility of procuring suitable labour. This led them, at first from necessity but at length from habit, to content themselves with hovels of bark or slabs;—and, out of Sydney, this continued to be the rule, and decent dwellings the exception, during the lifetime of the generation then in existence. Macquarie, on his first arrival, as previously narrated, strongly censured the settlers for contentedly occupying such wretched habitations, when possessed of abundant means of improvement; but, in showing them a better example, he undertook the erection of so many extensive buildings that he deprived those he

intended to benefit of all opportunity of following his advice, by retaining the labour for his own purposes.

Of the large class of unskilled labourers, many of even the best of them were almost useless to the agriculturist, because he could not obtain a proportionate number of mechanics; but they were all, good and bad alike, available for the carrying out of pastoral enterprise. To watch a flock of sheep in the great interior plains, a London thief, a transported soldier or sailor, or a dishonest clerk, was just as good as the most handy ploughman, blacksmith, carpenter, or millwright. Their remote position, and the surrounding circumstances, placed convict shepherds and stockmen almost beyond temptation; while their comparatively idle station life was more suitable to their habits and ideas than the almost incessant toil and plodding industry required in building, clearing, and farming operations.

Thus, apart altogether from the prospect of gain, it will be seen that the settlers of that period had a strong inducement, in the kind of labour at their command, to devote themselves to grazing rather than to tillage. But there was another, and a still stronger, reason for their preferring the pursuit of the herdsman and shepherd to that of the husbandman. This was the singularly uncertain nature of the climate. The annals of the early history of the colony teem with accounts of droughts and floods of a very disastrous character. Visitations of this kind were always inconvenient, and often injurious, to those who were engaged in grazing, but they were positively ruinous to the agriculturists; and it is not to be wondered at that those of the latter who possessed the necessary means should have turned their attention to the former at the earliest opportunity. These facts will explain the causes which quickly changed an agricultural community—one at least in which tillage was for many years the principal pursuit—into an essentially pastoral colony; and afford some clue to the origin of that distaste for agriculture which is, unfortunately, a characteristic of the native born population of New South Wales.

The records of the eight or ten years immediately following the discovery of routes across the mountains, are marked by a more than usual number of floods and droughts. It would answer no good purpose to give in full the details of all these occurrences, or to discuss at length the merits of the numerous theories which have been broached with respect to weather cycles, for time and experience have disproved them

all; but a short statement of the most remarkable cases of drought and flood recorded from the foundation of the colony up to the era now spoken of, will not be out of place here.

The first few weeks after the landing of Governor Phillip, in January, 1788, were marked by excessive rains. This was afterwards generally believed, from indications noticed by Flinders and others, to have been the termination of a rainy period which followed the breaking up of a long drought, which had probably prevailed between 1782 and 1787. Many of the circumstances, however, on which this supposition was based—such as the numbers of dead trees, and indications of extensive bush fires—were subsequently found to be capable of explanation on other grounds. As the colonists at this time were all either cooped up in tents on the shores of Sydney Cove, or were still living on board the ships in which they had arrived, it is impossible to say to what extent the rivers were flooded by these heavy rains; but as the weather was so severe as to put a stop to almost all operations on shore for several weeks, it is reasonable to conclude that there was at this time what is usually termed a flood.

The latter part of 1791, and the first part of 1792, was a period of excessive heat and drought. Myriads of flying-foxes visited the settlement, at this time, and, perishing in great numbers, their putrid bodies poisoned the atmosphere, and rendered the water almost unfit for use.

In 1797, although the season was a very favourable one at Sydney, and the harvest abundant, a severe drought appears to have prevailed in the southern parts of Australia. Flinders and Bass noticed at Bateman's Bay, and at Western Port, unmistakable indications of drought. The waterholes were all dry, and many of the aborigines had deserted their usual haunts for places where permanent water was to be found.

The year 1799, was remarkable for the occurrence, for the first time within the knowledge of the settlers, of a heavy flood in the Hawkesbury. This was the commencement of a period of floods. In March of the following year (1800), exactly twelve months afterwards, there was another heavy flood, which caused great damage; and in the following March (1801) another, which was the last of the series, and was not so destructive, because experience had warned the settlers of their danger, and they were better prepared for it. Supposing the opinion before alluded to—that 1787 and 1788 were years of floods—to be correct, this would give a clear period of about eleven years between the first two floods of

which we have any record. In 1805, on 25th October, the first of another series of floods took place. This was not a very severe flood, although heavy rains continued without intermission for a week, and about a thousand acres of wheat and maize were overflowed and much injured. In about a fortnight afterwards (November 6), although no rains had fallen in the settled districts in the interval, the Hawkesbury suddenly rose at the rate of three feet in an hour; and overflowed its banks and laid many of the farms under water. No cause for this flood was apparent, but it was believed that heavy rains had fallen in the mountain ranges at the heads of the Hawkesbury, and descending upon the low lands already saturated and falling into streams already full, suddenly produced the remarkable overflow in question.

In March of the following year (1806), occurred the greatest flood which up to this time had been experienced in the colony. For nearly a fortnight there had been heavy and continuous rains. The waters of the Hawkesbury reached their highest point on 22nd March. What was the exact height they attained above the ordinary level it is impossible now to say. The published statements give from 93 to 97 feet perpendicular, but this appears incredible.* The Sydney Gazette of the following week states that in the course of one dreadful day upwards of 200 wheat stacks were swept away; and that nearly 300 persons were placed in situations of imminent danger, and either five or seven of them drowned. Cries for help, and the reports of muskets fired as signals of distress, were frequently heard both day and night. Wentworth, in his work, says that the chaos of confusion and distress which presented itself could not be easily conceived by any person who had not witnessed its horrors. An immense expanse of water, of which the eye could not in many directions discover the limits, everywhere interspersed with growing timber, and crowded with poultry, pigs, horses, cattle, stacks, and houses, having frequently men, women, and children clinging to them for protection, and shrieking out in an agony of despair for assistance;—such were the principal objects by which the scenes of death and devastation were characterised. The colony was reduced to a state of

* It is probable that these figures, as well as subsequent ones relative to floods in the Hawkesbury, refer to the actual depth of the water when at its highest, rather to its rise above the ordinary level. Although of no value as to the positive rise of any particular flood, they are useful as showing the comparative height of the various floods.

want little short of absolute famine by the calamity. Bread was with difficulty procurable at 4s. 6d. to 5s. the loaf, and wheat rose to 70s. and even 80s. a bushel. In the following month (April, 1806,) heavy rains again prevailed.

It will be seen that between the series of floods commencing in 1799 and ending in 1801, and those of 1805 and 1806, there was a clear interval of only about four years and a half, and during this time there is no record that drought prevailed; so that in this case there was no alternate flood and drought, as is often assumed by theorists to have been uniformly the case.

In March, 1808, that is within two years of the occurrence of the great flood of 1806, there was another heavy flood, in which the waters in many places rose higher than they had ever before been known to do. In July of the same year another flood took place, in which the growing wheat crop was almost entirely destroyed. The height of this flood is said to have been 86 feet. In 1809 there was another great flood—said by some to have been the highest ever known, but details of which are wanting; and in July of the following year (1810) there were very heavy rains, although on this occasion the Hawkesbury did not overflow its banks.

1811 was remarkable as a year of both drought and flood. The Sydney Gazette, of March 2nd, says: "The long prevailing drought has destroyed all hope of a maize crop. A scarcity of water is felt, such as was scarcely ever before known. The tanks [the stone reservoirs then existing between George and Pitt streets on the west and east, and Bridge and Hunter streets on the north and south] have been empty for several weeks; and water is sold at from 4d. to 6d. the pailful in Sydney."

Although there had been several periods of very hot and dry weather in the interval, there does not appear to have been anything approaching what is generally understood by a drought in the settled districts of New South Wales between the year 1791 and 1811, a period of about twenty years. During this time, however, there were two or three distinct series of floods. About three weeks after the date of the Sydney Gazette from which the above extract respecting the drought is taken—that is, on 23rd March, 1811,—commenced another heavy flood, in which the waters reached the same height as in 1801. This flood, following so closely upon a drought, had the effect, according to the statement in the Gazette, of depressing the condition of the agriculturists to

such a degree that many persons abandoned almost all hope. In the same month of the following year, (March, 1812,) the gloomy prospects of the farmers were still further aggravated by another flood, in which at least one life was lost.

In 1813, before the farmers had in any considerable degree retrieved their position, and when agricultural operations were just beginning to be resumed with some vigour, commenced another very severe drought, which lasted about three years. So that in fact there were two distinct droughts, separated by a year of heavy floods, within a period of five years. It was these repeated misfortunes and multiplied disasters by flood and drought that awakened the desire in the colonists, which after repeated failures in the earlier days of the settlement had slumbered for many years, to penetrate the mountain barriers which shut in the interior of the country. The drought which commenced in 1813 was one of the longest and most severe the colony has ever experienced; and it was during this long season of disaster that the first successful attempts were made to cross the Blue Mountains to the promised land which lay beyond.

In 1816, the year after the termination of the long drought, there was another flood. The waters commenced rising on May 31st, and attained their greatest height on June 2nd. The rise of the Hawkesbury on this occasion is stated at 84 feet. In February, 1817, there was another great flood, during which, in some places, the waters reached the highest point ever known. At Windsor, however, the height was stated to have been about 85 feet, which is considerably below the point said to have been attained on two or three previous occasions. Immense quantities of farm produce and cattle were, however, swept away, and one or two persons were drowned.

In 1818 a drought prevailed, although not to so disastrous an extent as that of 1813—15. This was followed in 1819 by heavy rains and floods, during which the waters rose nearly to the level of "the dismal flood of 1806." The flood of this year was the first in the Hunter river of which there is any record, that district having just then been settled. In the following year (1820,) there was another very heavy flood in the Hunter. In the Hawkesbury district, although there was much rainy and tempestuous weather, it hardly amounted to a flood. The rise of the river at Maitland was estimated at 37 feet. With the exception of two small patches, all the level parts where East Maitland now stands

were flooded ; and the site of West Maitland, then a densely wooded brush, with only two or three huts, was chiefly under water.

The remarkable series of disasters from flood and drought which marked the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, although now known to have been exceptional, if not in character, at least in frequency, had a most prejudicial effect on agriculture ; and when joined to the magnificent opportunities which the contemporaneous discovery of the interior presented for the pursuit of grazing, afford a full explanation of the original causes which operated to divert capital and energy into a new channel, and to create habits and tastes which for more than fifty years have tended to discourage the cultivation of the soil, and to foster a love for that unsettled, semi-nomadic, pastoral life which has so strong an influence on the minds of the native youth, and which, while developing the natural resources of the country in one direction, has been so potent a drawback to its moral and social progress on the other. This, in many respects unfortunate, direction given to local energy and enterprise by what may be termed abnormal natural causes, has since been fostered both by class interests and legislative action, while agriculture, as if natural difficulties were not sufficient, has been correspondingly ignored and discouraged.

This long succession of floods and droughts, it must also be remembered, occurred at the period of the youth and early manhood of the first generation of the native-born population ; and had, without doubt, a vast influence in the formation of their character and habits. Young men, at a time of life when they were beginning to regard with some anxiety the pursuit which they should follow or the means they should adopt for a livelihood, saw with dismay the fruits of plodding industry and the rewards of painstaking labour swept away, time after time, and the hopes of those who depended for support upon the cultivation of the soil as frequently blighted. The experience of the colonists, at that period, was not sufficiently extensive to teach them that the meteorological and atmospherical phenomena which produced such disastrous effects were exceptional ; and that if floods brought much privation and suffering in one year, the exuberant crops borne by the replenished soil in the next usually afforded an ample, if not always a timely, recompense. To provide for a rainy day had not been a habit to the formation and growth of which their early training was favourable ; and early train-

ing and natural circumstances were alike adverse to the practice of that steady, patient industry required in tillers of the soil. Of all pursuits perhaps agriculture is the one which most rigidly demands, and in the end most effectually produces, those solid qualities of mind and character without which no people ever became truly great.

It will be seen from the foregoing statements that from the end of the last century to the year 1820 there were frequently recurring causes in operation tending to discourage the cultivation of the soil; and when the magnificent and almost boundless interior was thrown open to pastoral enterprise, the doom of agriculture, as the principal pursuit of the community, was sealed, if not for ever, at least for a long period. The small capitalist saw, in fruitful and unbounded pastures and rapidly increasing flocks and herds, a ready road to fortune; the native youth, constitutionally impatient of restraint, and disliking the often ill-requited toil of the husbandman, adopted with avidity the freer life and far less laborious, anxious, and painstaking habits connected with pastoral existence. The life of a stockman, a horsebreaker, or even a bullock driver, was looked upon as infinitely preferable to that of a farm labourer; and so discouraging had been the experience and so ill-paid the efforts of the agriculturist, that even the condition of a farm labourer was regarded by many as almost preferable to that of the farmer himself.

It is evident that the causes which led to these results were also instrumental in producing modifications of the character of the population, which tended to render them impatient of steady application or continuous toil. These causes may be briefly summarised as follows: 1. The abnormal state of the weather, as evidenced by the frequent occurrence of floods, and at least two droughts of unusual severity, during the first two decades of the century—producing very discouraging effects on the position and prospects of the farmer. 2. The opening up, concurrently with the period of deepest depression, of an immense extent of fertile land, suitable for pastoral purposes, but wholly incapable at that time, in consequence of distance and other natural obstacles, of being profitably cultivated. 3. The impediments afforded by the antecedents and generally reckless and unreliable character of almost the only class of labourers then available for husbandry operations, which require patient toil and necessitate the use of mechanical appliances only obtainable by means of skilled

workmen. To these main causes were afterwards added secondary ones which much aggravated them. For instance, when it was seen that the rapid acquisition of wealth, and even the realisation of great fortunes, was likely to be the result of pastoral enterprise on a large scale, the breeding of cattle and the growth of wool became a favourite mode of investment with capitalists either directly or on mortgage. They thought it to their interest, in the promotion of pastoral pursuits, to discourage rather than to promote cultivation, as tending to absorb a portion of that labour which they desired to see employed in attending on their sheep and cattle.

If such were the causes which led to the preference of the most wealthy and influential colonists for pastoral rather than for agricultural pursuits, what were the consequences? Their expectations, so far as the accumulation of wealth was concerned, were more than realised, but it remains to be seen whether their great success was not purchased at the cost of an unfavourable change, not merely in the habits and character of the community—and particularly of the native youth—but even in the physical condition of the mass of the population. In respect to those directly engaged in forming and superintending the grazing establishments which were soon scattered over the remote interior, they were mostly young men, the pick of the rural population. These persons, almost to a man, had previously been accustomed to reside within reach of the civilising influences of schools and ministers of religion, and to enjoy the humanising effects of social intercourse; they had been trained in some degree to the practice of steady industry, and to the observance at least of the external forms of religion and morality. They had been taught to remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy; and to observe at least the outward signs of civilisation in their dress, deportment, and habits. In their newly adopted mode of life all this was altered. Not merely were the external forms of religion abandoned, but the restraints of society were generally ignored, and even almost all the claims of decency disregarded. Far removed from each other, and from the settled districts, on the remote stations—and they were then necessarily all remote—all but the last vestiges of civilisation appear to have been abandoned. The pride of the youth of the colony—the offspring of the best families—were in many instances left for months at a time—for years frequently, with no better society than that of their convict servants, and the brutal and ignorant aborigines by whom

they were surrounded. But the degrading kind of life connected with this profitable pastoral enterprise had its charms for many of the native young men. Fond of horses, and of active open air exercise, but indisposed to steady industry, they were glad to escape from parental restraint, and they usually found in the circumstances connected with taking up new country, the formation of stations, and occasional conflicts with the blacks, that exciting kind of existence of which spirited and energetic youths are so often and so deeply enamoured. The consequences, on their habits and morals, of a kind of existence so little removed from that of savages, were not only of the worst description, but had a constant tendency to perpetuate themselves, by generating in those exposed to them, a strong disinclination for the resumption of the restraints and observances which decent society imposes.

The above remarks refer more particularly to the effect produced by pastoral pursuits and remote bush life on youths of respectable parentage or connections. With the working class it was still worse. The others were in a position to return after a time to their old homes in the settled districts, and there to resume the habits of civilised people. Those who had to earn their bread were seldom so favorably situated, and the results in their case were consequently aggravated, and the evils confirmed, until a large class of colonists was produced, whose condition both in knowledge and habits was hardly superior to that of the aborigines whose haunts they had invaded, whose game they had slain or driven off, and whose women they had decoyed away by fraud or seized by force.

Such were the effects, in a moral and social point of view, of a change from the steady industry and settled habits usually connected with agriculture and its accompanying rural pursuits, to the semi-savage life which the development of the great pastoral resources of the interior introduced and fostered. The change brought about was not only in the habits of a class, but in the food of the whole population; and the results consequent upon this alteration in food and calling were little less remarkable than those of a moral and social character. Before the discovery of the interior, and the rapid extension of pastoral enterprise which followed, animal food had always been scarce and dear in the colony; and a vegetable diet was largely—at times, with the poorer classes, almost exclusively—in use. Maize, in some

form or other, was the staff of life of a large section of the rural population,—while beef and mutton were far too expensive to be the principal articles of daily food with the mass of the community even in towns. A diet principally vegetable, but supplemented with a moderate proportion of animal food, is in all probability that best calculated not only to ensure health, but to produce men of large bone and muscle and of sturdy and vigorous frame. This was the character of the first generation of natives of New South Wales. They were, probably, as a body, among the largest, best-proportioned, and most powerfully framed people in the world. They were temperate in drink from choice, simple in diet from necessity, and remarkably free from any tendency to sensual indulgence. Some of the men of the first generation who still remain among us afford perhaps the finest examples in old age of strength, stature, and manly vigour which are to be found in the British dominions. Of the old Hawkesbury natives in particular it may be said with truth that there were giants in those days. These men were fed on hominy—at all events maize meal in some form was in their youthful days to them the staff of life. Truth, however, compels the confession that their children and grandchildren do not generally come up to the bodily standard of their sires and grandsires either in form or stature. The cause is undoubtedly to be found in the change which has taken place from a diet which was mainly vegetable to one which is mainly animal. There is perhaps no class of any community in the world which consumes such an amount of animal food in proportion to number as the native population of New South Wales. Without going fully into the interesting physiological questions involved in this fact, we may venture to assert that while by a flesh diet the nervous energy is, in all likelihood, stimulated without being correspondingly increased, and the intellectual faculties sharpened without being correspondingly strengthened, the muscular and the osseous parts of the system are stunted; and hence a race of men with smaller and weaker frames, and perhaps of less solidity of character, has been the result. Mental qualities generally depend upon bodily powers. There have been eminent men with puny frames, as there have been fine structures on weak foundations, but this has been the exception, not the rule. Many of the first generation of Australian natives might have been gross, coarse, and some of them brutal, but they were

undoubtedly more stanch, sturdy, and self-reliant men than their descendants. If they were more slow in action, they were more thorough in character; if their faculties had less brilliancy, they had greater depth. Wentworth, a living representative of the men of the first generation, has never been excelled, perhaps hardly approached, in strength of mind, force of will, and grasp of intellect, by any other Australian.*

Food and climate are the great causes which modify races of mankind. It is hard to say which of the two exercises the most potent influence. But the short time which has elapsed since the first colonists landed on the shores of the Great South Land has sufficed to manifest to the most careless observer the effects which have been already produced. With more comeliness of form and feature than his British ancestor, the native Australian has a less sturdy and enduring frame; with more quickness and vivacity he has less application and perseverance. He is stimulated by food and climate into an earlier development of body and mind; and the result in many instances has been to produce a more than justifiable amount of self-confidence in his own powers, and a corresponding tendency to a depreciation of others. Can it be doubted that these qualities of mind and body are to a considerable extent due to the unusual quantities of animal food habitually consumed? This excessive use of beef and mutton has now become a habit: but if it can be shown that its effects are unfavourable on both individual and national character, is it too much to hope that it may hereafter be modified to some extent? With this, however, as a mere sanitary or physiological question, the writer has here nothing to do. He has merely to record the circumstances which at an important epoch in the history of the colony caused a material change in food, employment, and habits, and produced other effects which have tended to modify the character of the population.

* Sydney Smith, in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1823, speaking of the first generation of native-born Australians, and referring to the accounts of their character which had reached England, says, "Everything is to be expected from them. They convey to the mother country the first proof that the foundations of a mighty empire are laid."

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL CONTESTS—THE EXCLUSIVES AND THE EMANCIPISTS—TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR. VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—BUSHRANGING. GENERAL CHARACTER AND RESULTS OF MACQUARIE'S ADMINISTRATION.

A VERY remarkable feature in the social life of the colonists during and long after Macquarie's administration, was the bitterness of the contests between the military and civil officers and the upper class of colonists on the one side, and the wealthy or influential emancipists, backed by a majority of the population, on the other. The most prominent actor on the part of the emancipists was Mr. Redfern, a short notice of whose history has been given in a previous chapter.*

Mr. Redfern was regarded as a representative man by the emancipists; and as his case illustrates, perhaps better than any other, the nature of the social and domestic quarrels which took place relative to the admission into society of persons of his class, some particulars regarding it will not be out of place here.

Mere conventional squabbles, and petty class conflicts, would, in the case of most communities, and under ordinary circumstances, be quite unworthy of serious notice. But those now referred to are samples of occurrences which exercised no inconsiderable weight on the character and happiness of a community not only peculiar in origin and singular in position, but destined a few years subsequently to exert great influence on the formation and growth of other colonies, which, united, promise at no distant day to rival the great powers of the old world, and to spread the blessings of civilisation, religion, and science, not only over the Australian continent, but throughout the countless islands of the Pacific. History tells us little that is reliable respecting the infancy of nations; but, most assuredly, such facts and circumstances, however otherwise unimportant, as have a direct bearing on the formation of the character and habits of youthful states, or tend to throw light upon the influences which moulded young communities, are worthy of being recorded.

The quarrel respecting Mr. Redfern first arose between Macquarie and the officers of the 46th regiment—which corps

* See page 403.

was for several years stationed in New South Wales—and lasted for several years. The determination with which the officers of the 46th resisted all attempts to introduce Mr. Redfern into their society continued unabated to the period of their departure. Upon the arrival of the 48th regiment, which superseded the 46th, Macquarie again renewed his attempts to bring Mr. Redfern forward. The officers of the 48th were well acquainted with what had taken place between the Governor and the gentlemen of the 46th; and although they took no formal or united action in the matter, and came to no openly expressed determination as to the line of conduct they were to pursue, it was generally understood that most of them were against the admission of Mr. Redfern into their society upon any terms. This it should be understood was not upon any grounds personal to Mr. Redfern, but simply because he was regarded as the representative of an obnoxious class. It was looked upon as undesirable to relax a rule in his case, lest it should lead to the throwing down of barriers which it was resolved to maintain intact against the class he belonged to. Several of the officers, however, dissented from this view, and Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine, Major Morrissett, and Major Druitt resolved to act towards Mr. Redfern without reference to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed or the people by whom he was surrounded, but simply in such a manner as they thought his conduct as a gentleman deserved.

Soon after the arrival of the 48th regiment in Sydney, the officers were invited on several occasions to Government House, and there a sort of official introduction took place of the Rev. Mr. Fulton, as one of the chaplains of the colony, and of Mr. Redfern, as one of the assistant-surgeons. Mr. Fulton, it should be remembered, was also an emancipist, having been transported for his share in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. An effort was then made by Macquarie, through Brigade-Major Antill, who entertained a great friendship for Mr. Redfern, to procure a private introduction of the latter to the officers of the 48th. Mr. Antill accordingly, accompanied by Mr. Redfern, called upon most of them; but by all, with the exception of Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine, Major Morrissett, and Major Druitt, they were denied admittance, under circumstances very painful to Mr. Redfern. With the exception of the three officers before-mentioned, the visits were not returned, and no notice was taken of Mr. Redfern by the officers on meeting him again. From this

period there was a sort of social or conventional civil war carried on between the officers favourable to Mr. Redfern and those opposed to him, and their friends and partisans on both sides. By one party he was treated with marked discourtesy, while by the other he was as ostentatiously patronised. Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine, and Majors Morrissett and Druitt, were frequently in Mr. Redfern's company, not only at the Governor's parties, but were almost daily visitors at his house. He was also invited to Colonel Erskine's private parties, and was shortly afterwards introduced as his friend to the mess-table of the regiment. On this occasion several of the junior officers rose from the table, abruptly quitted the room, and otherwise behaved in a manner calculated to express their indignation at what they considered or affected to consider the insult to which they had been subjected. The consequence of this conduct on the part of these young gentlemen was the promulgation of a mess rule by Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine, requiring that no officer should quit the table until after the "first thirds" had been drank.

These studied insults to Mr. Redfern were, however, repeated whenever an opportunity offered, and gave the Governor so much annoyance that at their first half-yearly inspection, in January, 1818, he took occasion to admonish them in a set speech, and to warn them not to follow the example of the officers of the 46th, whose conduct had produced prolonged social dissensions and a great amount of class animosity. He adverted to the beneficial effects of the practice which he had introduced and long upheld in admitting to his society persons who had been convicts, but whose subsequent conduct seemed to have atoned for their offences. Although, he said, it was not his intention or wish to force the officers into associating with that class of persons, yet he expected they would abstain not only from the offensive behaviour which some of their number had indulged in, but from improper remarks upon his practices and the policy of his government. At a public dinner given by the officers on the same day, they had determined, in order to exclude Mr. Redfern, that the invitations to the Governor's suite should be restricted to those who belonged to it in a military capacity, and these were only two in number—the brigade-major and the aide-de-camp. Colonel Erskine, as well as the Governor, was determined that, in spite of this ill-natured proceeding, Mr. Redfern should be present; and the latter was accordingly invited to the dinner as the colonel's guest. He accepted

the invitation, and arrived in company with the Governor's suite; but although no marked insult was offered him on this occasion, the conduct of some of the officers was so disagreeable that it was the last time he ever appeared at the mess of the 48th regiment. Governor Macquarie, however, continued to make it a rule to have Mr. Redfern as his guest at Government House whenever he invited the officers; and as it was hardly within their option to decline the Governor's invitations altogether, they had to submit as best they could to Mr. Redfern's society.

Macquarie's efforts to introduce emancipists into general society were no more successful than his attempts to bring them into favour with the military. With the gentleman in whose behalf the most persistent and numerous efforts were made, no fault could be found but that he was an emancipist; for in the case of Dr. Redfern there can be no doubt that his personal character and professional attainments would have been sufficient to have secured him a good standing in the most respectable society in the mother country. He occupied this singular position—that he was the trusted and confidential medical adviser of the most wealthy and exclusive families in the colony, who yet, on conventional grounds originating in class feeling, excluded him from their private circles.

With the Rev. Mr. Fulton the case was to some extent different. For, in the first place, that gentleman did not reside in Sydney, and never had his claims put forward in so prominent and obtrusive a way as had been the case with Mr. Redfern; and, secondly, his sacred character and functions as a clergyman protected him from conduct of a designedly rude or offensive kind.

Macquarie's elevation of several of his emancipist friends to the magistracy was an act which it is by no means so easy to defend as his endeavours to restore them to their proper social positions. Speaking of the strong class feelings which pervaded the community, and the difficulties which Macquarie met with in his efforts to amalgamate the opposing sections of society, and still more so in elevating emancipists to the bench, Mr. Commissioner Bigge, a strong advocate of the claims of the exclusives, says in his report: - "It is this difficulty, varying in degree with men and their opinions, that constitutes the formidable impediments to the efforts of Governor Macquarie to bring back into society not only the individuals in question, but all other persons who have been

once rendered infamous either by their sentence or their crimes. I am far from blaming his motives or his attempts, though I may not approve his measures for giving effect to them. But if this difficulty is felt in obtaining the admission of such persons to society, how much greater must it be in raising them to the functions and honours of the magistracy without diminishing that respect for the law and for its dispensers which it is so important in every country to uphold. It is not enough for this purpose that an individual should have been prosperous in trade, that he should have been skilful in surgery, or dexterous in the art of acquiring wealth and influence, his pretensions should be founded on some less equivocal and more moral basis; or on one in the acknowledgment of which the world would acquiesce. Instances certainly may arise in which such claims may be united; but, with the exception I have made in favour of the sacred character and functions of the Rev. Mr. Fulton, I do not think that any of the persons of this class whom Governor Macquarie has selected for the magistracy in New South Wales, have possessed such pretensions; and I cannot help submitting it as my opinion, that these appointments were unnecessary, that they produced no good effect upon the parties themselves, and that it lowered the respect and estimation of the magisterial office."

The colonist most conspicuous in his opposition to the appointment of emancipists to the bench was the Rev. Samuel Marsden, a brief notice of whose life and character has been given in a previous chapter. In personal interviews between the Governor and Mr. Marsden, language of a very violent kind was indulged in by the former, arising out of the strongly expressed opposition of the latter to some appointments to the magistracy. Macquarie charged Marsden not only with factious opposition to his government, but with seditious practices; and with having, while on terms of intimacy and friendship with himself, written letters to men high in office in England calculated to injure his character and to destroy his position. There can be no doubt that much that Macquarie said, while in a state of extreme annoyance at what he thought the improper meddling of a turbulent priest, was wholly unjustifiable. The accusation of seditious practices was simply absurd; but, nevertheless, there seems to have been some ground for his charge of duplicity against Mr. Marsden. It was proved afterwards that the inimical letters sent to England, although not the

productions of Mr. Marsden himself, were those of an intimate friend, and that the facts disclosed were communicated by him.

Several circumstances which occurred about this period proved that the almost irresponsible power so long wielded by Macquarie had produced its usual results,—and that a kind-hearted man was fast being changed into a tyrant. The most remarkable of these occurrences gave Mr. Marsden and his friends the wished-for opportunity of damaging the Governor's character with the Home authorities, and was promptly taken advantage of. Two free men and two free women (servant girls) had been arrested by a constable for being in a part of the Government Domain prohibited to strangers. Instead of the case being dealt with as one of ordinary trespass, the officious functionary took his captives to the Governor, who on the mere statement of the constable that they had intruded within the tabooed area, ordered the men to receive twenty-five lashes each, and the women to be confined in the cells for forty-eight hours. This extraordinary act of despotism very naturally created alarm, even among those who were before disposed to look with no unfriendly eye upon Macquarie's occasional stretches of power. To persons like Mr. Marsden and his friends, who had already assumed an attitude of open opposition to his measures, it was an act which afforded not only a specious, but a just ground of attack. From a consciousness, probably, of having exposed himself to merited censure, and that his conduct was without defence, Macquarie fell from one error into another.

A petition to the House of Commons, in which the Governor's outrageous conduct in the instance referred to was made a prominent ground of complaint, was drawn up, industriously circulated throughout the colony, and numerous signed. With an instinctive feeling that Macquarie's days of power were numbered, and that it was best to be on the strongest side, many of those upon whom he had showered favours, and on whose support he relied, now turned upon their benefactor with the basest ingratitude. This conduct excited in Macquarie's mind a strong feeling of indignation. He openly denounced the petition as scandalously false, and its concoctors as seditious and infamous; and did not hesitate to use his power to crush or annoy those who had signed it. Publicans whose names were affixed to it had their licenses cancelled, promised grants of

land were refused to others, and altogether Macquarie acted on this occasion without justice and without discretion.

The complaints sent to England respecting Macquarie's conduct drew upon him a severe but just censure from Earl Bathurst on account of the particular act which was the immediate cause of the petition; but the representations with reference to his policy in unduly favouring the emancipists—more particularly with regard to the elevation of some of them to the bench—as well as the ill effects of his lavish grants of land, and his general policy, were left to be dealt with in another manner. To enquire into these and other complaints, the Home Government determined to send out a commissioner.

The gentleman chosen for the service was Mr. John Thomas Bigge. He arrived in Sydney in September, 1819. His commission authorised him to “examine into all the laws, regulations, and usages of the territory and its dependencies, and into every other matter or thing in any way connected with the administration of the civil government, the superintendence and reform of the convicts, the state of the judicial, civil, and ecclesiastical establishments, revenue, trade, and resources.” Mr. Bigge's inquiries occupied two years, and his reports (from which several extracts have appeared in preceding pages), were printed by order of the House of Commons in 1822. They are documents of great historical value, and afford considerable insight into the civil, social, and moral condition of a very peculiarly constituted community. In reference to Macquarie's partiality for the emancipist class, and his persistent attempts to elevate them to the magistracy and to introduce them into society, the report enters at great length, and condemns the Governor's conduct in very strong terms.

Some idea of the noise and excitement which these social and class squabbles caused in the colony may be gained from a knowledge of the loudness of the echo which reached England; where, as will be gathered from what follows, they attracted the attention and employed the pens of some of the most eminent writers of the day. The importance then attached to them, and the influence they exerted on the character and happiness of that generation of colonists, must be the excuse of the writer, if any excuse is needed, for devoting so much space to matters, which, viewed from the distance of half a century, seem in some respects almost too trivial for notice, much less for historical discussion.

Mr. Marsden did nothing by halves. He entered into the contest with Macquarie with more than his usual zeal, less than his usual caution, and with an amount of unscrupulousness not creditable to his character as a clergyman. He procured the publication and extensive circulation in England of a letter upon the state of the colony which caused considerable sensation. It pictured with great vividness what he wished to be thought his own position—that of a zealous clergyman—a man of taste and refinement—wearing away his life in the midst of scenes of the most horrible vice and the most frightful debauchery, to which he could apply no effectual corrective because those who practised them were under the patronage of the King's representative—the Governor of the colony. The thoughts called up by his elegantly written and affecting statements were of the most painful kind. Sydney Smith took the matter up in the *Edinburgh Review*, and treated it in his usual slashing and unscrupulous way. He characterised it as the most horrid picture of the state of a community ever drawn, but one that carried with it an irresistible air of truth and sincerity. The faithfulness of Mr. Marsden's representations and the excellence of his character were vouched for by the Hon. H. G. Bennett in his place in the House of Commons. He represented that gentleman as a person of the most susceptible feelings, whose life was so embittered by the scenes with which he was surrounded that he did not enjoy a moment's peace from the beginning to the end of the week. One of Marsden's chief grounds of complaint arose from the alleged unrestricted license granted by Macquarie for the sale of intoxicating drinks; and Mr. Commissioner Bigge, knowing the exaggerated character of the representations so cleverly laid before the British public—although on the whole opposed to the Governor, and favourable to the policy advocated by Mr. Marsden—was unable to refrain from a sly hit at the latter in his official report. He said, "The Rev. Mr. Marsden, being himself accustomed to traffic in spirits, must necessarily feel displeased at having so many public houses licensed in his neighbourhood;" and Macquarie, by no means deficient in ability with his pen, replied in a letter to Lord Sidmouth—characterised by much quiet sarcasm—from which the following is an extract:—"As to Mr. Marsden's troubles of mind and pathetic display of sensibility and humanity, they must be so deeply seated and so far removed from the surface, as to escape all possible observation. His habits are those of a man for ever engaged

in some active animated pursuit. No man travels more from town to town or from house to house. His deportment is at all times that of a person most gay and happy. When I was honoured with his society, he was by far the most cheerful person I met in the colony. Where his hours of sorrow were spent it is hard to divine, for the variety of his pursuits, both in his own concerns, and in those of others, is so extensive in farming, grazing, manufactories, and other transactions, that with his clerical duties he seems, to use a common phrase, to have his hands full of work; and the particular object to which he imputes this extreme depression of mind, is, besides, one for which few people here will give him much credit."

Sydney Smith, finding upon further inquiry that his sympathy for the extremely sensitive and tender-hearted clergyman had been somewhat misplaced, in a second article in the *Edinburgh Review* turned round upon Mr. Marsden, and said: "There is certainly a wide difference between a man of so much feeling that he has not a moment's happiness from the beginning to the end of the week, and a little merry, bustling, clergyman, largely concerned in the sale of rum, and brisk at a bargain for barley." And with respect to the Governor's appointment of emancipists to the commission of the peace, he went even further than most of Macquarie's own friends in approving of his conduct. "We are by no means satisfied," he wrote in his best style of sound sense and cutting sarcasm, "that the system of the Governor was not upon the whole the wisest and best adapted to the situation of the colony. Men are governed by words; and under the infamous term convict, are comprehended crimes of the most different degrees and species of guilt. One man is transported for stealing three hams and a pot of sausages; and in the next berth to him on board the transport is a young surgeon, who has been engaged in the mutiny at the Nore; the third man is for extorting money; the fourth was in a respectable situation of life at the time of the Irish Rebellion, and was so ill read in history as to imagine that Ireland had been ill-treated by England, and so bad a reasoner as to suppose that nine Catholics ought not to pay tithes to one Protestant. Then comes a man who set his house on fire, to cheat the Phoenix Office; and, lastly, that most glaring of all human villains, a poacher, driven from Europe, wife and child, by thirty lords of manors, at the quarter sessions, for killing a partridge. Now, all these are crimes no doubt—particularly

the last; but they are surely crimes of very different degrees of intensity, to which different degrees of contempt and horror are attached—and from which those who have committed them may, by subsequent morality, emancipate themselves, with different degrees of difficulty, and with more or less of success. A warrant granted by a reformed bacon-stealer would be absurd; but there is hardly any reason why a foolish hot-brained young blockhead, who chose to favour the mutineers at the Nore when he was sixteen years of age, may not make a very loyal subject, and a very respectable and respected magistrate, when he is forty years of age, and has cast his Jacobine teeth, and fallen into the practical jobbing and loyal baseness which so commonly developes itself about that period of life. Therefore, to say that a man must be placed in no situation of trust or elevation, as a magistrate, merely because he is a convict, is to govern mankind with a dictionary, and to surrender sense and usefulness to sound. The particular nature of the place too must be remembered. It is seldom, we suspect, that absolute dunces go to Botany Bay, but commonly men of active minds, and considerable talents in their various lines—who have not learnt, indeed, the art of self-discipline and control, but who are sent to learn it in the bitter school of adversity. And when this medicine produces its proper effect—when sufficient time has been given to show a thorough change in character and disposition—a young colony really cannot afford to dispense with the services of any person of superior talents. Activity, resolution, and acuteness, are of such immense importance in the hard circumstances of a new State, that they must be eagerly caught at, and employed as soon as they are discovered. As for the conduct of those extra-moralists, who come to settle in a land of crime, and refuse to associate with a convict legally pardoned, however light his original offence, however perfect his subsequent conduct, we have no toleration for such folly and foppery. Mr. Marsden, who has no happiness from six o'clock Monday morning, till the same hour the week following, will not meet pardoned convicts in society. We have no doubt Mr. Marsden is a very respectable clergyman; but is there not something very different from this in the Gospel? The most resolute and inflexible persons in the rejection of pardoned convicts were some of the marching regiments stationed at Botany Bay—men, of course, who had uniformly shunned, in the Old World, the

society of gamesters, prostitutes, drunkards, and blasphemers—who had ruined no tailors, corrupted no wives, and had entitled themselves, by a long course of solemnity and decorum, to indulge in all the insolence of purity and virtue."

Then, in reference to the quarrel between Macquarie and the officers of the 48th, and the unbending social usages of those days, the reverend and witty writer goes on to say:—"In the discussion of this question we became acquainted with a piece of military etiquette of which we were previously ignorant. An officer, invited to dinner by the Governor, cannot refuse, unless in case of sickness. This is the most complete tyranny we ever heard of. If the officer comes out to his duty at the proper minute, with his proper number of buttons and epaulettes, what matters it to the Governor or anybody else where he dines? He may as well be ordered what to eat, as where to dine—be confined to the upper or under side of the meat—be denied gravy, or refused melted butter. But there is no end to the small tyranny and puerile vexations of a military life. In this point, of restoring convicts to society, we side, so far as the principle goes, with the Governor; but we are far from undertaking to say that his application of the principle has been on all occasions prudent and judicious. Upon the absurdity of his conduct in attempting to *force* the society of the pardoned convicts upon the undetected part of the colony, there can be no doubt. These are points upon which everybody must be allowed to judge for themselves. The greatest monarchs in Europe cannot control opinion upon those points—sovereigns far exceeding Colonel Lachlan Macquarie in the antiquity of their dynasty, and the extent, wealth, and importance of their empire."

The more Macquarie was thwarted, the more violent became his temper, and the more unmerciful the punishment of those who placed themselves in his power. Towards the close of his career he made up for his previous mild and indulgent treatment of the prisoners by occasional fits of excessive severity. At the sittings of the Criminal Court held in March, 1821, no less than twenty-five prisoners were capitally convicted, of whom nineteen were executed. In Van Diemen's Land at the same time ten men were hanged. It is probable that many of these men would never have been sentenced to death, if the Courts had anticipated that the law would

have been carried by the Governor to the last extremity. Many of these persons were convicted of only what would now be considered comparatively trivial offences. Indeed, this period of Macquarie's administration was not at all marked by crimes of great enormity or deeds of violence, although a constantly increasing tendency to dissoluteness of morals characterised the annals of the period. The most remarkable feature of the times were the frequent, and, in some cases, well organised and successful attempts of the convicts to escape. Looking at the general condition of the prisoners at that time, there appears to have been nothing so very dreadful about it as to justify even the most reckless in risking their lives to escape from it. Yet this, the golden age of convictism, was marked by greater and bolder efforts in that direction than any other period in the history of the colony. Perhaps the reason was, not that the desire for liberty was stronger, but that the opportunities for its attainment were greater. The successful attempts were of course always made by sea; and were generally accomplished by running off with boats, or cutting out some of the small coasting craft. But in addition to these well organised attempts, there were many futile and absurd efforts made by gangs of prisoners to escape by land. The most remarkable of these attempts were made from the Coal River settlement, as the Newcastle and the Lower Hunter district was then called. There appears to have existed amongst the prisoners a tradition that the Dutch had formed a colony, in old times, on the north-western coast, and they believed that this settlement was still in existence. If they could succeed in crossing the continent to this Dutch colony, they conceived that a passage to Timor or Batavia could easily be effected. The people who left on these absurd expeditions were of course grossly ignorant; many of them, it need hardly be said, perished miserably or were killed by the aborigines, while some returned of their own accord, after having been reduced by fatigue and starvation to the most wretched condition. One party which left the Coal River appears to have penetrated to a considerable distance from the coast; and another party of eight that left the Windsor district about the same time (1815) succeeded in crossing the mountains, and ultimately reached a point considerably farther to the west than had been attained by any white men previously.

Captain Wallis, the commandant at Newcastle, took very severe steps to deter the prisoners there from desertion. He employed the aboriginal natives to hunt them down, and by this means succeeded in diminishing the number of their attempts. The miserable and emaciated condition of those who were brought in struck terror into the hearts of others; and the native blacks of the Hunter district became at last so exceedingly expert and active in retaking the fugitives that desertion was completely put a stop to.

Although the Hunter River had been discovered so early as 1797, it was not until after the abandonment of Norfolk Island in 1805 that an establishment, as a place of secondary punishment, was formed near its entrance. Previous to that time, however, it had been resorted to for the purposes of procuring coals and cedar for the use of the Government. Private persons, when there was a surplus, were allowed to purchase the timber cut by the prisoners at threepence the superficial foot, and the coals at ten shillings a ton. After it was made a place for secondary punishment, various buildings and works were undertaken at the mouth of the river, the principal of which was the construction of a breakwater to unite the mainland with a small island at the entrance of the harbour, and so afford shelter to the shipping visiting the port from the effects of cross tides and the violence of southerly gales. This was one of the most useful undertakings ever accomplished by convict labour, and was a work on which large amounts of time and money were spent.

In the year 1818, principally with the view of encouraging the production of supplies for the settlement at Newcastle, Captain Wallis placed a small party of well-behaved prisoners, eleven in number, at the place where Maitland now stands, and a few others at the Paterson River, eight or nine miles off. They were to cultivate land on their own account, but to hold it only at the pleasure of the Government. The land on which they were placed was so fertile that the experiment was very successful, and they were soon able to send to Newcastle maize, butter, poultry, and eggs, for the supply of the military and civil officers stationed there. Such was the humble beginning of what is now one of the most populous and wealthy districts in Australia.

In Van Diemen's Land, in April, 1817, Colonel William Sorrell succeeded Colonel Davey, as Lieutenant-Governor.

He found the Tasmanian settlements in an exceedingly disturbed state from a large number of bushrangers, whose depredations had been carried on in a very daring manner for several years. Mr. Humphrey, the police magistrate at Hobart Town, attributed the origin and spread of this description of crime to the necessities of the prisoners in the early days of the settlement, and the frequent scarcity of food which led the authorities there to sanction their attempts to live by hunting and associating with the aborigines. The convicts assigned to the military officers were, in times of scarcity, not only obliged to procure food for themselves, but to furnish weekly to their masters a certain quantity of kangaroo flesh. The experience thus gained in the capture of game, and the knowledge acquired of the bush, together with the lax state of discipline which prevailed, encouraged these men in their tendency to roving and predatory habits; and ultimately led to the formation of gangs of marauders, distinguished for their violence and rapacity. The excesses of these daring outlaws both on the northern and southern sides of the island had attained an alarming height at the period of Colonel Davey's arrival, and continued with little intermission during his administration of the government of the colony. The success of the desperadoes, and the impunity with which they carried on their depredations, at length induced persons to join them who had no such excuses to offer for their conduct as might be urged on account of many of the convicts. Two of these amateur robbers were named Mills and Williams, both of whom left subordinate situations in the Commissariat department to enter upon a career of crime. They and the gangs with which they became connected carried on such a successful system of plunder upon the persons and property of individuals of every description, that the inhabitants of several districts were forced at length to abandon their dwellings, and remove for safety to the towns.

The measures adopted by Lieutenant-Governor Sorrell, on his arrival at Hobart Town, to check these wholesale outrages, were of a very judicious and effectual kind. He first endeavoured to awaken in all who wished to save their persons from outrage and their property from plunder a sense of the necessity for co-operation in measures of self-defence, and of combination against the common enemy; and such was his success, that liberal subscriptions were at once entered into in order to carry his plans into effect, and to

offer large rewards for the capture of the ringleaders of the gangs. By keeping a watchful eye on those who were suspected of giving aid or information to the banditti, by sending assistance to those who were believed to be in danger of attack, by establishing a more vigilant system of control over the gangs of prisoners, and especially by their frequent removal from one district to another, he succeeded in a short time in checking the movements and intercepting the supplies of the bushranging desperadoes. Some of those who still continued their depredations were at length reduced by the spirited pursuit and exertions of a detachment of the 46th regiment; others fell victims to the cruelty and treachery of their companions, the greatest atrocities being perpetrated amongst them from fear of betrayal by each other or with the hope of obtaining a share of the promised reward. A price was set upon the heads of some of the ringleaders, and it is asserted, but doubtless with considerable exaggeration, that it was no unusual thing for a man to make his appearance at a settlement of a morning, with the head of one of his companions in crime under his arm, in order to claim the reward. In more than one case it was afterwards suspected and generally believed, that the head produced was not that of the bushranger for whom the reward had been offered, but of some unfortunate shepherd or solitary wayfarer who happened to bear some resemblance to him, and who had been murdered in order to secure the offered premium.

A notorious leader of the principal party, named Michael Howe, after surrendering to the Lieutenant-Governor on an assurance of present safety, and a recommendation in his favour to Governor Macquarie, suspecting he had been entrapped, made his escape from the gaol at Hobart Town, and attempted, in concert with a servant of the Judge-Advocate, to leave the colony in an American vessel. Foiled in this effort, Howe returned to his former desperate courses, and was apprehended a second time and secured; but by means of a knife, which he had managed to conceal, he stabbed both the men who were guarding him, and again took to the bush, where he subsisted for some time with much difficulty on account of the loss of his firearms, and the detestation with which he had come to be regarded in consequence of his atrocious crimes. Driven at length to enter a hut with the hope of obtaining arms and ammunition, he encountered a soldier and another man who were lying in wait for him. They fell upon him at once, and after

a desperate conflict, killed him on the spot. This took place in October, 1818, and may be looked upon as the termination for that time of a system of terror and plunder which had existed for a long period; although the effects of the predatory and wandering habits which the convicts had acquired led to many isolated crimes during the next few years. The only subsequent attempt to form a gang appears to have been made on the northern side of the island, by a desperado named Hector Macdonald, who at the head of four others committed several robberies between George Town and Launceston. But being hotly pursued, the leader was shot by two civilians, and another of the gang by a soldier of the 48th regiment. The other three were afterwards taken and punished.

One of the greatest difficulties which Governor Sorrell had to contend with in restoring order arose from the want of suitable persons amongst the settlers to fill the office of magistrate. Most of those who had been removed from Norfolk Island to Van Diemen's Land at the formation of the settlement in 1804 had originally been prisoners, and many others who had been sent from New South Wales were men who had been doubly convicted, so that the settlers generally were of a lower and worse class than those of the parent colony; and consequently suitable materials for local government and the maintenance of order were less available.

This want of settlers of means and respectability was, however, remedied a few years after the time of which we are now speaking by the arrival (in 1822) of a considerable number of suitable emigrants from England, attracted by the favourable accounts of the colony which had reached the mother country; and in truth, whatever might be said in disparagement of the social and moral condition of the island up to this time, it is clear that it had at length emerged into a state of great material prosperity. The farmers, although their operations were conducted in an exceedingly rude and slovenly manner, had, as there was abundance of elbow room, selected the most fertile spots, and their crops for several years had been so prolific that in 1820 they were able to export wheat to the value of £20,000 to Sydney.

The capital introduced by the newly arrived settlers soon gave an impetus to trade, while their intelligence, energy, and character afforded examples which produced the best effects upon the moral and social condition of the community. In 1821 the population of Van Diemen's Land amounted to

7400, and the land in cultivation to 15,000 acres. The horned cattle, sheep, and horses, had increased in proportion. The extraordinary progress made in the two or three preceding years may be judged of from the fact that in 1818 the population was only 3557, the land in cultivation but 5080 acres, and the quantity of live stock correspondingly small.

Governor Macquarie visited Van Diemen's Land for the second time in April, 1821. He found the place wonderfully improved. At his first visit, about nine years before, although the settlement had then been established about seven years, very little progress had been made, so that in 1821 he was both surprised and gratified by the changed condition of things. On his return to Sydney, after a stay of more than two months, he published in the Gazette a very flattering account of the industry, enterprise, and progress of the insular colonists. He lauded the taste displayed in their buildings, the beauty and spaciousness of their harbour, their appliances and facilities for trade and ended as usual by conferring his name, or the name of his native place, or that of his wife, or something which was his, on a large number of places or things in the fortunate island.

The material progress of New South Wales under Macquarie, especially during the latter part of his administration, was very great. The roads and bridges, the construction of which he had pushed forward with vigour, almost immediately after his arrival, had been productive of the greatest benefit to the settlers; and on all the principal lines toll-bars were established for the purpose of providing funds for their maintenance and repair. Sydney, which had not long before emerged from the condition of a mere collection of huts, now began to assume the appearance of a bustling, although rather straggling town; the inhabitants numbered upwards of 7000 in 1820—about a third of the entire population of the colony—and there were several thriving manufactures, carried on such as woollen cloths, earthenware, salt, candles, soap, hats, &c. In 1816, a bank—that of New South Wales, which still exists as one of the principal monetary institutions of Australia—was established. In the same year the foundation of the lighthouse at the South Head of Port Jackson was laid. In 1819, the Sydney Savings Bank was established, and it, also, as well as the Bank of New South Wales, has continued to flourish to the present day, and has been exceedingly useful in promoting habits of thrift and self-reliance among the

humbler classes. Public schools had previously been instituted, not only in Sydney, but in almost every district where there was a sufficient number of inhabitants to justify such a step; and about one-eighth part of the local revenue (£2500 a year,) was devoted to their maintenance, independently of large quantities of lands which were set apart for their use and for orphan asylums. There were also a Bible Society, Sunday schools, and the other religious, benevolent, and social institutions generally found in large towns in the parent country. In fact Sydney was then, what it has ever since remained, the nearest approach to an English town, both in external appearance and in the habits and social life of its people, which has ever been produced out of the parent country. Mrs. Macquarie took the most lively interest in the promotion of every good work, and lent willing and active aid in the formation and superintendence of every benevolent and useful institution. She was held in the highest esteem by all classes, and her character is still revered by the old colonists.

The proposal to establish a bank, when first mooted, afforded Macquarie a favourable opportunity for bringing about a co-operation between the wealthy emancipists and some of the exclusives. He foresaw that if social or class distinctions were to be introduced into an institution of that nature its failure was certain. He in fact made it a condition that all classes should be represented in the direction, and only on that basis agreed to afford it his countenance and support. Accordingly the committee formed for the purpose of drawing up the rules and regulations of the institution contained the names of three of the before ostracised class; and thus the first step was gained towards bringing about a better state of feeling in the community than had previously existed.

The annual expenditure of the colony, derived principally from the Imperial Treasury, was at this period exceedingly large in proportion to the population, notwithstanding that Macquarie made many endeavours to economise. His efforts, however, were so spasmodic and ill-sustained that no practical results followed. He would on some occasions, when the retrenching fit took him, delay or altogether stop the building of needful works, while at others, when in the extravagant mood, useless or unnecessary buildings of an extensive character were undertaken regardless of cost. The expense of the colony to the British Government, exclusive of the charges incurred for transporting the convicts to its shores, averaged,

during Macquarie's time, about £200,000 a year. The average cost from its foundation in 1788 to 1815 was about £125,000 a year. In 1813 the expenditure amounted to £235,000, and in 1814 to £231,362. The following year was one of retrenchment, and the amount was reduced to £150,000. These enormous sums, drawn in hard cash from the Commissariat chest, and expended amongst a small population, were productive of a certain amount of prosperity, which was not however of a very sound or healthy character. The colonists were in fact, to some extent, in the position of people having the command of large sums of money which they had never properly earned; and therefore were in greater danger of falling into habits of luxury and extravagance than if they had no other external source of wealth than was derived from exports raised by their own industry and sent into the markets of the world.

Various causes contributed during the years 1818-21 to call the particular attention of the English Government and people to the colony of New South Wales. Some of these have already been noticed, but there were others which exercised more or less influence. The principal were—the great and increasing cost of the colony to the mother country, accompanied by a marked decrease among the criminal classes of the fear of transportation. The great wealth of many of the colonists,—a fact frequently referred to in parliamentary speeches, as well as in books and newspapers—also operated strongly in drawing attention towards it; particularly in connection with the yearly increasing import into England of fine wools, the produce of New South Wales. To these causes may be added the publication of a History of the Colony, by Mr. W. C. Wentworth—a work of considerable merit;—the Rev. Sydney Smith's articles on the condition of the colony in the Edinburgh Review; the attacks of the Hon. H. G. Bennett on Governor Macquarie's character and policy, both in parliament and through the medium of pamphlets and letters; and the practical confirmation of the most material of these accusations by Mr. Commissioner Bigge's letters and reports.

The charges against Macquarie which had most weight with the British public and with the Government of the day, and which were most conclusively proved, were not those upon which Mr. Marsden and Macquarie's other local opponents placed most reliance. The accusation of elevating persons who had been convicts to the magisterial bench was capable of explanation, and was easily answered; the charge

of demoralising the community by granting an excessive number of licenses for the sale of spirits, fell before the rejoinder that the gentleman who originated the accusation was himself a dealer in rum ; and the charge of tyrannical conduct, in flogging free persons without a trial, was thought to be deserving of nothing more than a severe reprimand, probably in consequence of the semi-military character of the Colonial Government, and the extreme latitude which had, as a matter of necessity, been granted to rulers placed at the distance of half the circumference of the globe from the source whence their power was derived. But there were other matters, on which John Bull was far more sensitive, and which, upon being proved, were deemed sufficient to warrant Macquarie's recall. These were (1) his excessive expenditure upon useless or unnecessary buildings ; (2) the want of proper checks and the consequent waste in the disposal of the public stores and materials ; and (3) the glaring disregard of cleanliness, propriety, and decency in the management of the female convicts. There were other charges—such as a frequent and unnecessary interference with matters of trade and private concernment—but the above were the accusations which had most weight. In respect to the first, it was proved that Macquarie had persisted in building very extensive and expensive stables for his own use, as well as many other unnecessary structures, after repeated remonstrances and in opposition to positive instructions to the contrary. In regard to the second, it was shown that the stores and materials sent out by the Imperial Government, and kept in a magazine appropriated to their use, were allowed to be taken almost without check by the convict mechanics, and either conveyed to the various buildings or places for which they were required, or appropriated to their own purposes as the workmen might see fit, no account of the expenditure or the employment of the stores or materials being kept ; that the temptation which was thus placed in the way of the convicts was very great ; that as a consequence the stealing or secreting of stores, tools, and implements was constantly carried on ; and that the loss to the Government was very considerable. With regard to the female convicts, it was shown that the place where they were confined, or rather where they were supposed to be confined, was so utterly unsuitable, inconvenient, and unsafe, that no classification was possible, and that none was even attempted ; that the young and the most experienced in profligacy and crime were

not only lodged together, but that all who were so disposed found no checkin leaving the place and in resorting to the most guilty means of support; that in fact, in their case, there was no hindrance to unblushing profligacy; that the building itself was kept in a state of the most disgusting filth; that the disorderly, unruly, and licentious conduct of the women was a terror to the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbourhood; and that this condition of things had been allowed to continue for years, for want of a proper building in which the women could be confined and classified.

Macquarie's reply to the first and second of the foregoing charges was a virtual admission of their truth; to the accusations respecting the female factory and its management, his answer was an unfortunate one, and resolved itself into a justification of the delay which had occurred in erecting a suitable building by the absence of any specific instructions from the Home Government on that subject, although he had, he said, at an early period of his administration, solicited directions as to the course he was to pursue. To this it was rejoined, that he had not only undertaken, on several occasions, expensive and unnecessary buildings, without waiting for instructions, and even in defiance of them, but that he had, three or four years before, actually announced, in a letter to Lord Bathurst, his intention of at once commencing a new building for a female factory, without however making any specific allusion to the evils which the want of it had so long occasioned. Further, that after he had communicated to the Home authorities his intention forthwith to commence the erection of a suitable building for the purpose referred to, he had taken no steps to carry out his design; but, on the contrary, had devoted the means at his disposal "to the laborious and expensive construction of his own stables," and this not merely without any sanction, but "in direct opposition to an instruction that must have then reached him, and that forcibly warned him of the consequences."

These investigations and disclosures were of course fatal to Macquarie's administration; but they were eminently serviceable to the interests of the colony. Its rapidly increasing wealth and vast natural resources were for the first time brought prominently before the British public; and the information thus spread served to attract to its shores many enterprising men, not only from England but from India and other countries. It is not, however, with this result, but with Governor Macquarie and his recall, that we are now more

particularly concerned. Upon the subject of the Governor's character and policy, and the peculiar condition and prospects of the colony, Sydney Smith again entered the arena, and again the pages of the Edinburgh Review sparkled about Australia. "What manner of man is Governor Macquarie? Is all that Mr. Bennett says of him in the House of Commons true? These are the questions which Lord Bathurst sent Mr. Bigge, and very properly sent him, 28,000 miles to answer. The answer is, that Governor Macquarie is not a dishonest man, or a jobber; but arbitrary, in many things scandalously negligent, very often wrongheaded, and, upon the whole, very deficient in that good sense and vigorous understanding which his arduous situation so manifestly requires." And then, in reference to his building hobbies, the writer continues: "Ornamental architecture in Botany Bay! A man who thinks of pillars, and pilasters, when half the colony are wet through for want of any covering at all, cannot be a wise or a prudent person. He seems to be ignorant that the prevention of rheumatism in all young colonies is a much more important object than the gratification of taste, or the display of skill. One of the great difficulties in the colony is to find proper employment for the great mass of convicts who are sent out. Governor Macquarie selects all the best artisans of every description for the use of Government, and puts the poets, attorneys, and politicians up to auction. The evil consequence of this are manifold. In the first place, from possessing so many of the best artificers, the Governor is necessarily turned into a builder; and immense drafts are drawn upon the Treasury at Home for buildings better adapted for Regent-street than the antipodes. In the next place, the poor settler finding that the convict attorney is very awkward at cutting timber, or catching kangaroos, soon returns him upon the hands of government in a much worse plight than that in which he was received. Not only are governors thus debauched into useless and expensive builders, but the colonists, who are scheming and planning with all the activity of new settlers, cannot find workmen to execute their designs. At the very period when the Governor assured Lord Bathurst, in his dispatches, that he kept and employed so numerous a gang of workmen only because the inhabitants could not employ them, Mr. Bigge informs us that their services would have been most acceptable to the colonists." He speaks in indignant terms of "the horrors and immoralities, the filth and wretchedness of the female

prison of Parramatta;" and contends that the case against Macquarie was proved beyond dispute. "It is impossible to read the accounts and not to perceive that the conduct and proceedings of Governor Macquarie imperiously required the exposure they have received; and that it would have been much to the credit of the Government if he had been removed long ago. The colony, disencumbered of Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, will probably become a very fine empire; but we can scarcely believe it is of any present utility even as a place of punishment."

Sentiments respecting the affairs of the colony, similar to those quoted above from the *Edinburgh Review*, appear to have generally prevailed in England at that time; and there was a loud cry raised, not merely for Macquarie's recall, but for the almost immediate cessation of transportation. It seems that the Government itself had previously contemplated taking such a step at no very distant day, and looked to the results of Mr. Commissioner Bigge's inquiry to guide them as to the best course to pursue. What he recommended, however, after an investigation extending over two years, fell very short of so extreme a course. He advised a proper classification of convicts (no classification whatever appears to have been made up to this time), and the formation of new settlements at Moreton Bay, Port Curtis, and Port Bowen, to which the more hardened offenders should be sent, while the mass of the prisoners, instead of being allowed to congregate in the towns, should be distributed throughout the country; and that, in order to provide employment for them in the interior, the inducement of more considerable grants of land should be held out in the remote districts to persons of capital and character, to whom the more robust and useful men should be assigned, while the prisoners' barracks and other buildings in the towns should be devoted exclusively to the very youthful and the very aged and infirm. The Commissioner, in fact, appears to have thought that although the colony had not fully answered its purpose as a place of reformation, there was no sound reason why it should not be made to do so; and that its failure was rather due to Macquarie's mistaken policy than to any radical defect in the system of transportation itself.

Macquarie contended that the colony had answered the ends for which it was founded; and its almost entire failure as a place of reformation was an assertion which he positively denied. He said, "the number of families now established

as settlers, living on their farms, useful, industrious, and, taken generally, as respectable as the yeomen of any other country, would prove to any one who inquired into their characters that the colony had not failed as a place of reformation ; for although many reverted to their former habits of drunkenness and gambling, others never did." And then, in reference to the pretensions of many of the would-be exclusives, and the discontent they had expressed with his policy and the condition of society in the colony, he spoke in a tone of unusual bitterness. It was beyond his hopes, he said, to find men contented in the colony who had found themselves unfit subjects for the army and navy, or who from their embarrassed circumstances had taken refuge here to avoid their creditors at home. But it was his belief that every well-disposed man, whether living here as a clergyman, in the employment of the Government as a civil servant, or as a free settler, was perfectly satisfied with the place, and grateful for the liberal assistance allowed him in carrying out his operations. It appeared to him, he continued, to be a duty of the first magnitude in every man who accepted of a civil appointment in the colony, to come here with the full determination of holding out every encouragement for the reformation of those who having once fallen had afterwards proved themselves worthy of regard, and who deserved to be treated in the same manner as if they had always been free. If military men thought and acted otherwise, their conduct was not open to be regarded in the same light, as they were obliged to take their turn of duty in the colony ; but others, who had freedom of choice, should avoid incorporating themselves with a community most of whose members they were determined to consider unworthy of being associated with. In reference to the misrepresentations which, he contended, had been widely circulated respecting his own character and conduct, he said : " Even my works of charity, and, as it appeared to me, sound policy, in endeavouring to restore emancipated and reformed convicts to the level of their fellow-subjects—a work which, considered either in a religious or political view, I shall ever value as the most meritorious part of my administration, has not escaped their animadversions."

The intelligence of Macquarie's intended recall reached the colony in the latter part of 1821. Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, his successor, arrived shortly afterwards, and on the 1st December his commission as Captain-General and

Governor-in-Chief of the colony was read, with the most impressive formalities, in Hyde Park, Sydney, where the military were drawn up under arms, and fired a salute in honour of the occasion. Most of the inhabitants, including the leading colonists of all parties, were present, and Macquarie took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to address them at considerable length in vindication of his character and the policy of his administration. He said that when he took charge of the Government, in 1810, he found the colony in a state of rapid deterioration, a famine impending, discord and party spirit prevailing to a great degree, and the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and decay; very few roads and bridges in existence, and those few in a very bad condition. Now, he continued, we see the face of the country generally, and agriculture in particular, greatly improved; stock of all kinds had much increased; useful manufactures had been established; commerce was revived, and public credit restored. A great number of substantial and useful public edifices had been erected, good roads and bridges had been constructed, and the inhabitants were comparatively opulent and happy.

Macquarie did not quit the colony until nearly three months after the arrival of his successor. He had come to look upon the evidences of wealth and advancement which he saw around him as if they were the work of his own hands, and he regarded the improved condition of the colony with feelings of honest pride. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that he was loth to leave the scene where for nearly twelve years he had exercised more than regal power. There is no doubt that he felt a deep attachment to the country, and that, whatever his mistakes, he acted throughout his administration with perfect singleness of purpose, and under the firm belief that the measures which he adopted were conducive not only to the welfare of those over whom he ruled, but to the honour and dignity of the great country whose servant he was. If he had been recalled after occupying his post for only the usual period allowed to colonial governors, he would have left an untarnished name on Australian annals; but the exercise for twelve years of almost unlimited sway sufficed to unhinge his mind—to throw his judgment off its balance—to render him absurdly impatient of the slightest opposition, and incapable of regarding those who took different views from his own as anything but bitter personal enemies, actuated by the most selfish and

unworthy motives. So long a tenure of office, under the then circumstances of the colony, would probably have turned a wiser head than his. The intoxicating and demoralising effects of uncontrolled power is one of the plainest lessons taught by history, and to say that Macquarie succumbed to such an influence is merely to say that he was not free from the failings of humanity.

The old Governor employed the time during which he remained after the arrival of his successor in making a tour of the colony. He was everywhere received with respect, and in Sydney a meeting of the inhabitants was held, at which it was resolved to present him with a gold cup, of the value of five hundred guineas. Nothing, however, could eradicate from his breast the idea that he had been harshly and unjustly treated by the Home Government. The success of his opponents and detractors had deeply wounded his self-love. His egotism, amiable and harmless as it was in most of its earlier manifestations, had become by constant gratification the strongest attribute of his mind. He left the colony in February, 1822; and although the effects produced by the mental anxiety and annoyance connected with the circumstances of his recall were not at first apparent on his health, he seems never to have recovered his equanimity of temper or buoyancy of spirits, and sinking beneath troubles, exaggerated probably by a morbid state of mind, he died shortly afterwards—in 1824. The gravest original defects of his character seem to have been an absence of the nicer shades of moral perception, and a strong tendency to regard success as the only test of merit. If a man had unusual cleverness, dexterity, or the ability to acquire wealth no matter by what means, he regarded him with favour; while, on the other hand, an humble but honest man struggling with adversity had fewer claims upon his sympathy or bounty. In his day there were many very energetic and clever but very unprincipled men in the colony, and Macquarie was too much inclined, notwithstanding grave stains upon their character, to give them his countenance and support, for the sake of employing their talents in the carrying out of his projects. A man of unblemished morals himself, he appears to have been ignorant that there was such a thing as innate vice in others, and looked upon all who had fallen into crime as the unfortunate victims of circumstances. After the expiry of their terms of punishment, those who managed to steer clear of legal penalties, notwithstanding that they led notoriously immoral lives, were regarded by

him as affording satisfactory evidence of a reformation in character, and therefore to be deserving of encouragement. He appears to have considered a legal test of character as the only one worth notice; and looked upon a convict who had served out his sentence as a debtor, who, having discharged an obligation, was entitled to be considered an honest man. There can be no doubt that his deficiency in moral sentiment had an injurious tendency on those over whom he ruled, and contributed in no small degree to lower the standard of character and the social tone of the community. It may be that he thought material advancement would inevitably be followed by moral improvement, and that he aimed to elevate the character of the population by improving their outward condition. There is much to be said in favour of this view of the case, for those who have something to lose, or a position to maintain, are certainly surrounded by many safeguards against the commission of gross and open vice which are absent in the case of people plunged in want and struggling for the bare necessities of existence.

An able defence of Macquarie's policy will be found in the following extracts from a communication which he addressed to Earl Bathurst almost immediately after his arrival in England. It is dated London, 27th July, 1822. He says :—

“ I found the colony barely emerging from infantile imbecility, and suffering from various privations and disabilities; the country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney; agriculture in a yet languishing state; commerce in its early dawn; revenue unknown; threatened with famine; distracted by faction; the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and mouldering to decay; the few roads and bridges formerly constructed rendered almost impassable: the population in general depressed by poverty; no public credit nor private confidence; the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected.

“ Part of those evils may perhaps be ascribed to the mutiny of the 102d regiment; the arrest of Governor Bligh; and the distress occasioned to the settlers by the then recent floods of the Hawkesbury and Nepean rivers, from whose banks chiefly the colony was at that time supplied with wheat.

“ Such was the state of New South Wales when I took charge of its administration on the 1st of January, 1810; I

left it in February last, reaping incalculable advantages from my extensive and important discoveries in all directions, including the supposed insurmountable barrier called the Blue Mountains, to the westward of which are situated the fertile plains of Bathurst; and, in all respects, enjoying a state of private comfort and public prosperity, which I trust will at least equal the expectation of his Majesty's Government. The change may indeed be ascribed in part to the natural operation of time and events on individual enterprise: how far it may be attributed to measures originating with myself, as hereinafter detailed, and my zeal and judgment in giving effect to my instructions, I humbly submit to his Majesty and his Ministers.

STATEMENT OF POPULATION, &c *

	March 1810.	Oct. 1821.
Population, including military ...	11,590	38,778
Horned cattle ...	12,442	102,939
Sheep ...	25,888	290,158
Hogs ...	9,544	33,906
Horses ...	1,134	4,564
Acres cleared and in tillage ...	7,615	32,267

"On my taking the command of the colony in the year 1810, the amount of port duties collected did not exceed £8000 per annum, and there were only £50 or £60 of a balance in the Treasurer's hands; but now duties are collected at Port Jackson to the amount of from £28,000 to £30,000 per annum. In addition to this annual colonial revenue, there are port duties collected at Hobart Town and George Town, in Van Diemen's Land, to the amount of between £8000 and £10,000 per annum.

* Including Van Diemen's Land.

AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION.—PART V.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF COLONISATION UNDER GOVERNOR BRISBANE'S ADMINISTRATION.
THE INTRODUCTION OF TRIAL BY JURY. THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.
THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. THE AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL COMPANY.

THE successor of Governor Macquarie, Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., the sixth Governor of New South Wales, entered upon his duties on the 1st December, 1821, under most favourable auspices. His character as a soldier and a man of science had preceded him, and his advent was hailed by the colonists of all classes with the greatest satisfaction. Like his immediate predecessor, he was a Scotchman. He was of a good family, of excellent personal character, and had the reputation of being a kind-hearted, generous, and refined man. He found the colony in a flourishing condition, its productions rapidly increasing, and its population receiving accessions of men of capital and enterprise almost daily. To a man of talent and energy, with a desire to serve his country, few positions could have been more acceptable than the one in which Sir Thomas Brisbane now found himself. At the head of a community of pushing, enterprising people, who were in the possession of more than an average amount of material wealth, provided with an abundant supply of labour, and with an unlimited extent of fertile and unoccupied land waiting to be devoted to their purposes; with most of the dangers, privations, and drudgery incident to the earlier days of colonisation overcome; with the British Government and people eager for the development of that great country at the antipodes which they fondly believed was one day to become "a new Britannia in another world,"—with such prospects and opportunities as these it wanted only a governor possessed of moderate ability and energy to send the colony forward in a far more rapid career of advancement than had hitherto been thought possible.

Unfortunately, however, than Sir Thomas Brisbane, notwithstanding his many high qualities, a man more unfitted for the position he was sent to fill could hardly have been selected. Unlike his predecessor, Macquarie, whose personal activity, business habits, and untiring interference with all kinds of matters were remarkable, Brisbane seems to have had an aversion not merely to meddling with what did not immediately concern him, but even to the transaction of the ordinary official business which his position rendered absolutely necessary. He was too ready to evade the performance of the duties of his office, and even to trust to others in matters of much importance. The kindness and gentleness of his disposition was, under such circumstances, liable to degenerate into almost culpable weakness, and his reluctance to be placed in antagonism with those about him sometimes assumed the appearance of moral cowardice. He appears to have been a man of that class of character by no means rare in military and naval officers, who, possessed of the highest physical courage, shrink instinctively from the petty squabbles of life, and shun more than they would the plague those personal quarrels which a constant and strict performance of duties rarely fails to engender. It is questionable, indeed, whether the most refined delicacy of feeling, the most fastidious sense of personal honour, or even the very highest quality of personal courage, were compatible with the satisfactory discharge of such duties as the Governor of New South Wales had to perform forty or fifty years ago. With a petty oligarchy—unscrupulous, grasping, and pretentious—on the one hand, consisting of men whose claims and assumptions were the more clamorous from having been ignored or kept in check by his predecessor;—and pestered on the other by demands for legal rights and social recognition on the part of numbers of wealthy emancipists—backed up as the latter were by the public voice whenever that voice could make itself heard—the position of Governor Brisbane was one for which he appears to have been eminently unfit. The free settlers of the humbler class—many of them retired soldiers and sailors, and the others emigrants and their families, who, however respectable in character and conduct, had come to the colony without official or recognised position;—this class had usually made common cause with the emancipists against what they considered the domineering insolence, selfishness, and unwarrantable assumptions of the “pure merinos,” as the official or aristocratic class or clique began to be called

during Brisbane's time. It is probable that many of these soldier, sailor, and emigrant settlers were equal, and some of them superior, in birth and education, as well as in moral character, to their more pretentious fellow-colonists. Some of them having been amongst the very earliest settlers, had now sons grown to manhood;—and these youths, natives of the soil, were not disposed to look with much complaisance upon the claims and assumptions of persons whose chief aim in many cases was to accumulate a fortune and to leave the country. The little clique of exclusives, on the contrary, appear to have regarded themselves as the only persons whose claims to grants of land, to convict labour, or to social recognition by the Governor, ought to be considered for a moment. Already many of them were possessed of enormous landed properties: their farms were cultivated by prison labour, their houses built by prison labour, their furniture made by prison labour, and all their servants were prisoners. There was a constantly increasing commissariat expenditure on account of convict management and for the supply of convict food and necessaries; and a large part of this expenditure went into the pockets of the more wealthy settlers, in payment for maize, wheat, beef, and other food grown, and articles of clothing made, by the labour of the very class on whose account the expenditure was incurred. In fact, the Government gave the land, supplied by the labour to cultivate it, and then purchased the produce. It was barely possible for persons with such singular advantages to escape becoming wealthy. Most of them had certainly not been born to wealth, few had taken any very energetic means to acquire it, but many of them seem to have thought they had a right to have it thrust upon them. They had, before Macquarie's time, been fully impressed with the idea that the Governor was the mere channel through which grants of land, convict servants, official favours, patronage, and in short all desirable things, were destined to flow into their possession. Macquarie undeceived them for a time, but on his departure the old monopolising and domineering spirit broke out stronger than ever. They soon saw that his successor was no man of business: that he was too refined in manner and delicate in nature even to notice the huckstering squabbles and petty scheming by which most of the coveted advantages were to be gained; that, in short, he was incapable of fighting them with their own weapons, or of resisting the influences

by which they were able to surround him. They had looked forward to the period of Macquarie's departure as the signal for renewed attempts to re-assert their claims to power and privilege, and they now found the character of the new governor, as well as other circumstances, operating in their favour. Macquarie had been so indiscriminate and profuse in his grants of land and patronage to the emancipist and prison class, that his enemies had really good grounds for complaint. He had carried his opposition to the official and military class so far, and his objection to the immigration of free settlers had been so strongly expressed, that in consequence of the representations on the state of the colony which were sent to England, the Home Government appears at one time to have come to a determination to put a stop to transportation altogether. The receipt of this intelligence, which reached the colony through the English newspapers, caused the utmost alarm among those who had been most influential in bringing it about. It was more than they had bargained for or anticipated. The passage of the Blue Mountains had opened up to them a source of almost untold wealth, which was rapidly being developed, and that by a class of labour which up to that period had been considered almost useless, but which, nevertheless, was now found to be well adapted for shepherding and the lighter kinds of work connected with pastoral pursuits. The stoppage of the supply of this description of labour would put an end to the further progress of sheep farming, now becoming the main source of colonial wealth. The extraordinary increase in the quantity and quality of the wool sent to England was beginning to attract so much attention at home that, in order to mark the sense of the important services rendered to the parent country by Mr. John Macarthur, the first importer of the Saxon-merino sheep and the founder of Australian sheep farming, that gentleman was presented by the Duke of Sussex, at a large meeting of noblemen and gentlemen, held in London, with two very handsome and valuable gold medals, which had been voted by the Society of Arts, "for importing into Great Britain wool, the produce of his flocks, equal to the finest Saxony." It is believed that the danger of checking the production of so important and rapidly increasing a staple led at first to delay in carrying out, and afterwards to the total abandonment of the intention of putting a stop to the transportation of criminals to New South Wales.

With the knowledge that transportation was not to be

abandoned, but that a large supply of labour would still be available, came renewed efforts on the part of the officials and their friends to procure yet more extensive grants of lands. The Governor, worried with importunities, soon abandoned almost the semblance of controlling the disposal of the public estate; and the following circumstance, related by the gentleman to whom it occurred, will show the helpless condition into which his Excellency ultimately drifted. Mr. B., then a very young man, was the son of a reputable free settler, and is now a prominent member of the legislature. He had been introduced to the Governor soon after his arrival; and, being educated and intelligent, although not belonging to the privileged or exclusive class who thought they had a right to monopolise everything, he soon became a favourite with his Excellency, who offered to do anything in his power to advance his interests. As the new country beyond the mountains was then being rapidly taken up, and lavish grants of land in the Western district were the order of the day with the privileged class, Mr. B., thinking it a good opportunity to put in his claim, said that he desired nothing so much as to be able to make a home for himself, if his Excellency would give him a farm there. The request was at once complied with, and an order given to his secretary to draw out the usual official promise. With this in his pocket, and having decided where to choose his farm, Mr. B., a few days afterwards, waited upon the Surveyor-General, and having stated his business and produced his letter of promise, desired to know when his grant could be measured, so that he might take possession and commence operations. The Surveyor-General took the paper, looked at his visitor, then at the paper, then again at the applicant, with evident but silent contempt. At last, however, he deigned to open his mouth—"What do you want with land—what are you to do with a farm?" Mr. B. was about to explain his object and intentions, but had hardly time to begin before the great man commenced in the most deliberate manner to tear the paper containing the Governor's promise into a thousand bits. Having accomplished this to his satisfaction, without paying the slightest attention to what the astonished applicant was saying, he turned on his heel and left the room. On Mr. B. informing the Governor of the insulting conduct of the Surveyor-General, his Excellency, although he could not conceal his annoyance, took the matter in his usual gentle and quiet way, merely saying that he would see that his promise

was fulfilled at some future time. The fulfilment, however, never took place, Mr. B. having too much regard for Sir Thomas Brisbane, and too much sympathy with his troubles and annoyances, to take any step which would be likely to give him pain or to bring him into collision with his selfish and powerful subordinates and their grasping and unscrupulous friends.

Statements in preceding chapters respecting Governor Macquarie's lavish grants of lands, taken in connection with Governor Brisbane's practical abdication of his functions in favour of high officials and presuming subordinates, will enable the reader to understand the means by which vast tracts of the most valuable lands of the colony came into the possession of a few individuals or families. Many of the men on whom Governor Macquarie conferred small farms were persons without character or means, whose motive for petitioning for a grant of land was that they might immediately barter the gift away for the sake of procuring the means of sensual indulgence; others, probably more honest in their intentions, but wholly unqualified by previous experience and habits for the severe toil and privation which in most cases have to be undergone before a farm can be cleared and successfully cultivated, threw up the pursuit of agriculture in disgust, the land generally passing into the possession of some storekeeper, publican, or usurer with whom they had become hopelessly involved. So numerous were these grants of Governor Macquarie, and so entirely was their profitable occupation beyond the means or incompatible with the inclination of the grantees, that their disposable value was reduced to almost nothing; and lands were sold for a few gallons of rum which not many years afterwards would have realised hundreds, or, in some cases, even thousands of pounds. The acquisition of these improvidently conferred grants from their improvident owners became a sort of trade—a pursuit followed with almost the devotion of a passion by some of the wealthy emancipists—especially such as were engaged in storekeeping and spirit selling. Scarcely in any instance were the farms thus acquired cultivated by those into whose possession they fell. They saw that by the ordinary increase of population the lands would soon become exceedingly valuable; and in addition to this they, like their betters, were prompted by a strong desire for territorial aggrandisement, a motive almost as potent as the love of money itself. The extent of land acquired by some of these emancipist grog-

sellers was enormous. One of their number, a well-known Sydney publican, was, at the time he relinquished business, in 1820, the owner of nearly 20,000 acres of freehold land, out of which only 140 acres were in cultivation. Several other persons, not however all of the emancipist class, who made it their business to buy up large numbers of these little grants, had acquired even then still greater quantities, and had thereby laid the foundations of the fortunes which their descendants now enjoy.

Numerous, however, as were the grants conferred by Macquarie upon emancipated prisoners, and large as was the aggregate in the hands of some of those who bought them up, the total extent was insignificant in comparison with the territory held by the official class and their friends. The proportion of lands held by the former was, in Governor Brisbane's time, only about one-eighth of the total quantity alienated. In one case the acreage had been granted by the score, and in the other by the hundred or even the thousand. With Governor Brisbane's advent commenced, as previously noticed, a new era for the exclusives, or rather it was a return to the old system under which they had dominated before Macquarie's time. When again in possession of the reins of power, all the influence they could exercise in their recovered position was fully taken advantage of, and this, bearing in mind what has been stated above respecting the wealthy land-grasping emancipists, will afford an insight into the circumstances under which a comparatively small number of colonists were able to acquire estates which, whether regarded in reference to their wants or to their means of turning them to useful account, were enormous in extent; and, being the pick in point of soil and situation of the whole country, were of vast prospective value. It must, however, in common justice be allowed, that some who acquired large estates turned their possessions to excellent purposes, and applied their wealth in a liberal spirit to the advancement of the public interests as well as their own by the importation of valuable animals and machinery, and the adoption of improved methods and appliances, which, in the case of mere peasant proprietors, would have been difficult if not impossible. The means, too, by which they obtained their extensive estates, though not in many cases free from blame, will most assuredly, if history can be relied upon, bear comparison with those made use of by the founders of many great families in the mother country. Here, at all events, no religious houses

were plundered, no wife's or sister's honour was bartered away, no treason to a prince or a party was practised, no murder of a rival was perpetrated, to obtain possession of estates which, in virtue of the law of primogeniture, would hand the names of great but unconvicted criminals down to posterity.

Governor Brisbane evinced an anxious desire to put an end to the squabbles and intrigues which had been such a source of annoyance to his predecessor; and, to avoid as much as possible being drawn into them, generally resided in great privacy at Parramatta, where he took measures for establishing an observatory; and where he was able to follow the bent of his mind for scientific studies without that frequent interruption to which he would have been subject in Sydney. His Excellency was generally regarded at first as hostile to the emancipists, but this view was hardly borne out by circumstances which afterwards transpired. He was no doubt desirous of avoiding anything like the partisanship displayed by Governor Macquarie, and it is probable that his sympathies were with the official class and their friends, but a slight insight into the everyday life of the colonists must have convinced him that right was not exclusively on their side; and he probably came to the conclusion that justice as well as policy required him to avoid identifying himself with either. The consequence was that he became unpopular with both, and was spoken and written against accordingly. His administration, however, although short and unpopular, was marked by events of the deepest interest to the colonists and their descendants;—events the effects of which are still felt and will continue to be felt for ages. These were—(1.) The concession of the first instalment of self-government by the institution of a Legislative Council; (2.) The formal acknowledgment of the liberty of the press; (3.) The establishment of trial by jury; (4.) The discovery of an overland route to Port Phillip, and the formation of settlements at Moreton Bay and other places; (5.) The commencement of a steady flow of immigration from the mother country. It will be most convenient to give precedence here to the latter of the circumstances by which Governor Brisbane's administration was characterised—that is, the influx of immigrants; and the subject cannot be better treated than in the words of the Rev. Dr. Lang, a man who has exercised a far greater influence than any other colonist on both the quantity and quality of British emigra-

tion to Australia, and who himself arrived at this period. He landed in Sydney in May, 1823; and it is gratifying to be able to record that after forty-three years of untiring activity and laborious devotion to the interests of his adopted country, he still continues, in the enjoyment of robust health, to fulfil the duties of a minister of religion and a prominent member of the legislature. He says:—

“Towards the close of Governor Macquarie’s administration, the capabilities of the colony became somewhat better known than they had previously been in the mother country, and the tide of emigration consequently began to set in towards its shores on the arrival of Sir Thomas Brisbane, and continued to flow with a steadily increasing volume during the whole period of his government. The great distance of the colony, however, from the mother country, and the consequent expense of the passage out, almost entirely precluded that humbler class of emigrants, which abounds in the British colonies of North America, from emigrating to New South Wales; and as it was chiefly persons who possessed the means of affording employment to the convicts that the Government wished to emigrate to that colony, grants of land in its territory, duly proportioned to the amount of their real and available capital, were held out by the Home Government to those only who could produce satisfactory certificates of their possessing a capital of at least £500. From these circumstances, the numerous free emigrants who arrived in New South Wales during the Government of Sir Thomas Brisbane were generally of a higher standing in society than the generality of the free emigrants who have settled in the British provinces of North America: some of them had been gentlemen-farmers, others were the sons of respectable landholders in the mother country; some of them had been unfortunate in mercantile speculations, and others had just saved the remains of a property which they found daily diminishing at home, to form the nucleus of a better fortune abroad; some were actuated by the spirit of adventure, while others had been impelled to emigrate by the pressure of the times. These emigrants, according as each preferred a particular locality, settled, for the most part, either in the agricultural and pastoral country adjoining the Cowpastures, or on the open plains of Bathurst, beyond the Blue Mountains; along the thickly-wooded alluvial banks of the Hunter and its two tributary rivers, or in what was then called the New Country, or the district of Argyle. The

general extent of their grants was from five hundred to two thousand acres. Rations from the King's stores were at first allowed to each settler, and to a certain number of convict servants proportioned to the extent of his grant, for the term of six months after he had taken possession of his land; and he was also allowed a certain number of cattle from the Government herds, as a loan to be repaid in kind in seven years: but, in consequence of the number of emigrants rapidly increasing, these indulgences were afterwards discontinued.

"My late father, Mr. W. Lang, arrived in the colony as a free settler in the month of January, 1824, having an order for a grant of land from Earl Bathurst. On presenting the order at the Colonial Secretary's Office, he merely pledged himself to employ twenty convict servants, and accordingly obtained a grant of two thousand acres; but in the year 1823, my younger brother, who had had no order from the Home Government, but merely offered to maintain ten servants, on applying for a grant of land, obtained a grant of one thousand acres; while other young men of the same standing and in the same employment, but a little more politic, by merely pledging themselves to maintain double the number of convicts, obtained double the quantity of land.

"It was soon found, however, that, in consequence of the continued influx of free settlers, the Colonial Government had by no means so large a number of convict labourers to dispose of, in proportion to the free emigrant inhabitants of the colony, as had been anticipated, and were consequently so far from either requiring or compelling the grantees to fulfil their engagements by maintaining the number of convicts they had respectively pledged themselves to employ, that they were even unable to supply them with the number they actually applied for. One Government farm was therefore wisely abandoned, and one penal settlement broken up after another; and the numerous convicts were distributed forthwith among the free settlers, who of course had comparatively little difficulty in devising ways and means of employing them advantageously in the cultivation and improvement of their respective farms. And so steadily did the demand for convict labour increase on the part of the free settlers, that during the government of Lieutenant-General Darling there were at one time applications for no fewer than two thousand convict labourers lying unsatisfied in the office of the principal superintendent of convicts."

It will be readily understood that under such circumstances as these, notwithstanding that Sir Thomas Brisbane was by no means a very able administrator, great progress was made in colonisation. Pastoral pursuits, in particular, experienced a very rapid advancement, and the export of wool, which in 1820 amounted to less than a hundred thousand pounds weight, rose in the short space of two years to nearly half a million of pounds. Agriculture, too, experienced a considerable revival from the influx of free settlers, as many of them were persons of small capital with families, who chose rather to follow that pursuit on their granted lands in the settled districts than to isolate themselves by squatting on crown lands in the far interior in wool growing or cattle breeding. Pastoral pursuits even at that time required the investment of considerable capital on the part of those who embarked in them, for the demand for fine-woolled sheep and well-bred cattle was so brisk that very high prices ruled. A pair of pure Spanish merino rams were sold in 1822 for £500; and first-class breeding stock of other descriptions fetched similar extravagant prices.

Most of the free settlers of early times were officers of the army or navy, or soldiers, sailors, or officials of some sort who originally came to the colony in connection with or in the discharge of their duties; but there were others who were not in government employ in any capacity—needy but ambitious and pushing men for the most part—who emigrated in consequence of promises held out, or opportunities which offered for bettering their condition. This class of settlers, in addition to rations for their families and servants for a certain period, and grants of land in proportion to the capital they brought with them, had the cost of their passage defrayed at the public expense. This system of granting free passages was, however, discontinued during Macquarie's administration, although the other inducements to settlers mentioned above continued in operation long after. Mr. Michael Henderson, who resided for many years at the Hunter River; and the late Mr. William Howe, of Glenlee, both of whom arrived in 1818, are said to have been the earliest settlers who paid their own passages to the colony.

The introduction of trial by jury was a measure so important in its bearing on the welfare of the colonists, was obtained after so hard a struggle, and was characterised by so many notable circumstances, as to be worthy of more particular

notice than it has yet received. The Imperial Act under which civil juries were first impanelled in New South Wales was the 4th Geo. IV., cap 96. In virtue of this act a charter of justice was granted to the colonists by King George IV., which established a Supreme Court of Judicature in the "island of New Holland" in the following words:—"Now know ye that we, upon full consideration and mere motion, have, in pursuance of the said act of Parliament, thought fit to grant, direct, ordain, and appoint, and by these presents do accordingly, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant, ordain, direct, and appoint, that there shall be within that part of the colony of New South Wales situate in the island of New Holland a court which shall be called the Supreme Court of New South Wales. . . . And we do hereby constitute and appoint our trusty and well-beloved Francis Forbes, Esq., to be the first Chief Justice of the said Supreme Court at New South Wales."

It is exceedingly remarkable that although civil juries were first impanelled under the charter from which the above words are taken, neither the charter itself nor the act under which it was granted contain any provisions directly establishing or authorising the trial of criminal cases by civil jury. In order to explain this apparent anomaly, and to enable the reader the better to understand much that follows, it will be necessary to give a few particulars respecting the very remarkable man and eminent lawyer—Mr. Forbes (afterwards Sir Francis)—who drew the original draft of the act, and who was appointed by the Imperial Government to carry out its provisions. Mr. Forbes was a descendant of the Forbes's of Endinglassie, Strathdon, Scotland. He was called to the English Bar in 1812, and shortly afterwards received the appointment of Attorney and Advocate General of the island of Bermuda. In 1818 he was appointed Chief Justice of Newfoundland, on occasion of a Supreme Court being established in that island. There his duties—which were somewhat analogous to those he afterwards undertook in New South Wales—were performed in such a manner as to attract the attention of Downing-street, and he was selected as eminently qualified by ability and experience for the more arduous and important post of first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court which was about to be established in the Australian colony. Having proceeded to England, he received the appointment of Chief Justice of New South Wales, with a salary of £2000 a year. This was in June, 1823, and after drafting an

act to carry out the intentions of the Imperial Government, he sailed for Australia, to make preparations for bringing it into operation. He arrived in Sydney in March 1824. The draft of the act prepared by the Chief Justice is understood to have made full provision for trial by civil jury in the same manner as in England. It is not now known by what means the intention of its framer was to a great extent frustrated, but when act and charter reached the colony, in May 1824, it was found that they contained no authority whatever for impanelling civil juries in criminal cases, and only in civil actions where both parties to the suit were agreed that such a course should be adopted.

The act in question (4th Geo. IV., cap. 96,) was to continue in force for four years; and under its authority crimes and misdemeanours were to be prosecuted by information in the name of his Majesty's Attorney-General, and tried by the Chief Justice and a jury of seven commissioned officers of his Majesty's sea or land forces; while all civil cases were to be tried by the Chief Justice, and two magistrates sitting as assessors, unless, as before mentioned, both parties to the suit were desirous of having a jury, in which case it was to be tried by the Chief Justice and a jury of twelve civilians.

The act also gave to the Supreme Court equitable, ecclesiastical, and insolvency jurisdiction, and provided for the establishment of Courts of Quarter Sessions and Courts of Request, to be held at such times and places as the Governor might appoint. Singularly enough, however, the act contained no provision in respect to these Courts of Quarter Sessions—whether the prisoners arraigned in them were to be tried by jury or not. The old military Judge Advocate's Court was abolished, and a Supreme Court substituted in its stead, but the military jury was still retained, although the proceedings were regulated by the forms of ordinary civil tribunals.

It was probably thought by the Government, after the bill was drafted, that the carrying into effect so great and sudden a change in the law as that at first contemplated would be attended with considerable difficulty and risk. For it must be remembered that New South Wales was at that time a convict colony, and that there were three distinct classes in the community; viz., the free immigrants, the emancipists, and the convicts, the position and rights of each of which were to be protected; and it may readily be understood that under such circumstances the difficulty would be much greater, and the arrangements necessary to give effect

to the act much more complicated, than in such a community as that of Newfoundland, where the Chief Justice's experience had been chiefly gained, and on a knowledge of which his opinions were principally based.

The new charter of justice was formally promulgated in Sydney on May 17, 1821, at Government House, the Court House, and in the Market-place. On the same day Judge Forbes took his seat on the bench as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, having previously received the oath of office from his Excellency the Governor. The Court, in its criminal jurisdiction, sat for the first time on the 10th June following, and as the act was distinct and positive regarding the composition of the jury, that is, that it should be composed of seven military or naval officers—the Chief Justice had no alternative but to let the law take its course, although the experience he had gained by several months' residence in the colony only served to confirm the opinion he had previously held that there was no sufficient ground for withholding from the community the right of Englishmen to be tried by a jury of their equals. The 19th section of the act, however, which authorised the holding of courts of general or quarter sessions, at such times and places as the Governor should appoint, containing, as before stated, no provision as to a jury of any kind, Sir Francis Forbes decided that, in the spirit of the common law of England, a civil jury ought to be impanelled. The magistrates in Quarter Sessions, however, strongly objected to this course, and addressed several letters to the Governor on the subject; a long correspondence then took place, but the magistrates were obstinate, and the result was that they were required to show cause why a precept to the Sheriff to summon a common jury should not issue. The matter came on for argument in the Supreme Court before the Chief Justice, who, as might have been anticipated, decided against the magistrates. The principal ground of his decision was based upon the circumstance that although magistrates derived their commission from the King, and not from the British Parliament, their functions and obligations were settled by the common law, and that as the Act under which Courts of Quarter Sessions were constituted was silent on the subject of juries, the common law procedure must be followed. After this decision juries of civilians were summoned, and sat in Courts of Quarter Sessions simultaneously with military juries in the Supreme Court. The date of the impanelling of the first civil jury was November 1, 1821.

This was the first introduction of trial by jury in its English form into the colony; and when it is remembered that Chief Justice Forbes, who framed the Act, decided as above stated, there can be no doubt that the ordinary and constitutional form of trial was contemplated when the act was drawn. Whether the provisions respecting Courts of Quarter Sessions were advisedly left vague for the purpose of enabling him to introduce the principle of trial by jury in the inferior court, as an experiment, before it was adopted in the Supreme Court, is uncertain. It is probable, however, from what afterwards took place that it was a mere oversight, and that after he had left England counsels and influences prevailed more in consonance with the views of the exclusive party in the colony than with his own. The introduction of trial by jury, if carried to its full extent, would deprive that class of much power, and hence the determined opposition it met with from them. It was hardly possible, however, that the principle of trial by jury in Courts of Quarter Sessions could be productive of any serious evil, as the holding of these courts was at the option of the Governor, and their action might at any time be suspended. There is the strongest evidence, too, in the act itself, that as originally framed it embraced the principle of trial by jury to some extent, because the 8th clause empowers his Majesty by order to cause trial by jury, "to be further extended" in New South Wales. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that the opinions of Chief Justice Forbes were strongly in favour of introducing trial by jury as it existed in England. These opinions he publicly expressed from the bench, and in all his official correspondence, whenever he had occasion to allude to the subject.

It is important to bear the foregoing facts in mind, because the contest which arose out of them between the different sections of the community was a long and bitter one; and because the influence of the exclusive class after a time so far prevailed as to deprive the colonists for several years of the small measure of constitutional liberty which the efforts and the decision of Chief Justice Forbes had secured for them. This retrogressive step was the more remarkable because it was taken in opposition not only to the Chief Justice but to very high legal authority in England. Sir James Macintosh thus alluded to the matter in a speech in the House of Commons on the 20th June, 1828. "He did not know of any weightier authorities than those of Governor

Macquarie and Sir Thomas Brisbane, who had governed the colony for fifteen years, and although differing on many points as to its internal economy, they agreed, the one from long experience, the other in spite of previous prejudices, that the colony was in a state of perfect ripeness for the change. Chief Justice Wilde, too, who was now on the bench at the Cape of Good Hope, gave similar evidence, as did also Chief Justice Forbes, a learned, experienced, and sensible man whom he had the honour of knowing. That learned person was now Chief Justice of New South Wales, and he (Sir J. Macintosh) had a letter from him in which he stated that his judicial experience for five years had led him to the conviction, that the introduction of trial by jury would tend greatly to the well-being of the colony; and he laughed to scorn the notion that it was not fully as ripe for such a change as any other dependency of the British Crown."

That the small instalment of trial by jury thus obtained worked exceedingly well during the time it was in operation was generally admitted. Mr. W. C. Wentworth, in a speech which he made at a public meeting held in Sydney, in January, 1827, said:—"The first topic contained in the petition is a request for trial by jury. We have already had in the Court of Quarter Sessions a two years' experience of that mode of trial, and notwithstanding a great proportion of the population is held not eligible to sit as jurors, it has gone on well and successfully; therefore we urge that if it were more extended in the colony its beneficial effects would be more generally known." The petition alluded to by Mr. Wentworth was one from the colonists to the British Parliament, and was then before the meeting for adoption. It was in presenting this petition to the House of Commons that Sir James Macintosh made the speech from which the passage in the preceding paragraph is quoted.

It will be seen from a preceding passage that the Act under which trial by jury was first introduced into New South Wales was limited to a duration of four years only; before the expiration of that period, however, the time was extended, and when the further term appointed was about to expire, great efforts were made by Mr. Wentworth and other colonists to secure a further measure of constitutional justice. These efforts, however, were unavailing, and those who wished to keep the colonists under their domination were so successful in their designs that the British Legislature passed an Act in 1828, (9 Geo. IV, cap. 88,) which came into

operation in the colony on the 1st March, 1829, which again threw the power over the liberty and property of the colonists into the hands of the exclusive few by substituting the old military juries in Courts of Quarter Sessions as well as in the Supreme Court.

The original Act, which permitted juries to sit in the Supreme Court in civil cases, provided both parties to the suit consented to such a course, was so inoperative that only one instance ever occurred in which it was taken advantage of. It was so generally understood by lawyers and suitors that if one party wanted a jury the other was sure to object, that after a short time it ceased to be asked for by either.

The alterations in the existing law occasioned by the new act were these: In a civil issue, in the Supreme Court, if either of the parties was desirous of having the case tried by a civil jury, the Court had power to order it to be so tried. Military juries were, however, not only continued in the Supreme Court, but, as previously stated, substituted for civil juries even in Courts of Quarter Sessions; and, in the absence of military officers, magistrates might be summoned to attend and sit as jurors. Thus, by this retrogressive piece of legislation, military juries for a time wholly superseded civil juries, and the united efforts of the supporters of free institutions in New South Wales were unable to secure to the colony the continuance of that first instalment of trial by jury for which they were indebted to Chief Justice Forbes.

It must be conceded that, in consequence of the antagonistic sections into which the colonists were divided, the partial introduction of trial by jury had not proved by any means an unmixed good to the community. The exclusives, if they could not altogether prevent the introduction of the system, were powerful enough to hinder its full operation, or rather to confine its working and the benefits which it conferred to their own class. This was not a very difficult matter to effect, seeing that the Sheriff, the officer charged with the duty of making out the jury lists, was one of their own number. Accordingly no emancipists—at this time a very numerous and wealthy party—were summoned to attend the first sittings of the court, and when it was found that the name of every man who had originally come to the colony under the sentence of the law was excluded from the lists, their anger knew no bounds. Many of them soon thought they saw in the measure only another means by which the exclusive or ruling class would be able to oppress them; and,

instead of hailing the institution of trial by jury as a boon, they began to regard it with dismay. Their exclusion from the jury panel was not looked upon merely as an invidious social distinction—a sure ground for bitter dissension and angry recrimination—but as inevitably involving partiality and injustice in cases where either the prisoner or the prosecutor belonged to the proscribed class. The first sittings of the Court of Quarter Sessions passed off without any attempt on the part of the emancipists to remedy the state of things which they so loudly complained of; but they determined that their disability as jurors should not, if they could prevent it, become fixed by custom as the established practice of the court. Accordingly the requisite steps were taken to procure an order calling upon the sheriff to show cause why a mandamus should not issue compelling him to insert the names of certain persons of the emancipist class in the list of jurors. The prime mover in this matter was Mr. W. C. Wentworth, who, with his friend Dr. Wardell, also a barrister, had lately arrived from England, and had been admitted to practice. These gentlemen appeared before the Supreme Court to argue the case with the Solicitor-General. After both sides had been heard the application was overruled on the ground of irregularity, the Chief Justice remarking that a special remedy of a more simple kind was open to the applicants. In the following year the Governor addressed a letter to the bench of magistrates desiring to know their opinions of the working of the jury system in Courts of Quarter Sessions. As its operation had been confined to their own class, their reply was highly favourable to the principle, so far as it had been extended, and its adoption was recommended in trials before the Supreme Court as well as in Courts of Quarter Sessions. The adoption of this suggestion would of course require the sanction of an Act of Council. In the meantime the antagonistic feeling between the different sections of the community grew more and more bitter every day in consequence of the exclusion of the emancipists from the jury box. Those who opposed their claims were, in reality, few in number, although influential in position. Many of the humbler class of free settlers were in favour of their admission, and joined in urging their rights. The contest went on for years, the claimants and their friends daily becoming more numerous and influential.

The 11th August, 1824, is remarkable as the day on which

appeared, in the Sydney Gazette, a proclamation announcing that his Majesty had been pleased to institute a Legislative Council for New South Wales. The first members appointed consisted exclusively of Government officers. They were only six in number, viz.:—William Stewart, Lieutenant-Governor; Francis Forbes, Chief Justice; Frederick Goulburn, Colonial Secretary; James Bowman, Principal Colonial Surgeon; and John Oxley, Surveyor-General. In the course of a short time afterwards, a private colonist, Mr. John Macarthur, of Camden, was added to the number. This, the first step to that large share of self-government which was afterwards, at various times and by degrees, conferred upon the colony, may be regarded as a grand turning point in its history; and from this period the laws under which the colonists lived and the taxes they paid were to a considerable extent within their own control. The first session of the newly created legislature was a very short one, and only one Act of a single clause was passed. The title of this measure, although the date is only about forty years since, shows the enormous distance which separates the habits and modes of thought and business of the present generation of colonists from those which then prevailed. It was an Act to legalise promissory notes and bills of exchange made payable in Spanish dollars, which were then the ordinary currency of the colony. It received the Governor's assent on the 28th September, 1824.

Another exceedingly important event took place in this year (1824); namely, the formal concession of the liberty of the Press. On the 15th October, Mr. Howe, the proprietor of the Sydney Gazette, was formally apprised by a letter from Mr. Secretary Goulburn, that a memorial presented by him having been duly considered by the Governor, instructions had been issued that the censureship theretofore exercised over the Press should no longer exist. This formal recognition of the liberty of the Press was followed within a year or two by the establishment of two new journals in Sydney—the Australian, under the editorial control of Dr. Wardell and Mr. W. C. Wentworth, and the Monitor, of which Mr. E. S. Hall was the editor and proprietor. Both these newspapers were conducted with far more than average ability, and their editorial columns presented a marked contrast to the fulsome flattery of Government officials, and the inane twaddle on other matters, which characterised their older rival the Sydney Gazette.

The knowledge which had been spread in England respecting the progress of the colony and the rapid accumulation of wealth by individual settlers, was at this period producing important results. Accounts of the flattering prospects of the immigrants who, a year or two before, had begun to pour into New South Wales in considerable numbers, were widely circulated, and capitalists began to look towards the shores of the Great South Land as an eligible field for investment. A company, called the Australian Agricultural Company, with a capital of a million sterling, in shares of ten pounds each, was formed in London, for the purpose of developing the agricultural, pastoral, and mineral wealth in which Australia was believed to abound. Its promoters were men of the highest standing and influence in England, and they secured for their speculation very extensive privileges in grants of land and mining rights, although mining was not a prominent feature among their original designs. The idea first entertained was embodied in the name of the company; and the intention to engage extensively in agriculture was for a long time adhered to. With this view the choicest animals and plants and the most improved machinery and appliances were sent out, under charge of persons skilled in farming operations and mechanical pursuits. Lord Brougham, Mr. Joseph Hume, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General of England, many members of Parliament, and other public men—among them the Governor and eight directors of the Bank of England, and the chairman, deputy-chairman, and several directors of the East India Company—took shares, and exerted all their influence in favour of the undertaking. In consideration of the benefits which such a wealthy and powerful association was likely to confer upon the colony, and in compliance with the usual custom of giving land in proportion to capital introduced, the Home Government conferred a grant of a million acres upon the company. Operations on a large scale were commenced in 1825, and as the local government was willing to transfer to the Company, on very easy terms, the coal mines at Newcastle, advantage was taken of the opportunity, and the land and all the machinery and appliances soon passed into their hands. The land thus transferred consisted of about 2000 acres, and contained abundance of excellent coal, easily wrought, and close to water carriage. The active working of the mine was at once proceeded with as a step which promised almost immediate returns; and finding their mining operations likely to prove more remun-

relative than agriculture, the directors successfully exerted their great influence in procuring from Earl Bathurst, then Secretary for the Colonies, the exclusive right of raising and dealing in coal, with the further guarantee that no land for working coal should be granted to any other company or person during the existence of their lease, which was for thirty-one years. The conditions on which this lucrative monopoly was conferred were of a very easy kind. If in any year the Company failed to raise less than two-thirds the quantity of coal that had been obtained by the Government, taking an average of the three years immediately preceding, the land, stock, and privileges granted to them might be resumed by the Crown. The Government also made a stipulation that all coal required for public use, provided it did not exceed one-fourth of the annual produce of the mines, should be delivered at the pit's mouth at prime cost. The result, however, of the great privileges conferred, has not been of so lucrative a character as was anticipated. The Company, after exercising its rights for a long time, was at length, in obedience to public opinion, induced to give up the monopoly which had been so improvidently granted; and although, after an existence of more than forty years, this remarkable association is still in active operation, no very marked success and no very serious disasters have ever characterised its proceedings. The shareholders have sometimes received good dividends, sometimes very poor ones, and sometimes none at all. After trying agriculture, grazing, and coal-mining on an extensive scale, they now confine their operations almost exclusively to the latter,—other pursuits having been found far less profitable. Portions of their vast estates have been leased to tenants, and their flocks and herds disposed of. Port Stephens, the headquarters of their once extensive agricultural undertakings, has never attained that condition of prosperity which its natural advantages seemed to promise; and altogether the large tracts of territory which the Company own are amongst the least populous, least improved, and most backward in aspect of any districts in the colony. This, however, is probably more due to the fact that the expensive and cumbersome operations of such an association are unsuited to the development of a new country, than to any want of integrity, enterprise, or judgment in those who have had the direction of its affairs.

There can be no doubt that, notwithstanding their

great monopolies and privileges, the Australian Agricultural Company's operations have been in some respects beneficial to the community at large. Many of their old servants are now amongst the most flourishing and wealthy men in the colony. Several of their commissioners (the appellation given to their colonial managers), have been of great ability and energy. Sir Edward Parry, the celebrated arctic explorer, was one of the earliest. The high quality of their imported stock, and the improved machinery and appliances which they introduced, must have exercised great influence in developing the resources of the colony, however unprofitable the results may have been to those who embarked their capital in the undertaking. That a great company, with an enormous subscribed capital, paying munificent salaries, and employing hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of workmen and servants in the multifarious operations of colonisation, should have been able to carry on its business for a period of more than forty years, at the distance of sixteen thousand miles from its head quarters in London, without absolute ruin—to say nothing of the occasional payment of handsome dividends—is a proof of the wonderful natural riches of the country, as well as of the valuable privileges enjoyed; and it may be safely asserted that in no other part of the world would so much success have been possible. The disastrous results which, in other colonies and countries, have almost uniformly attended similar associations, although far less extensive and less widely ramified in their operations, is a proof that without the stimulus of private gain, joined to constant presence and active superintendence on the part of those who embark in them, pursuits of the kind undertaken by the Australian Agricultural Company cannot be successful.

Some idea of the character and magnitude of the Company's operations in early days may be gained from an enumeration of the titles or designations of their officers. In addition to a chief commissioner, there were in the colony an assistant commissioner, a secretary, and a chief clerk; a superintendent and an assistant superintendent of flocks; a superintendent of agriculture, a superintendent of works, a superintendent of collieries, a chaplain, and a surgeon; while the board of management in London consisted of a governor, a deputy-governor, twelve directors, four auditors, and a secretary. The Company's monopoly of coal mining must have produced very great profits, although

the riches thus acquired were to a considerable extent dissipated in less profitable undertakings, and very little went into the pockets of the shareholders. That the monopoly was injurious to the colony there can be no doubt, for while the quantity of coal raised by the Company during its continuation was less than 50,000 tons annually, the amount produced a few years afterwards, when the trade was thrown open to competition, reached ten times that quantity. This monopoly was perhaps one of the most improvident and short-sighted things of which the British Government was ever guilty in connection with Australian colonisation. It is due to the Company, however, to say that while it existed it was exercised with moderation, and was relinquished before the full term expired, because public opinion demanded its abolition as an iniquity and an injustice which ought no longer to be tolerated.

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT—PORT MACQUARIE—MORETON BAY. HUME AND HOVELL'S REMARKABLE EXPEDITION. MELVILLE ISLAND, WESTERN PORT, AND KING GEORGE'S SOUND.

IN accordance with the recommendations of Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in his report on the state of the colony, steps were taken in 1822 for the formation of new settlements considerably to the northward of Port Jackson, in order to disperse as widely as possible the prison population, which under Governor Macquarie had been allowed to accumulate in and around Sydney. The place fixed upon at first as the site of one of the new settlements was Port Macquarie, at the mouth of the river Hastings, a harbour discovered in 1818 by Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, when on his return from the exploration of the north-western interior.

Port Macquarie is distant from Sydney about 175 miles. Shortly after its discovery it was visited by cedar cutters, and an abundance of excellent timber procured there, and the nucleus of a small settlement formed. In 1822 the Government occupied the place with a number of convicts, and

made it a penal establishment for doubly-convicted offenders. This was, however, looked upon at the time as only a temporary measure, as, according to an official report of that day, "the excellence of the soil, the fineness of the climate, and its convenient distance from Sydney, made Government anxious to throw it open to free settlers." With this view the Surveyor-General was directed, in the following year, to examine the coast much further to the north, in order to find more suitable sites for settlements, to which the Port Macquarie prisoners and other offenders might be transferred.

The published accounts of that period represent Port Macquarie as a sort of terrestrial paradise, and the prisoners who were sent there were regarded with envy by others of their class who were less fortunate. The following account of the state and prospects of the settlement, written by a gentleman who visited it in the latter part of 1823, shows that, if it was a fair sample of such places, the penal establishments of the old convict times were by no means very unpleasant places to live in:—

"We landed on the rocks to the south of the entrance, and found Captain Allman, the commandant, awaiting our arrival, with Lieutenants Wilson and Roberts, and Assistant-Surgeon Fenton, all of the 48th regiment. They conducted us to Government-house, where we breakfasted, and then walked out to see the place, accompanied by Captain Allman. Considering that the site on which the town now stands was two years ago covered with immense forest trees and thick brush-wood, it is quite incredible to what a state of perfection the place has been brought by the indefatigable activity of the commandant. The Government-house stands nearly in the centre of the town, on a handsome esplanade, open to the sea. To the northward, on a rising ground, which commands the whole town, are the military barracks, calculated to hold 150 men, each of the married men having a small cottage and garden. On the right of the hill are two handsome cottages, which are used as officers' quarters. The remainder of the town, which is extremely clean, is entirely occupied by the prisoners, who are kept as distinct as possible from the military, and who have each a small but neat hut, constructed of split-wood, lathed, plastered, and white-washed, with a garden attached. The sites of the streets, intended to be built as the population of the town increases, are regularly laid out and fenced; the spaces between them are at present occupied as gardens and plantations of maize,

sugar-cane, &c., the latter of which appears to thrive remarkably well, and will, I doubt not, at some future period form a lucrative article of export from this establishment. We dined at the Government-house, and a few of us walking down to the beach after dinner, were highly amused by a dance among the natives. These people are a much finer race than those in the neighbourhood of Sydney, many of them being upwards of six feet high. Their features are also more expressive of intellect, and their limbs better formed than any I had before seen. Some of the more civilised are victualled from the King's store of the settlement, and, in return, perform some of the duties of constable, in a more efficient manner than any European possibly could. Whenever, as frequently happens, any of the prisoners attempt to escape into the woods, they are instantly pursued by some of this black police, who possess a wonderful facility in tracing them; and being furnished with fire-arms, they seldom fail to bring them back alive or dead, for which they are rewarded with blankets, spirits, &c.; but should the run-aways even escape the black police, they are almost sure to perish by hunger or the hostility of the other Indians. Having spent another day very pleasantly with Captain Allman and his officers, we left Port Macquarie with much regret, having been entertained there in a style which was far superior to any thing we could have expected in so recent an establishment, and which could only be exceeded by the extreme kindness and polite hospitality of every officer connected with the settlement."

Port Macquarie, however, partly from a bar at the entrance of the harbour, and partly from the limited extent of good grazing land in the district, has hardly answered the sanguine expectations which were formed at that stage of its history. But it is somewhat remarkable, and highly creditable to the sagacity of the author of the above account, that he should have noticed at that early period the suitability of the soil and climate for the production of sugar. Recent experiments have verified the truth of his opinions, and excellent sugar has lately been produced there.

In pursuance of the intention of transferring the Port Macquarie establishment to a more northerly settlement, Mr. Oxley left Port Jackson on the 23rd October, 1823, in the cutter *Mermaid*, to examine Port Curtis, a harbour which nearly a quarter of a century before had been entered and

described by Captain Flinders. Failing to discover an eligible site for settlement there, he was to examine Port Bowen, Moreton Bay, and other harbours on the coast of what is now the colony of Queensland. The Surveyor-General was accompanied on this expedition by Lieutenant Stirling, and Mr. John Uniacke. The *Mermaid* reached Port Curtis on November 6th, and came to an anchor inside Gatoombe Head. On the following day they landed to explore the country, and after several days' examination, during which the Boyne river was discovered, they came to the conclusion that the place was wholly unfitted for a settlement. The country on the banks of the Boyne was described as admirably suited to the growth of cotton and sugar; but, says Mr. Uniacke, in other places "the country passed over was the most unpromising we ever saw, the only vegetable productions being coarse grass and stunted gum trees."

Returning then to the southward, the *Mermaid* reached Moreton Bay on the 29th November, and anchored at the mouth of Pumice-stone River, the very place where Flinders had anchored twenty-two years before; and which, as they believed, no European had visited in the interval. Scarcely had they landed when a number of men, supposed to be natives, were seen approaching the vessel. When they got near, however, the man who was foremost was perceived to be of a much lighter color than the others, and so soon as he was within speaking distance he hailed them in English. He was perfectly naked, although painted in the native fashion, and seemed wild with delight at having discovered his countrymen. "He was so bewildered with joy," says Mr. Uniacke, in his account of the circumstance, "that we could make very little out of his story that night; so having distributed a few knives, handkerchiefs, &c., among the friendly blacks, we returned on board, taking him with us."

As this man and his shipwrecked companions had some months previously made the discovery of the Brisbane river, one of the finest streams on the eastern coast of Australia, and as the story of their adventures is a very remarkable one, it will, perhaps, be well to notice it before proceeding further with the account of the explorations of the Surveyor-General and his party.

He said his name was Thomas Pamphlet, and that with three other men he had left Sydney in a small coasting craft on the 21st March—more than eight months previous—to

procure a cargo of cedar at Illawarra. They experienced a very heavy gale shortly after leaving port, and were driven out to sea with very little water on board. They had no knowledge of their position, as they were almost ignorant of navigation, but believed that during the storm they had been driven far to the southward, and that when it abated they were off Van Diemen's Land. They accordingly steered north, as well as they could guess by the sun, with the hope of being able to reach Port Jackson. Their water, however, was soon exhausted, and on the thirteenth day, one of their number, an old man-of-wars-man named Thompson, became raving mad and died a few days afterwards. A shower of rain at length partially supplied their wants; and still steering north, on the 15th April—the twenty-fourth day of their sufferings—they made the land; and in their eagerness to reach a small stream of water which they perceived on approaching a sandy cove, they ran their boat on shore at a place where in a few minutes it was dashed to pieces. "No sooner did my foot touch the ground," said Pamphlet, "than I ran to the fresh water, and lying down by it, I drank like a horse. The eagerness of my companions for fresh water even exceeded mine. I had brought on shore a tin pint pot, and Parsons emptied this thirteen times in succession, while Finnegan lay down in the water, and drank to such excess that his stomach could not retain it, but threw it all up again. This he repeated four several times." They had stripped off their clothes for the purpose of swimming ashore, and were all perfectly naked. On the breaking up of the boat some bags of flour were washed on shore, and they secured from twenty to thirty pounds each, being as much as in their exhausted state they were able to carry. Being still under the impression that they were far to the south of Sydney, they set out along the shore in a northerly direction, and after travelling for a considerable distance fell in with a tribe of natives by whom they were kindly treated. They continued their journey towards the north for several days, and at length found they were on an island. This must have been Stradbroke Island, whose western shore forms the south-eastern boundary of Moreton Bay. With the assistance of the natives, they were at length enabled to cross to the mainland, where they again commenced their journey towards the north, but the impediments were so many, and their progress so slow along the shore, that they at last determined to make a canoe by cutting down a large tree and

hollowing it out with a small hatchet, which they had fortunately saved from the wreck. They worked at the canoe from daylight till dark for nearly three months, being supplied with food, consisting of fish and fern-root, by the natives during the whole time. The canoe when completed, notwithstanding the great labour bestowed upon it, appears to have been a very poor one, for, soon after they had started in it, on meeting with a wide opening, which appeared to be the entrance to a large river, they were afraid to venture across, but abandoned their craft and again took to the shore, intending to follow up the river until they found a place where they could cross in safety. In proceeding up this river, which proved to be the stream afterwards named the Brisbane, they were impeded by numbers of salt-water creeks, which they were obliged to head, being too weak, from living entirely on fern root, to swim them. They were about a month before they arrived at a place where they succeeded in crossing, and where they discovered two canoes, which they took, and by this means came down the stream in a few days. On arriving at its mouth they again struck off northward, but meeting with large parties of natives, who behaved in a very friendly manner, and desired them to remain, they made very little progress. While amongst these friendly savages the three white men were frequently separated from each other, and were taken by their black friends to engage in hostile encounters with other tribes. It was on one of these occasions, when Pamphlet was left on the shore with but a few of his aboriginal friends, that the Mermaid entered the bay. What followed is related in his own words :

"At last, one evening, as I was sitting by the fire and the blacks were roasting fish for me, I heard some natives shouting on the beach and calling me : upon which I rose and walked slowly towards them ; but what was my astonishment and delight, when I saw a cutter under full sail standing up the bay, about three miles from where we stood ! I instantly made towards her with all the speed I could, followed by a number of the natives ; but before I had run half the distance, she came to an anchor within half a quarter of a mile of the shore. On coming abreast the vessel I hailed her, and was immediately answered ; and shortly afterwards a boat pushed off from her, from which landed Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, Lieutenant Stirling of the Buffs, and Mr. Uniacke. I now learned, to my great surprise, that I was at least five hundred miles to the northward of

Port Jackson, instead of being, as we always imagined, to the southward of Jervis's Bay. I was taken on board the vessel that evening, where, after I was cleaned, I was decently clothed and humanely treated; but my head and heart were so much affected by this unexpected turn of fortune, that I was unable to answer any questions that were put to me that night. The next morning, however, I became more collected; and in the course of the day my satisfaction was greatly increased by the return of Finnegan, who experienced the same kind treatment that I had previously done. I now found that upwards of eight months had elapsed since I left Sydney; consequently, I had spent nearly five of them with these hospitable natives of Moreton Bay. Their behaviour to me and my companions had been so invariably kind and generous, that, notwithstanding the delight I felt at the idea of once more returning to my home, I did not leave them without sincere regret."

Mr. Oxley and Lieutenant Stirling, on learning from Pamphlet that he and his companions had discovered a large river, set out on the following morning to explore it, taking Finnigan, one of the shipwrecked men, with him as a guide. This was on the 1st December, 1823. On the following morning they reached the mouth of the stream. Mr. Oxley's narrative gives the following account of their proceedings:—

"Early on the second day (December 2nd), in pursuing our examination, we had the satisfaction to find the tide sweeping us up a considerable opening between the First Islands and the mainland. The muddiness of the water, and the abundance of fresh-water mollusca, convinced us we were entering a large river; and a few hours ended our anxiety on that point, by the water becoming perfectly fresh, while no diminution had taken place in the size of the river, after passing what I have called Sea Reach. Our progress up the river was necessarily retarded by the obligation of making a running survey during our passage. At sunset we had proceeded up the river about twenty miles. The scenery was peculiarly beautiful—the country on the banks alternately hilly and level, but not flooded—the soil of the finest description of brush land, on which grew timber of great magnitude of various species, some of which were unknown to us. Among others a magnificent species of pine was in great abundance. The timber on the hills was also good; and to the south-east, a little distant from the river, were

several brushes or forests of the common Australian cypress-tree (*Callitris Australis*) of large size. Up to this point the river was navigable for vessels of considerable burthen, if not drawing more than sixteen feet water. The tide rose about five feet, being the same as at the entrance.

"The next day the examination of the river was resumed; and, with increased satisfaction, we proceeded about thirty miles further, no diminution having taken place either in the breadth or the depth of it, except that in one place, to the extent of about thirty yards, a ridge of detached rocks stretched across, having not more than twelve feet at high water. From this point to Termination Hill, the river continued of nearly uniform size; the country being of a very superior description, and equally well adapted for cultivation and for grazing; the timber abundant, and fit for all the purposes of domestic use or exportation, while the pine-trees, if they should prove of good quality, were of a scantling sufficient for the topmasts of large ships. Some were measured upwards of thirty inches in diameter, and from fifty to eighty feet without a branch.

"The boat's crew were so exhausted by their constant exertions under a vertical sun, that I was most reluctantly compelled to relinquish my intention of proceeding to the termination of tide-water. At this place the tide rose about four feet six inches, the force of the ebb-tide and current united being little greater than the flood-tide—a proof of its flowing through a very level country. Nothing, however, indicated that I should speedily arrive at that termination; and being upwards of seventy miles from the vessel, with not more than another day's provisions (not having expected to make such a discovery), I landed on the south shore for the purpose of examining the surrounding country."

The river was named the Brisbane in honour of the Governor. On examination, the surrounding country fully bore out the expectations which its first appearance had raised, and Mr. Oxley returned to Sydney elated at having discovered so fine a river and so suitable a site for a new settlement. It is a curious fact, however, that in the official account which he prepared on his return, he makes no reference whatever to having rescued the shipwrecked men, nor does he allude in the most distant manner to having received any information from any one respecting the existence of the river prior to entering it himself. On the contrary, it will be seen that in the passage above quoted he

accounts for having only one day's provisions with him in going up the river by stating that he had no expectation of making such a discovery. It was only on the publication of Pamphlet's narrative by Mr. Uniacke that the public became aware of the real facts relative to the discovery of the Brisbane, and the splendid country on its banks, which has now become the site of one of the most flourishing colonies ever founded by Englishmen.

Mr. Oxley, not unnaturally, came to the conclusion that the Brisbane was the outlet of the Macquarie, the Castlereagh, and other streams seen by him in his journey to the north-western interior in 1818, when driven back by the great marshes which he then took to be the margin of an inland sea. He was as much mistaken in one supposition as the other; and was indeed singularly unfortunate in almost every one of the speculations he indulged in on the interior features and geography of the land he spent the best years of his life in endeavouring to explore.

Soon after the return of the Surveyor-General to Sydney, with the news of the discovery of the Brisbane, preparations were made for forming the intended penal settlement on its banks. This intention was carried into effect in the month of August following (1824), by a detachment of the 40th regiment, and a number of prisoners, in charge of Lieutenant Miller, who was the first commandant of the new settlement.

An exploring expedition towards the south, undertaken in 1824 by Messrs. Hume and Hovell, proved to be one of the most remarkable enterprises ever accomplished in the cause of Australian discovery. The adventure was entered upon by these gentlemen partly on their own account and partly under the auspices of the Government, which provided a small portion of the outfit, with the promise of payment and of grants of land if success crowned the effort. The principal objects of the expedition were to ascertain if any large rivers fell into the sea on the southern coast, and what was the character of the country in that direction beyond the districts already explored. Mr. Hume, whose name has before been mentioned in these pages, was a native of Parramatta. He had the character of being a young man of great daring and energy, as well as an excellent bushman; Mr. Hovell, was a settler, who had been a sea captain, and was also a man of great intelligence and enterprise.

The journey which they undertook was as successful as it was remarkable ; and whether we consider the smallness of the party, the simple and inexpensive nature of their appliances, the difficulties overcome, the advantages their discoveries conferred, or the shortness of the time in which the undertaking was accomplished, their achievement deserves to be placed in the foremost rank in the annals of Australian exploration. The Surveyor-General of the colony, Mr. Oxley, had long before pronounced the greater portion of the country traversed by them to be "useless for all the purposes of civilised man," and uninhabitable if not impassable ; and in his account of his attempts to penetrate to the southward in 1823, when Menaro Plains were discovered, he said he had demonstrated beyond a doubt that no river could fall into the sea between Cape Otway and Spencer's Gulf ; although further examination proved that the drainage of almost half the Australian continent there found its way to the ocean by means of the Murray, one of the finest rivers in the world. Mr. W. C. Wentworth, in his history of the colony, had argued very forcibly against the conclusions to which Mr. Oxley had arrived ; and it was mainly through the influence of those who doubted the correctness of the Surveyor-General's theories, and refused to acquiesce in his unfavourable representations, that the expedition under Messrs. Hovell and Hume was despatched. Their outfit was of a very cheap and unpretending description. The Government supplied six packsaddles, some slops and blankets, six muskets, a tent and a tarpaulin, to be returned at the termination of the journey. The provisions and all other appliances were provided by the leaders and their friends. The party, inclusive of Messrs. Hovell and Hume, consisted of but eight persons. They set out from Mr. Hume's farm, near Appin, on the 2nd October, 1824, and reached the then most distant out-station towards the south-west, about a hundred and sixty-five miles from Sydney, on the 13th of the same month. On the 19th, having passed Yarrh—or, as they are now called, Yass Plains—they reached the banks of the Murrumbidgee River, and encountered their first difficulty in attempting to cross it. The timber growing on its banks, like that of many Australian trees, was too heavy to fcat, and they were thus prevented from using it for making a raft. Its bark was likewise unsuitable for this purpose. They therefore determined to attempt to make a boat of the body of one of their carts, which they stripped of its axle, wheels, and shafts, and

securely covered with a tarpaulin; it was thus readily converted into a tolerably good boat; and was found both sufficiently buoyant and not too crank. "The next step was to convey the end of a stout rope to the opposite bank, for the purpose of plying their boat backwards and forwards across the stream; to effect which object, Mr. Hume, with one of the men, undertook the dangerous enterprise of swimming across the river, taking with them a small line, of about six feet long, which they carried between their teeth: and to the bite or middle of which was attached a line of a similar description, but of sufficient length to reach across the stream. This was not done without great difficulty and some danger, both from the rapidity of the current, and the great pressure of the water on a length of line so considerable; the weight of the latter not only retarding the progress of the swimmers, but at times dragging them almost under the water, so that they were swept down the river a considerable distance ere they could reach the opposite bank. One of the ends of their intended tow-rope was now conveyed across the river by means of the line, and every thing being in readiness, the boat, carrying not less than six or seven cwt., made its first trip. The bullocks and horses were then conducted across separately; some of the bullocks being in a state of almost complete submersion during the operation, and one of them becoming turned upon its back, and continuing in this position a considerable part of the passage. These difficulties were attributable partly to the cattle not being accustomed to swimming, and partly to the dangerous rapidity of the stream; which, with the roughness of the weather, and the unusual coldness of the water, contributed to render this undertaking, to the swimmers at least, not less unpleasant than it was evidently hazardous."

Leaving the banks of this fine river, they crossed high limestone ranges, from the summits of which extensive views were obtained over meadow-like tracts of country, covered with the richest herbage, and superior to anything they had ever before seen. "Each of these beautiful meadows," says their narrative, "was skirted by forest, and this again walled in by steep mountains or hills. The general sward of these meadows consisted not only of a fine grass like English rye-grass, but also of other grasses, similar to clover, lucerne, and burnet." On the 24th, their course was obstructed by what seemed an impenetrable mountain barrier. The two leaders of the party here separated, in order the better

to discover a pass through which they might advance. Mr. Hume, with two of the men, took a direction S.W. ; and, after proceeding about two miles, met with a chain of ponds, extending in the direction of his route, and terminating in a stream. This they succeeded in tracing, though not without much difficulty, until bending about due west, and descending rapidly through a narrow chasm, it poured its waters into another stream, which it met at right angles on the western aspect of the range before mentioned. This latter stream was about twenty yards wide, flowing rapidly over pebbles and loose fragments of rock. On its opposite bank was a beautiful valley, bounded on the west by an almost perpendicular range, extending parallel with the one through which they had just passed. Mr. Hume being satisfied of the practicability of the pass which he had discovered, the whole party the next day descended with safety through it, and on the following morning the supplies, as well as the carts were got across the stream. Here they were obliged to leave their carts, as from the mountainous character of the country it had become impracticable to take them further. They loaded each of their bullocks with a burthen of three hundred weight. This proved to be one of the most difficult portions of their journey, and for some days they were involved in a labyrinth of gulleys and precipices, but with admirable perseverance they continued their efforts, and on the 29th October reached, unexpectedly, a broad flat table land, but so thickly wooded that their forward view was utterly intercepted, and their course rendered almost impracticable by immense quantities of dead timber. They had frequently to unload their cattle to cross streams and swamps, and even then the beasts were unable to effect a passage without considerable difficulty. They reached the western edge of this table land on the 31st, and, continues this narrative, "if the sight of the descent was terrific, the idea of passing down it was yet more so." After some deliberation, however, they determined on making the attempt, although not able to discover any place very favourable for their purpose. About half-past two o'clock they commenced operations, by first sending down the bullocks, and in an hour and a half the whole party arrived safe at the foot of the upper division of the descent, when after some minutes' rest upon a rocky shelf projecting a few yards from the sides of the mountain, they recommenced their passage down the second stage of the descent, which is considerably less steep than the former.

At the foot of this range, in the distance, they perceived a small river, with fine pasturage on its banks, at which they arrived about half-past five o'clock.

The natives of this part appeared to be numerous. The fires were seen in different directions, and their huts or camps (constructed in the same manner as those in the settled parts of the country), were frequently met with; they were several times hailed, but could not, although they replied, be induced to approach.

In effecting their descent from the mountains, they nearly lost one of the party, as well as a bullock; the animal had fallen when it had reached about two-thirds down the mountain, in consequence of the slipping of a stone from under its feet, and in its fall, it had forced down with it the man who was leading it. But their fall was intercepted by a large tree, and the man, as well as the animal, was thus prevented from being dashed to pieces. The man, however, unfortunately, was much hurt.

The narrative of this portion of their journey bears very strong testimony to the extraordinary endurance, intelligence, and patience of bullocks in ascending and descending mountains and in crossing swamps and rivers. Never, it says, was the great superiority of bullocks to horses for journeys of this description more observable than in the passage of this difficult and dangerous descent. The horses, it had become indispensable to unload, and to conduct each separately with great care; but if one of the bullocks be led, the rest follow; the horse is timid and hurried in its action in places where there is danger; the bullock is steady and cautious. If the latter slip in its ascent, or if the acclivity be too steep for its usual mode of progression, the animal kneels down, and scrambles up in this posture. If it be descending, and becomes placed in a similar predicament, it sits down and turns its head round towards the ascent, as if to balance the body. For the crossing of unsound or boggy ground, the structure of its hoof is particularly adapted, while the foot of the horse, on the contrary, is ill suited for this purpose, and for which the fears, and consequent agitation of the animal, render it unfit.

On the 6th November they came in sight of the mountains afterwards designated the Australian Alps. Messrs. Hume and Hovell, having ascended the side of a range, "were suddenly surprised by a sight, in the utmost degree magnificent. Mountains, of a conoidal form, and of an immense

height, and some of them covered about one-fourth of their height with snow, were seen extending semicircularly from the S. E. to S. S. W. at the supposed distance of about twenty miles. The sun was bright (it was about ten or eleven in the forenoon), and gave them a most brilliant appearance. The mountains which they had hitherto seen, compared with these stupendous elevations, were no more than hillocks; their form, as well as their general character, were also dissimilar. The men had no sooner heard of this unexpected and interesting scene than, catching the enthusiasm, they ran to the spot where their leaders were standing, and were no less surprised than delighted at the preeminently grand and beautiful spectacle."

They perceived from the character of both the mountain range on which they were standing, and of the country immediately beyond them, that their progress in the direction of these Alps would be either impracticable, or attended with considerable danger, as well to themselves as to the cattle, and they at once, instead of making the attempt, decided upon proceeding fifty or sixty miles west; the object now in view being to avoid, if possible, a repetition of those almost insurmountable difficulties by which they had hitherto been perpetually surrounded.

Continuing their journey through a difficult but richly grassed country, on the 16th November, soon after sunrise, they arrived suddenly on the banks of a beautiful river, two hundred and forty feet in breadth, with a current of about three miles an hour, and the water clear. They named it the Hume. The description given in their narrative of this fine stream and the scenes on its banks is as follows:—

"The river itself is serpentine, the banks clothed with verdure to the water's edge; their general heights various, but seldom either more or less than eight or nine feet; inclined, or precipitous, as they happen, by the bendings of the stream, to be more or less exposed to the action of the current. On each side of the river is a perpetual succession of lagoons, extending generally in length from one to two miles, and about a quarter of a mile in breadth. These, which are situate alternately on each side of the river, within those elbows and projections which are formed by its windings, often for miles together preclude any approach to its banks. Each of these lagoons was furnished with an inlet from the river, and an outlet into it. The form of the lagoons is most frequently a crescent; the line of their course being

at first divergent from, but ultimately convergent to, the stream. The spaces between the lagoons and the river—sometimes of more than a mile in breadth—are, however, irregular, as well in form as in size. These interspaces consist partly of swamps and unsound ground, which, even when dry, although perhaps passable by man, are impassable, or at least unsafe, for cattle. In general they are thickly wooded (the trees consisting principally of the blue-gum, mostly of a large growth), are overgrown with vines of various descriptions, and the fern, the peppermint, flax-plant, and currajong. The fern, the currajong, and the flax, flourish here in abundance; and the peppermint-plant (which they had not seen in any other part of the colony) seems to surpass, both in odour and taste, the species that is generally produced in our gardens. From the flax-plant the natives, as they afterwards discovered, make their fishing lines and nets for carrying their travelling gear and provisions.

“The river abounds with that species of cod-fish which is common in all the western rivers. In the lagoons they caught a kind of bream or carp, of the weight of about two pounds, and of the finest possible flavour. The lagoons are literally crowded with wild ducks, and in their muddy beds near the banks is plenty of large mussels; but inferior to those found in salt water. The natives dive for them in the same manner as they procure the mud-oyster near Sydney, and these, with the fish caught in the river seem to form the principal part of their subsistence.

“Their method of fishing is as follows:—they select the outlet from a lagoon, which generally consists of a stream of about two feet deep, and of about five or six feet broad. Across this, at no great distance from its junction with the river, they form a palisade with small stakes, which are driven firmly into the mud, and then carefully interwoven with wattles. Beyond this palisade, at the distance of five or six feet higher up the stream, they form a similar palisade, but leave an opening midway in its length, of about two feet wide. A weir being thus prepared, the natives go into the lagoon, where it is sufficiently shallow for their purpose, and beating the water with their waddies, and disturbing it in every possible way, drive the fish before them into the weir.

“Mr. Hume first discovered the river. Both Mr. Hume and Mr. Hovell had anticipated the early appearance of a river in this direction; from the opinion that the large bodies of water of late continually met with, though all

pursuing a southerly, or even an easterly course, would, from the apparently impenetrable barrier presented towards the east by the Australian Alps, ere long revert to the westward, and thus become distributed to the interior."

Although this magnificent river is now generally called the Murray throughout its whole course, the proper name of the portion above the junction of the Murrumbidgee is the Hume. Near the spot where the explorers first struck the stream Mr. Hovell carved his name in the solid wood of a large tree; "Hovell, Novr. 17, 1824." Eleven years afterwards this tree was found by the first party taking cattle overland to Port Phillip; and at this date, (June, 1866), the tree still stands in a sound condition. It is situated near the crossing place at Albury. It has been fenced round, by funds raised by subscription, in order to preserve it as an historical land-mark; and a monument to Mr. Hume, with a suitable inscription, placed near it.

Being unable to pass so formidable an impediment as the Hume river presented at the spot where they first struck it, the explorers turned to the west, down the course of the stream, in search of a ford or crossing-place. As they advanced the river became wider, and the country on its banks still more beautiful. On the 18th, seeing no prospect of being able to cross, they retraced their steps to the place where they had first discovered it, and on the following day continued their course up the river to the eastward. On the 20th, having found a suitable spot, they constructed a wicker boat, covered it with tarpaulin, and succeeded in taking their cattle and stores across the river in safety.

On the 21st they arrived on the banks of another river, probably a branch of the Hume, one hundred and ten feet wide. Here they had to construct another boat; and, after crossing, resumed their journey through a fine tract of pleasant level country. On the 24th they reached the banks of another river, the eighth which they had discovered and crossed. This river was named the Ovens, in compliment to the Governor's private secretary, Major Ovens. The country on the borders of this stream is described as extremely beautiful, with the finest possible soil, and thinly timbered with magnificent trees of a very valuable description.

The explorers continued their journey after passing the Ovens through a fine level country, in which the natives were numerous but shy. After crossing many small streams they arrived on December the 3rd at another fine stream. "The

country on its banks," says the narrator of their expedition, "is extremely beautiful, clothed with luxuriant herbage, and both hill and lowland thinly wooded. A finer country for sheep cannot exist." This river was named the Goulburn, after the then Colonial Secretary.

The next part of their journey was through a more difficult country, and they were often baffled for a time by ranges of hills and scrub. It is somewhat singular that in this part of their journey, (latitude 37 to 38 south, longitude 145 east,) they found marks of an iron tomahawk on a tree. This instrument was afterwards discovered to have been brought by an aboriginal from the settled districts of New South Wales.

The party were now beginning to suffer from want of food. Animal food they had not tasted for some time, for although they saw many kangaroos, they were unable to capture any in consequence of the death of some of their dogs, and the wretched condition of those which remained alive. The cattle were in even a worse plight than the men. The hoofs of the horses were almost destroyed by long journeys over rocky and stony country, and the feet of the bullocks were so swollen that they were unfit for travelling. In this condition the direction in which they were attempting to proceed was obstructed by almost impenetrable scrubs and mountains difficult to traverse and almost impossible to avoid. "Uncertain," says the narrative, "of their route, fatigued, lacerated, their clothes torn at every step, it at length became literally impossible to proceed, after having penetrated four miles into a dreadful scrub." They named the place from which they were driven back Mount Disappointment, latitude 37°15', longitude 145½. Retreating for a time, they followed the course of a creek which they named the King-parrot Creek, through a scantily wooded country, until they were compelled again to turn by the country before them being on fire and the wind blowing the flames and smoke full in their faces. They then crossed a range, and on the other side came to a better country, but also on fire in every direction.

On the 14th December, from the summit of a remarkable high insulated hill, which they named Mount Bland, they obtained a view of extensive plains, stretching from west to south-east, and interspersed with patches of forest and detached conical hills. The soil was excellent, and these plains, as well as the hill, were named after their friend,

Dr. Bland, of Sydney. They had now passed the high lands separating the waters, for the streams were found flowing to the southward, and abounding in eels, a fish they had never found in western waters.

On December 16, proceeding south-west by south, they were struck with the singular appearance of the view before them at a great distance to the southward. Some of the party thought the effect was caused by smoke from the country being on fire; others thought what they saw was water. They altered their course towards it, and were soon gratified with the sight of the sea—"the so long and ardently-desired bourne of their labours." They travelled six miles along the shore over excellent land, clear of timber. There is some uncertainty as to the precise spot where they reached the ocean. Mr. Hovell thought they were on the shores of Western Port; but it is now tolerably certain that they struck the coast near a spot in Port Phillip, afterwards called the Bird Rock, about seven or eight miles from what is now the site of the town of Geelong. They found the natives numerous, but managed, with some difficulty, to maintain friendly relations with them. On the 18th December, having previously killed a bullock and dried the meat, and also cut their initials in a tree, they commenced their return journey. On Christmas day they recrossed the Goulburn river, and continuing their journey without serious delay or interruption until the 6th January, when they fell in with a very interesting tribe of natives. Their narrative gives the following account of an interview with them. It took place near the Hume river :

"In the course of the day, we came by surprise upon a body of natives, consisting of eight men. They appeared much alarmed, and, on perceiving the bullocks, fled through a small creek, and concealed themselves among the reeds on its banks. In the evening, about a mile from the spot where they had been first seen, the natives again made their appearance, and approached them with marks of friendship. One of these men, dressed in an old yellow jacket, spoke a few words of English, and had been at Lake George. They had among them an iron axe and four tomahawks. The number afterwards received a considerable augmentation, amounting altogether to not less than forty able-bodied men, all armed. The horses having strayed, they assisted in bringing them in. When we were just going to start, they begged we would accompany them to their camp, about a mile further up the

creek, so that the women and children might have an opportunity of seeing us. Mr. Hume, taking three of the men with him, complied with their request, when he met with a party of about thirty women, as many children, and some fine young men. They were extremely pressing that he should stay, as they were going, they said, to have a 'corrobera;' and two of them promised, in the event of his compliance, to accompany him the following day as far as the Murrumbidgee. The men were the finest natives he had ever seen, one of them was about six feet high, and another five feet nine inches and a half. They were all robust and well proportioned, and possessed what is unusual among the native tribes, well formed legs. Some of them had higher foreheads than are generally observed among these people. Their weapons were like those of the natives of the colony, except the spears, which were made of strong knotty reeds, about six feet long, to which was affixed a piece of hard wood about two feet in length, with a rounded point, barbed, in some instances, with numerous small pieces of flint or agate. Each of these people was furnished with a good ample cloak of opossum skin, many of them had necklaces made of small pieces of a yellow reed, strung with the fibre of the currajong, the flax-plant, or the hair of the opossum. They appeared to be a kind and inoffensive people."

The remainder of the homeward progress of the party was rather slow, in consequence of the exhausted condition of both men and beasts. Some of the party and the cattle had to be left behind before they reached the Murrumbidgee, but all the men so left ultimately reached home in safety, leaving the cattle which had become completely unable to travel, and the remaining supplies, where the party had separated.

The result of this unpretending and by no means costly undertaking was most important. It disclosed the existence of a vast extent of country, suitable for every purpose of grazing and agriculture, where it had been strongly contended that all was a desert so barren that it was doubtful if it could possibly be crossed; but at all events uninhabitable and utterly useless for the purposes of man. The accounts of their journey given by Messrs. Hume and Hovell gave rise to great discussion, and to no small amount of ill-feeling and recrimination between the dominating or official class and the rest of the colonists. The former, acting with their usual esprit de corps, took the part of the Surveyor-General against the private explorers, whose claims, on the other

hand, were loudly endorsed by the general public. There was perhaps a tendency on one side, arising from violent party feeling, unduly to decry the services of Mr. Oxley. In justice to that gentleman it ought to be stated that he had been persevering, and to a great extent successful, in his explorations, but the mistaken theories he had broached relative to the south and south-western interior laid him open to animadversion, and gave party animosity a fair ground for reproach. It is almost impossible now to enter fully into the feelings which prompted the leaders of both sections of the colonists to make a violent dispute about a subject apparently so far removed from social or political differences as the character of the then almost unknown interior; or to understand thoroughly that condition of society where the claims of men who had rendered great services to the community were sought to be ignored because their recognition was supposed to cast some reflection on a mere theory or opinion broached by an official. So strong was this feeling, however, in the case of Messrs. Hume and Hovell, that when, a few days after their return, they attended the annual meeting at Parramatta of the New South Wales Agricultural Society (an association whose management was under the influence of the official class), all allusion to them on their achievement was carefully suppressed in the programme of after dinner speeches, while the Surveyor-General's explorations were spoken of in terms of most fulsome eulogy. And so strong and enduring was this feeling of jealousy on the part of the dominant clique, that when, several years afterwards, Dr. Bland edited the account of Messrs. Hume and Hovell's journey, and pointed out the errors into which the Surveyor-General had fallen, he was thought to have done a very bold thing. It is pleasing to know that both these adventurous explorers still survive, hale and hearty, although past the age usually allotted to man; and that the estimation in which their services are held by the present generation of colonists must, to some extent, make amends for that neglect of their claims which they experienced from a former one. It is principally from the account edited by Dr. Bland that the above outline of their exceedingly adventurous and successful expedition is derived.

During the time that Messrs. Hovell and Hume's successful exploratory journey was in progress, an expedition was despatched from Sydney to form a settlement at the North-

western extremity of the Australian continent. The object of the British Government in directing the New South Wales authorities to undertake the formation of a settlement on those remote shores appears to have been twofold. First, the assertion of British sovereignty over that part of Australia ; and, secondly, to afford a place for shelter, refreshment, or succour to the shipping engaged in the growing commerce between Australia, India, and the numerous islands of the Eastern Archipelago. There was another motive—one which caused those who took an interest in the progress of Australian discovery to regard the formation of a settlement on the north-west coast as a matter of much importance. It was believed at that time, and long afterwards, that the several streams which had been discovered in the interior, all having a general tendency towards the west, ultimately united in one great river, which, after crossing the continent, reached the sea somewhere on the north-western coast. Mr. Allan Cunningham, the naturalist, who had accompanied Mr. Oxley in his expeditions to the Lachlan and the Macquarie in 1816, and Captain King, in his several voyages to the north-west coast in 1818 and three following years, and who probably knew as much about the natural features of Australia as any man living, was strongly of this opinion, and endeavoured to impress upon the authorities the necessity of ascertaining its correctness. He entered into lengthy and very plausible arguments to prove the truth of the theory, and concluded his statement in the following words :—

“These [the Castlereagh, the Macquarie, the Peel, and the Gwydir] unite, and constitute what is now proposed to be denominated the Darling. It is from half-a-mile to three-quarters in width, and bounded by steep red banks. The circumstance of its being salt is explained in this way: constituted of the several streams above enumerated, it flows down a declivity of country to about five hundred feet above the level of the sea. There (in longitude one hundred and forty-five degrees east) it passes through an inhospitable region, the soil of which is saturated with mineral salt,—brine springs having very frequently been seen boiling up a foot above the surface. In consequence—notwithstanding its considerable breadth—its waters are, at this dry season, so perfectly charged with salt as to render them totally useless to drink. What becomes of this river, which is really the general drain of the country, remains doubtful. I have had a long conversation with Captain Sturt, the result of which

has been to induce me to give it as my opinion that, although it tended south-west towards the south coast, it eventually takes a decided bend to the north-west; and then (to carry on my theory of our interior) flows across the continent to the north-west side, where (in latitude 17 degrees) it is poured into the ocean."

So little was the geography of Australia known even at that period, forty years after its first settlement! The formation of an establishment on the north-western coast was, as before stated, regarded by those who took an interest in Australian discovery and exploration as likely to solve a very interesting problem, although the solution of a problem was by no means the principal motive which led the Government to undertake the formation of a settlement there.

Melville Island, at the mouth of Van Diemen's Gulf, was the place chosen for this first experiment in colonising tropical Australia. It is situated in latitude 11 S., longitude 130 E. To Captain Bremer, in H.M.S. Tamar, was entrusted the task of founding this experimental establishment. The expedition reached Melville Island about the close of 1824. The Tamar was accompanied by two store ships, and the people—one hundred and twenty-six in number—were safely disembarked, and a stockade erected at a place named Fort Dundas, in Apsley Strait. The settlement was unfortunate from its commencement. The people suffered severely from the burning heat of the climate, and the herbage proved fatal to the sheep. As a place of call for the few European vessels which at that period navigated those seas it was seldom or never availed of, although its position on the point of the Australian coast nearest to Timor and the numerous islands of the Indian Archipelago could hardly be considered unfavourable. The Malays, in prosecuting the trepang fishery, frequently visited the neighbourhood of the locality chosen as the site of the settlement; and the natives, probably from their intercourse with that treacherous and cruel race, were exceedingly thievish and hostile. Their familiarity with firearms rendered them unusually bold in their conduct towards the whites, although their spears and other weapons were even less formidable than those of their countrymen on the mainland. The Melville Island settlement maintained a languishing existence for about four years, but the accounts transmitted to the Home Government were so unfavourable, that orders were sent out in the early part of 1829 for its abandonment. The settlement was accordingly broken up on the 31st March

in that year. Previous to this step having been resolved upon, however, viz., on 17th June, 1827,—Captain Stirling, in H.M.S. Success, had formed another small settlement at Fort Wellington, on the north-east side of Raffles Bay, latitude 11-14 S.; longitude 132-24 E. This place had been chosen as a suitable position for opening up a trade with the Malays from Macassar and the Celebes, who at certain periods of the year frequent that particular part of the Australian coast in great numbers. The Raffles Bay settlement, however, experienced even a more transient existence than that at Fort Dundas, for in August, 1829, orders arrived from England to break it up also. It was said by those who had taken an interest in the object for which it was established, that at the time of its abandonment there was every reason to believe that if continued it would soon have realised their expectations; but subsequent experience has proved that the hope of establishing a trade with the Malay and Chinese trepang fishers was a sanguine expectation never likely to be fulfilled. The visits of these people are exclusively for the purpose of fishing; and it is difficult to see on what grounds the hope of establishing a profitable trade with them could have rested.

Two or three settlements were formed on other parts of the Australian coast within a year or two of this period, and although to give an account of them here will involve a slight departure from chronological order, that course will perhaps be less objectionable than the introduction elsewhere of a number of detached notices respecting circumstances having a close connection with each other.

In the latter part of 1825 and the beginning of 1826 accounts reached the colony, which were soon afterwards corroborated by despatches from the Secretary of State, that the French Government had resolved to found settlements on some parts of the Australian coast. It was generally believed that King George's Sound was one of the places fixed upon for this purpose, and that Western Port, or some other harbour in Bass's Strait, was another. To prevent this projected scheme of colonisation on the part of France, orders were sent out by the British Government to the Governor of New South Wales to lose no time in taking possession of both these harbours. Preparations were at once made for carrying these instructions into effect; and towards the latter part of 1826, an expedition was despatched from Sydney for that purpose, in the Fly sloop of war, and the brigs Dragon and Amity. The men consisted of detachments of

soldiers from the 3rd and 39th regiments, under Colonel Stewart, and a number of prisoners. There were also a few women, mostly soldiers' wives. The part of the expedition intended for King George's Sound was under charge of Major Lockyer, while Captain Wright and Lieutenant Burchell were to remain at Western Port. Mr. W. H. Hovell, whose remarkable overland journey to Port Phillip, with Mr. Hume, about two years before, has been narrated in preceding pages, was attached to the expedition to Western Port for the purpose of carrying out further explorations. His opinion of the capabilities of that part of the country, derived from his previous experience on his overland journey of exploration, was of a very favorable kind, and his sanguine expectations that Western Port would be found particularly suited for a settlement were shared in by the colonists generally. The place was reached by the expedition in safety, and the people disembarked on what was thought a favorable spot, on the eastern side of the bay. They found that a French expedition had been there before them, but if any intention ever existed on the part of the government of that nation to form a settlement on the shores of Western Port or any other part of Bass's Strait, they had taken no steps to carry it out, and in a short time, the alarm about French occupation having subsided, orders were received from Sydney to abandon the place. The principal motive which prompted the formation of the settlement—the fear of French intrusion—being discovered to be groundless, the situation was not considered sufficiently advantageous to render the maintenance of a permanent establishment there desirable. The shores of the harbour were scrubby, and the country in the vicinity far inferior to that seen by Messrs. Hovell and Hume at the place where their celebrated journey terminated, which was now fully ascertained by Mr. Hovell to have been Port Phillip, and not Western Port as he had previously supposed. During the stay of the party, which was of several months' duration, some huts were erected, and some plots for gardens enclosed and cultivated, but nothing worthy of notice of a permanent character was undertaken. The great attractions offered by the opening up of the western and southern interior drew the attention of the colonists in other directions, and Western Port, notwithstanding the great expectations at first raised, was almost forgotten even before it was abandoned.

The King George's Sound expedition, under Major Lockyer,



formed a settlement which met with somewhat more success. The spot selected as the site of the township was named Albany, and after an existence of four years as a military post, under the Government of New South Wales, it was ordered by the Home authorities to be transferred to the Government at Swan River. This was effected in 1830, shortly after the foundation of the colony of Western Australia, King George's Sound being within the limits assigned to that territory. After the alarm of French occupation had passed away, it is probable that King George's Sound, like its sister settlement at Western Port, would have been abandoned, had not its harbour been frequented by whaling ships, which for many years found abundant and profitable employment off the coast. So far as the development of Australian resources is concerned, the settlement has been a failure. The place was found to be exceedingly healthy, the comparatively temperate nature of the climate, arising from the prevalence of southerly winds, conducing much to its salubrity. But the generally inferior quality of the soil presented a great drawback to the successful pursuit of agricultural or pastoral enterprise. The consequence was that the settlement never prospered, and for many years maintained but a languishing existence. The Sound is one of the finest harbours in the world. Mr. Assistant Commissary-General Kent, who was for many years stationed there, gives the following account of its capabilities:—

“The Sound is a magnificent roadstead, with from 7 to 15 and 20 fathoms water, completely sheltered from S.W. to E., and partially by two islands to the S.E. It is only open to southerly winds, which in this locality bring fair weather. On the W. the Sound is separated by a long tongue of land, terminated at its northern extremity by Point Possession, from the Princess-Royal Harbour. The entrance to this nearly circular bay is between Point Possession and Mount Clarence; being not more than 200 yards across, with a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms water. Princess-Royal Harbour is capable of containing many hundred vessels: it is the finest harbour known to exist in Australia to the W. of Spencer's Gulf. It enjoys an equable climate, the thermometer, during nineteen months' observations, ranging from 40 degrees to 76 degrees Fahrenheit. Vegetables also grow luxuriantly.”

In addition to these more remote dependencies of the parent colony, new settlements were formed nearer the seat of Government about the same time. The beautiful

district of Illawarra, first discovered by Flinders and Bass in their tiny boat the *Tom Thumb*, had long been known and frequented by the Sydney cedar cutters in pursuit of their calling. Here, in 1826, the Government formed an establishment: and to Captain Bishop, in command of a party of the 40th regiment, was entrusted the duty of its superintendence. The land, although in general very heavily timbered, was found to be so rich that settlers rapidly flocked to the district, and it has ever since been regarded as one of the most fertile and flourishing seats of Australian colonisation. At Port Stephens, about a hundred miles north of Sydney, the Australian Agricultural Company fixed their head quarters, and made it the centre of their extensive grazing and farming operations.

The intention of forming a penal establishment, in addition to that at Moreton Bay—either at Port Bowen or Port Curtis—in accordance with the recommendation of Mr. Commissioner Bigge, was after a time abandoned; and it was resolved—for reasons which, if any existed, have never been disclosed—to revive the old settlement at Norfolk Island, which had been deserted for twenty years. With an unlimited extent of unoccupied territory on the mainland, it is difficult to conceive why a place of such confined area, so distant, and so completely devoid of harbour accommodation of any kind, could ever have been chosen as the site of a settlement, but, having been tried and found unsuitable, it is still more difficult to imagine why it was re-established. The Government however, at that period, seems to have had a mania for forming new settlements, and the renewed occupation of Norfolk Island was one of the results.

It will be seen from the above statements that the years 1824-5-6, were periods of great progress in Australian exploration and occupation. No less than five new settlements were formed in those years on distant and widely separated parts of the coast, viz:—Port Macquarie, Moreton Bay, Melville Island, King George's Sound, and Western Port. In addition to this, rapid strides were made in occupying the newly discovered interior; and instead of the great mass of unskilled prison labour remaining a drug, as in Macquarie's time, it was not only completely absorbed in profitable employment, but the supply soon became so wholly inadequate to the demand that its distribution was generally regarded as a great source of official favoritism and jobbery; and its acquisition the principal boon for which grasping and influential colonists plotted and contended.

CHAPTER III.

IMMIGRATION—MR. W. C. WENTWORTH. INCIDENTS, GENERAL CHARACTER, AND CLOSE OF SIR THOMAS BRISBANE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE feature for which the period of Governor Brisbane's rule was most remarkable was the great influx of immigrants. This influx, there can be no doubt, was in a great degree owing to the steps taken by a native of the colony—Mr. William Charles Wentworth—to disseminate in England information relative to the condition and prospects of Australia, and to point out to the crowded millions of Great Britain the great advantages it offered as a place for settlement. In connection with this subject it will hardly be out of place here to state a few facts relative to Mr. Wentworth and his early career.

He was born at Norfolk Island in 1791, during the existence of the first settlement formed there, and was the son of Mr. Darcy Wentworth, a surgeon, who for several years had medical charge of the prisoners on the island, and who, after the breaking up of the establishment there, filled the office of Police Magistrate in Sydney for many years. The first evidence of more than ordinary ability given by young Wentworth arose out of the disputes which during Macquarie's time raged between the Governor and the officers of the seventy-third and forty-sixth regiments relative to the admission of emancipists to civil rights and social recognition. His Excellency's indiscreet endeavours to force the officers to receive emancipists at their mess-table and to meet them in private life were to some extent thwarted, and the feelings engendered much embittered and prolonged, by the appearance of an anonymous and scurrilous poem, alleged to have been picked up in the street, and which caused much sensation. It was a clever and severe lampoon upon Colonel Molle and other officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to a large part of the population by their opposition to the claims of the emancipists. The Colonel was placed for some time in a very disagreeable position, from the fact that the authorship of the lampoon was confidently ascribed to one of his own officers. Young Wentworth, however, having soon afterwards left the colony to pursue his studies in England.

his father, Mr. Darcy Wentworth, took an early opportunity of relieving the reputed author from his unpleasant position, by disclosing the circumstance that the verses which had caused so much scandal were written by his son.

Mr. W. C. Wentworth, on his arrival in England, became a student at Cambridge, and while an undergraduate there wrote and published a *Statistical Account of the British Settlement in Australasia*. The work was published in two octavo volumes, and attracted so much attention that it ran through three or four editions in a few years. It contained a large amount of interesting and important information respecting the statistics, the progress, and the capabilities of Australia, but was so strongly marked by feelings of partisanship in favour of the emancipist class that it gave great offence to the exclusives; and was characterised by Judge Field, one of their number, in a work which he published soon afterwards, entitled *Memoirs of New South Wales*, as "an inflated and convict-party description of the country." It was however—its partisanship notwithstanding—by far the best book which up to that time had been published about Australia. It was reviewed in flattering terms by the English press, and exercised great influence on public opinion in England respecting the Australian settlements. It exposed in very forcible terms the glaring injustice of the then almost prohibitory fiscal policy of the mother country with respect to her Australian possessions. The English customs duties on whale oil and wool were particularly obnoxious at that period, and there can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Wentworth's book was instrumental in producing a reform of the law. The Act Geo. III., cap. 52, imposed a duty of 3d. per lb. on colonial wool, to commence in 1823, and to be raised to 6d. in 1826. If this exorbitant duty had come into operation it must have proved a death-blow to Australian pastoral enterprise, and caused serious if not irreparable injury to the woollen manufacture—the great English staple of that period. Before the time arrived for the imposition of the duty, however, Mr. Wentworth's book had drawn the attention of English manufacturers to the subject, and the consequence was that by 3 Geo. IV., cap. 96, the duty on colonial wool was reduced to one penny per lb.

Up to the time of the publication of Mr. Wentworth's book, the emigration to Australia of the working classes, or of persons of humble means, had been strongly discouraged by the Home Government. By the system then, and for a long

time previously, in operation, the authorities would not sanction the emigration of any person not possessed of a capital of at least £500. If he was worth that amount, he was, on arrival in the colony, presented with a grant of 500 acres of land, and so in proportion for any greater amount of property he brought with him either in goods or money. But if his capital was less than £500 he was not allowed an acre. Mr. Wentworth showed in very convincing terms the impolicy and injustice of this regulation. He proved conclusively that large capitalists usually took to grazing as a pursuit—with the hope doubtless of accumulating fortunes and leaving the colony—that they contributed little or nothing to the social and moral advancement of the community, and comparatively little to the employment of labour; while men possessed of only two or three hundred pounds would be sure to devote themselves to agriculture, and thus make much more valuable and permanent colonists. In fact the most able and interesting chapter of his book is devoted to showing that it was “the truest interest of the mother country to promote, by every possible means, the increase of settlers and the extension of agriculture.” He says, in recommending the policy of encouraging many small capitalists instead of a few large ones:

By the present system the emigrant must possess at least £500, or the government will not sanction his going out, or grant him any land on his arrival. The emigrant possessing £500 will, on his arrival, receive a grant of five hundred acres of land in perpetuity, and if he possesses greater property, he will receive more land in proportion, up to two thousand acres. Now, in the first place, the minimum of property required in the emigrant is fixed far too high, for a capital considerably less than £500 will enable a man to become a settler in New South Wales; and why not reduce it to the lowest amount that will answer? It is obvious, that by fixing the capital required so high, persons of less property are prevented from emigrating, whereas in truth, the government should encourage men of small capital, of about £200 in preference to all others, for such men will settle on their farms, follow agricultural pursuits, and employ most labour in proportion to their capital; and certainly the government should give the greatest encouragement to the description of settlers that employ most labour, to the man who invests his property in tillage agriculture. The advantage of encouraging tillage agriculturists will appear from this circumstance;—a settler possessing £200 capital, living on and cultivating his farm, will employ and subsist four labourers. Another settler possessing £2000 capital, and investing it in grazing—that is, in horned cattle and sheep, will not employ, if in horned cattle, more than four men; and if in sheep, than seven men. How much greater therefore is the advantage to the government of that description of settler which I call the tillage settler than the grazing settler. It is therefore the man of small property who cannot engage in grazing, who must and will live on and cultivate his farm, and who will employ most labour, that should be encouraged by the government in preference to all others.

In order to keep up a supply of labour, and to promote the settlement in the colony of an industrious and thrifty agricultural population, capable of purchasing and consuming a large amount of British manufactures, Mr. Wentworth propounded an ingenious scheme for a system of free emigration—a scheme which proved him to be a patriot as well as a man of ability and foresight. The advocacy later in life of measures having an opposite tendency to those which he so warmly supported when influenced by the generous ardency of youth—the course which he took when he himself had become a wealthy man and a great grazier—may lessen our admiration of the patriot but cannot detract from the ability of the writer.

In those times, however, there were other causes than the want of the required amount of capital which prevented reputable men in humble circumstances from emigrating to Australia; and these causes Mr. Wentworth endeavoured to remove. All persons wishing to emigrate as settlers to New South Wales had first to make application by memorial, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for permission to do so. The applicant had to produce satisfactory certificates as to his character, his capital, the number of his family, and to take other steps involving a knowledge of official routine, and necessitating an observance of official forms which few or none among the working classes were likely to possess or to be able to comply with. When, however, the applicant had overcome all official impediments, was able to produce the necessary amount of capital, and his request to be allowed to emigrate to Australia was favourably entertained, he received a letter from the Under Secretary, addressed to the Governor of the colony, of which the following is a copy:—"Sir, I am directed by my Lord Bathurst to acquaint you that he has given permission to A. B. to proceed to New South Wales as a free settler; and I am to desire that you will make to him, upon his arrival, a grant of land in proportion to the means which he may possess of bringing it into cultivation. I am, sir, your most obedient servant, B. Wilmot Horton." This was the only warrant to the Governor for conferring on the successful applicant for leave to emigrate a quantity of land in proportion to his capital; and on the authority of a letter of this kind most of the land acquired by the early immigrant colonists was granted.

Such were the impediments to the emigration of people of humble means and position at that time; and to the removal

of these impediments Mr. Wentworth successfully applied himself. His scheme, which was to be in a great measure self-supporting, was perhaps of too elaborate and complicated a character to work well at that early period of Australian colonisation; and as it was never brought into operation it needs no further notice here. The arguments, however, which he adduced in favor of the emigration of the working classes, and the knowledge which he diffused respecting the resources of the colony, achieved indirectly—if not by the particular method he advocated—the object he had in view; for by directing the attention of the British public to the superior attractions presented by Australia as compared with other countries and colonies, he largely assisted in the direction of that great stream of population which soon after commenced to flow towards its shores.

Mr. Wentworth's defence of Governor Macquarie, and his attacks on the exclusives, are amongst the most happy and vigorous of his efforts as an author. The following passages will give a good idea of his style and sentiments, and convey a vivid impression of the condition of colonial society at that period:—

The distinguishing characteristic in the state of society is to be traced to the causes which led to the origin of the colony itself. For some considerable time after its foundation, there were of course only two classes,—free persons, consisting almost exclusively of the civil and military officers who were attached to the establishment,—and convicts sentenced to various terms of transportation. The distinction between these classes was so broadly drawn that it soon produced a marked influence on the conduct of each. The former became consequential and overbearing; the latter equally humble and submissive. After a few years, however a third class slowly sprung up, composed of persons who had been convicts, and had gradually become free either by the expiration of their respective sentences, or by pardon. This intermediate class soon acquired the distinctive appellation of “emancipists;”—a name by which they are still known, and which serves to contra-distinguish them from those whose emigration has been voluntary. The emancipists soon made considerable strides in number, character, and wealth, but for a long period they possessed no visible influence in society; for the upper class, which had also gained some accession of strength, though by no means a proportionate accession, as well by voluntary emigration, as by the gradual augmentation which occurred from time to time in the civil and military establishments, kept as much aloof from the emancipists as from the convicts themselves, enduring no association with them except for purposes of mere interest or convenience. And, strange as it may appear, such was the arrogance of one party, and such the servility of the other, that the former class did not heap degradation on the latter with more indifference than they seemed to endure it, as if—pending the period of servitude—they had acquired a habit and predilection for slavery, too inveterate for any subsequent enjoyment of freedom to remove. Thus an aristocratic junta gradually arose, who monopolised all situations of power, dignity, and emolument, and at last gained such an ascendancy that they were able for a long while

to domineer alike over the government and the people. And to such a pitch of insolence did they at last carry their pretensions, that they considered themselves possessed of equal right to the Governor's confidence, as if they stood in the same relation to him which the nobility of this country bear to the king, and were de jure his hereditary counsellors.

The whole power and nearly the whole property and commerce of the colony were in the hands of the few who had risen to this ascendancy at the expense, and to the evident detriment and oppression of the community at large; and even in those instances where the emancipists had been allowed to acquire some little affluence their success was to be traced to the patronage and protection afforded them by some member or other of the aristocratic party, to whom they either acted as agents in the disposal of merchandise, (for it was considered by these gentlemen derogatory from their dignity to keep shop and sell openly), or else resorted to the purchase of goods on their own account. At the prosperity and importance however of this faction, (for such is their proper appellation) Governor Macquarie, seeing that the power which they had attained was subversive of the very end for which the colony itself has been instituted,—levelled many a deadly blow during his long and judicious administration; and, although he unhappily did not succeed in extinguishing them altogether, he at least shored them of all exclusive immunities, and, it may be asserted, for ever disarmed them of all but the inclination to re-establish the domination which they so long exercised. Like the Indian juggler's bag of serpents, their nature is not altered, but they have happily lost their poisonous fangs. . . . Accordingly every emancipist who was fortunate enough to become the object of the Governor's countenance and protection, was instantly beset by this pack in full cry. Not content with hunting up and giving a false colouring to every little blemish which they could discover in the individual's history, they scrupled not to circulate as facts every species of calumny to which an unbridled and vituperative ingenuity could give birth. In the teeth, however, of all the discouragements and obloquy, which the indefatigable and rancorous malignity of this faction contrived to throw in his way, this humane and upright Governor continued his course with the undeviating inflexibility of a man who knew that he was pursuing the path of honour and duty. In vain did they assail him with open censure, in vain did they seek to undermine him by secret misrepresentations.

In forming an estimate of the class upon whom Mr. Wentworth thus poured the vials of his wrath the reader will bear in mind the bitterness of the social and political quarrels which then raged in the colony, and draw his conclusions accordingly; not forgetting that the fierceness of the strife engendered in such contests is generally in proportion to the narrowness of the stage on which they are fought.

During Mr. Wentworth's stay at the University he competed with twenty-five others in the composition of a prize poem on the subject of Australia. His production, although awarded only the second place by the judges, is now universally regarded as first in point of merit, although his successful rival was the celebrated W. Mackworth Praed, then considered one of the most rising and talented young men in England.

Mr. Wentworth's poem is so well known that it is needless

to quote it here at any length. The following passage, referring to the penal origin of the colony, is strongly expressive of his ardent desire for the introduction of a free peasantry and free institutions:

Land of my hope; soon may this early blot
Amid thy growing honours be forgot;
Soon may a freeman's hope, a freeman's blade
Nerve every arm, and gleam through every glade.

The conclusion of the poem, although so frequently quoted as to have become almost hackneyed, is, notwithstanding its slight tinge of rant, one of its finest passages. The last four lines—in allusion to Australia being the latest born of Britannia's offspring—are as follows:—

May this thy last-born infant then arise
To glad thy heart and greet thy parent eyes,
And Australasia rise, with flag unfurled,
A new Britannia in another world!

It is painful to think that in old age Mr. Wentworth has deserted the land which he so loved and honoured in his youth, because, as it is said, he cannot brook those democratic institutions or endure that full measure of popular liberty which he at one time so ardently advocated.

Governor Brisbane's devotion to the cause of science was as strong as his inclination for the performance of his official duties was weak. One of his first acts was the establishment of an association which assumed the somewhat pretentious title of the Philosophical Society of Australasia. It consisted of about a dozen members, most of them civil or military officers. There were, during its short existence, several papers of interest read at its meetings; but the remoteness of the colony from the great centres of science and literature, and the paucity of gentlemen possessed of the necessary attainments and leisure to contribute to its proceedings, could hardly have permitted even its parent and most sanguine supporter to expect for his bantling a very brilliant or very lengthy career. Apart also from the causes just referred to there were others of a social and political nature which were sufficient to account for its brief existence. "I am sorry to add," said one of its most active supporters, "that the infant society soon expired in the baneful atmosphere of distracted politics which unhappily clouded the short administration of its president." The whole of its members were of course of the "exclusive" class;—men who recognised no merit and acknowledged no ability in those who

did not belong to their own clique. Some of the best of the papers recorded amongst their transactions were edited by one of their number, Mr. Barron Field, and given to the world in his *Memoirs on New South Wales*, a work published in London in 1825. It contained, in addition to the papers of the Philosophical Society and a few tracts of a like kind, some original productions of the editor, in poetry as well as prose. The latter, descriptive chiefly of the writer's voyage to Australia and journeys undertaken therein, is written in a somewhat flippant and superficial although not an assuming or unpleasing style; the former is sad rubbish; and indeed the feebleness of the whole production is in striking contrast to the vigorous and practical character of Mr. Wentworth's book. One writer spoke as a son of the soil and a patriot, the other as a mere bird of passage, a sojourner who, although living in the country, never looked upon it as his home, and therefore took no pleasure in contemplating its beauties and experienced no pain in revealing its defects. A journey which he made into the western interior gives a picture of colonial pastoral life of that period (1822), which is probably truthful, although not very flattering. He says that on the grazing stations the convict servants, the stockmen, shepherds, and watchmen, being for the most part left to themselves, do little but drone about their filthy huts, and having as much milk, mutton, and flour provided as they can eat and drink, have little need for exertion. The stockmen did not see their cattle once in six months perhaps; and the shepherds were proportionally negligent. If capitalist graziers could make large profits out of such a system, he thinks that smaller settlers, who would live on their own land and attend to their own business, could not fail to thrive in a still greater degree. His picture of the infant township of Bathurst is, however, of a more pleasing character:—

“October 13, 1822, arrived in good time at the township of Bathurst. Here we set up our rest, and pitched our tent for the Sabbath, on the naturally cleared land of the winding banks of the Macquarie, which are here and there edged with a few swamp-oaks. I could hardly believe I was travelling in New Holland this day; so different—so English—is the character of the scenery—downs, meadows and streams. . . . You may see as far as the eye can reach. Stockmen, cattle and sheep occasionally form your horizon, as in Old Holland—a Paul Potter or Cuypp effect rare in New Holland. At

sunset we saw wooded hills, distant enough to display that golden blue or purple which landscape-painters love. The smoke of the little village of Bathurst is seen for miles off, which that of no other town in Australia is. These things may seem trifling to an English reader; but by an American or Australian, accustomed to travel through the eternal valley of the shadow of monotonous woods, the charm of emerging into any thing like European scenery will be duly appreciated.

. . . . An English sabbath-morning:—heavy mist slowly rolling away, lingering with a light cloud across the tops of the hills. The principal chaplain of the colony (the Rev. Samuel Marsden), who happened to be here on a visit, performed divine service in the Government granary (a large brick building) to about sixty people, including soldiers and convicts. After service, I visited a few of the small settlers' huts, and found the parents cleanly, and the children even expensively dressed. Rum, the bane of colonies, has scarcely yet found its way over the mountains; and happily the town of Bathurst is not yet large enough to support a public house."

The Royal Veteran Company—the name under which were embodied as a local corps those officers and soldiers of the old 102nd regiment, or New South Wales corps, who chose to remain in the colony when that regiment was recalled for the part it had taken in the arrest of Governor Bligh—was, in October 1823, disbanded; and about the same time its former commander, Colonel Johnston, died at Annandale, near Sydney. This was the last of that remarkable regiment which, having been called into existence in England, in 1790, for the especial purposes of the colony—then only known as Botany Bay—was popularly termed "the condemned regiment;" but into whose ranks—foreseeing probably the opportunities which the settlement of a new country was likely to present—entered many young men of more than ordinary ability and energy of character. Their expectations were more than realised, for to many of these soldiers of fortune—rank and file as well as officers—the opportunity proved to be that tide in their affairs which taken at the flood led on to fortune. Almost all the Veterans—although they were offered free passages to England when the company was disbanded—preferred to remain in the land which they had long regarded as their home, and in which many of them had not only married and brought up families

but had acquired possessions of no inconsiderable extent and value. Probably no English regiment ever embodied contained so many hard-headed, pushing, and ambitious men as this "condemned" New South Wales Corps, and most assuredly few soldiers ever enjoyed such chances of acquiring wealth. Arrogant, pretentious, and domineering, as they undoubtedly were, their conduct was in a great degree owing to the almost uncontrolled powers with which they were invested—powers having their origin rather in the peculiar circumstances of their position than in any positive act or intention on the part of the British Government. However great their failings as men or as soldiers, there can be no doubt that most of them were formed of the right stuff for colonists; and in helping to lay the foundations of a new empire they left their mark everywhere.

It was at this period that the occupation of large tracts of public lands under license first became general. Governor Macquarie, although he made liberal grants of freehold land, could never be prevailed upon to allow stockholders to take up and occupy unalienated country without a special authority or lease from himself. The consequence was that numbers of settlers, who were not sufficiently influential at Government House to procure the desired permission, were greatly straitened for want of grazing ground; and, although their cattle might be dying for want of water or feed, many of them were denied the liberty of crossing the Nepean River to make use of the abundant grass and water to be found in the great country beyond. These restrictive Government regulations were of course frequently evaded, and the unauthorised occupation which ensued was consequently described as squatting. Such was the origin of that afterwards misapplied term. Subsequently, when Sir Thomas Brisbane freely granted depasturing licenses to all who applied for them, the epithet by which they were at first rightly described became unsuitable; it was, however, still adhered to, and has continued to the present time. The first occupation licenses, or tickets, as they were called, gave the holder the right of grazing over a specified block of sixteen square miles. That is, two miles in every direction from his station or hut. This occupation license was terminable by the Government at any time by six months' notice; and a good deal of care and

foresight seem to have been exercised to avoid giving any grounds for claims of vested rights on the part of occupiers in after years.

Some improvement in the morals of the population seems to have taken place during Governor's Brisbane's period of rule. It can hardly be doubted that the favour shown by his predecessor to the prison class, although dictated probably by motives of humanity, and prompted by a sincere desire for the elevation of fallen fellow-men, had produced, in many of the convicts, an effect the reverse of beneficial. The number of minor offences against the laws, and breaches of public orders and regulations, had greatly increased during his time. Under Brisbane's Government, although the laws were more strictly administered, the number of persons convicted annually was much smaller. This, however, refers more to the minor class of crimes than to capital or serious offences; and was possibly due to a stricter enforcement of the rules for convict management, and a knowledge on the part of the prisoners that they were more likely than before to be punished for such offences, rather than to any improvement in their morals or alteration in their character.

In one respect moreover, there was a remarkable exception to the comparative decrease in crime. Bushranging became for the first time a prominent offence. This particular phase of convict life had existed for years in Van Diemen's Land, but in New South Wales it had not hitherto been rife. The new country to the westward, now being rapidly taken up by stockholders, offered great temptations to the more daring and reckless of the convicts to attempt to exist by a life of plunder. Captain Fennell, the commandant of the district, had his head-quarters at Bathurst; and a horse patrol had been established chiefly for the protection of the outlying settlers against the depredations of the blacks; but, almost before the blacks had been quieted, a more formidable evil in the shape of bands of bushrangers sprang up and demanded energetic efforts for its suppression. The most numerous and daring of these gangs, and one which for a short period kept the district in a state of great alarm, originated with six or eight convicts employed on two farms near Bathurst. These men, abandoning their employment, armed themselves with muskets and such other weapons as they could most readily procure, and compelled many of the other

prisoners to join them in an insurrection which appears to have had no other object than an escape from restraint, and the enjoyment of such indulgences as they could obtain by plunder. On one station they shot the overseer because he refused to join them, and this produced such an effect on others that their numbers soon increased to eighty or a hundred men, who ravaged the settlers' farms for miles in all directions. They treated their victims in accordance with what they considered their deserts. Those who were regarded as good masters escaped very lightly, while those who had a character for harshness and severity towards their dependents suffered accordingly. They soon had possession of large quantities of arms, ammunition, food, and clothing; and, if they could have placed confidence in each other, might have set the efforts of the authorities at defiance, perhaps for years. Dissensions among themselves soon led to the desertion of many of the band, and the ringleaders sent all the others whose fidelity they suspected about their business. When this step had been taken only thirteen remained, and these, free from the check of their more timid or less desperate companions, gave themselves up to unrestrained plunder and violence. The military and police, with two parties of volunteer settlers, were despatched in pursuit of the robbers. One of the parties of civilians first fell in with them, but were met with so much boldness that they had to retreat, and gave such exaggerated accounts of the numbers and daring of the bushrangers that a request was sent to Sydney for more soldiers. Nothing was done before the expected reinforcement arrived; and when this took place it was found that the alleged formidable organisation had dwindled to such small proportions that the ordinary police force was quite sufficient to deal with the difficulty.

Sir Thomas Brisbane, notwithstanding the excellence of his character as a man, was, until near the close of his career, an unpopular Governor. The people could not sympathise with his philosophical pursuits; but they could understand that a Governor who allowed himself to be dictated to, or managed, by his own officers and the class to which they belonged, could not be a good ruler. A circumstance which raised very strong feelings against him, was his putting a stop, in 1823, in a most injudicious and sudden manner, to the practice of receiving into the public

stores the wheat and maize of the settlers at a fixed price, varying for the former from seven and sixpence to ten shillings a bushel. Instead of taking the whole year's supply, just after the harvest, at a fixed price, as was before customary, only the quantity absolutely required for consumption during the ensuing quarter was called for by tender. This alteration in a long established but vicious system, which had given rise to great jobbery and injustice for years, was productive of some loss and inconvenience to the storekeepers and dealers, who had been accustomed to receive from the settlers, almost as cash, their grain and produce, knowing that it would be taken in to the public stores at the usual price; but to the settlers themselves it was absolute ruin. They were as a class much indebted to money lenders and storekeepers, and these people, seeing no prospect under the altered state of things of getting their money, invoked the aid of the law against their debtors, and in many instances seized their stock and sold their farms for a third or a quarter of the actual value. There was no market for the large quantities of wheat and maize thus suddenly and unexpectedly left upon the hands of the growers or their creditors. The Government had been so long accustomed to take it all, that no private traders in such commodities were prepared to purchase what the settlers had to dispose of; and the consequence was that grain suddenly fell to so low a price as scarcely to pay the expenses of carriage to market. The Government purchased the first quarter's supply for about a third of the price paid in previous years, and the lowness of price very naturally begot an opinion that there was a great superabundance of breadstuffs in the colony. Then, as there was no export trade nor any other outlet for such a surplus, those who held it thought it was almost worthless, and under this impression gave it to their pigs or wasted it in the most careless and reckless manner. It was not generally perceived that the suddenly altered system had produced a temporary glut, and that the price would soon rally again. The result was, as the season advanced, but when it was too late—when a great part of the produce of the harvest had been consumed by animals or destroyed by carelessness—it was perceived that instead of a superabundance there would be a scarcity. Under the alarm created by this discovery the rise in price was quite as sudden and far greater than the fall had been a short time before. From an almost nominal price

of 3s. 9d. a bushel, wheat, in a short time, rose to £1 4s. There was a reluctance to sell to the Government even at this price, and, at the recommendation of the officers in charge of the Commissariat, a vessel was chartered to proceed to India for wheat and rice. On her return to Sydney some of the mercantile class, wishing to inconvenience and annoy the Government as much as possible, and hoping, no doubt, to reap a large profit by private enterprise, gave information to the captain of a ship of war then in the harbour, who seized vessel and cargo, and carried off his prize to India, for having infringed the charter of the East India Company in carrying tea—of which she had a small quantity on board—without a license.

The sufferings to which numbers of the colonists were exposed in consequence of the high price of bread, were, of course, laid to the Governor's account, and served to increase the unpopularity with which he was before regarded. That he acted from the best and purest motives cannot be doubted, and that the system which he wished to destroy was a most pernicious one is equally certain;—but the disastrous consequences entailed by the suddenness of the change were far greater than the evils sought to be remedied. The facts show that a very good man may be a very bad ruler, and that evils which are the growth of years and have become incorporated with the social and mercantile habits of a community, are not to be rooted out by a sudden wrench or remedied by the stroke of a pen.

Governor Brisbane's position was anything but an agreeable one; checked, controlled, and thwarted by the powerful influence of the official class and their friends on one side, and regarded with suspicion, if not absolute dislike, by the emancipists and the lower class of settlers on the other, his recall by orders from home in the latter part of 1825 must have given rise in his mind to feelings of relief rather than regret. His early endeavours to defeat the selfish designs of those by whom he was surrounded had not been sufficiently thorough to command the respect of the mass of the colonists; while his well-meant but sudden and ill-advised change of a long established system had produced so much loss and suffering as to make them dread his interference and suspect the soundness of his judgment. A step which he took before leaving the colony,—quite inconsistent with his previous conduct—betrayed great anxiety to stand well in the opinion

of those to whose interests and claims he was generally thought to be inimical, and proved the strength of the class prejudices which then divided the community. He was, when on the eve of returning to England, invited to a public dinner by that section of the colonists generally known as the exclusionists. But, having heard that only a select class were to be permitted to be present, he refused to accept the invitation if all who wished were not allowed to join in the demonstration, provided they were willing to bear their share of the expense. The gentlemen who gave the invitation thereupon replied that they respectfully declined the honour of his Excellency's company on such conditions. On the leading men of the emancipist class becoming aware of what had taken place, they determined to invite the Governor to a separate banquet, and proceeded to make arrangements for holding it forthwith. Sir Thomas, probably wishing before he left the colony to efface as far as possible the class distinctions which embittered colonial society, again endeavoured to bring about an arrangement for mutual co-operation, and named to the exclusionist committee six persons of the emancipist party that he wished to be present, and whose admittance he considered would be a sufficient recognition of the class to which they belonged. In reply to this proposal the exclusionists said that they felt themselves placed under the painful necessity of declining to make any further preparation for entertaining his Excellency, and begged to decline the honour of his company. The other party then set about making their arrangements in earnest, and the banquet, a very sumptuous one, and very numerous attended, took place at Nash's Hotel, Parramatta, a few days afterwards. The Governor, by his conduct in this matter, acquired so much popularity with the common people, that, in addition to the dinner, public meetings were held, and very flattering addresses presented to him before his departure.

It is necessary to explain here, that although the term "emancipist party" is used for want of a better, it had at this time become, in some respects, a political designation, and did not in reality correctly define the legal or social status of large numbers of those included in it. All among the colonists, whatever their origin, who desired to see the colony freed from the domination of the exclusionists, and who wished the free institutions of the parent country substituted for the

rule of a petty oligarchy, were ready to join the emancipists in their endeavours to control the efforts of the exclusionists to domineer over the rest of the community. Several of the leading emancipists too, were gentlemen who had been originally transported for offences which, whatever their legal consequences, were such as did not involve, in the opinion of society generally, any loss of social position, or afford sufficient grounds for that ostracism which the exclusionist class sought to inflict. This was particularly the case with regard to Mr. Redfern and Mr. Bland, both of whom had been surgeons in the navy, and who were admitted on all hands to be gentlemen of more than ordinary culture and attainments. The latter had been transported for fighting a duel, in which he had the misfortune to shoot his opponent; and the former, as previously explained, for a hasty expression of sympathy with the leaders of the mutiny at the *Nora*. In Dr. Bland's case the social usages of the time were at direct variance with the enactments of the law; and, whatever the moral merits of the case, it was certainly unreasonable for society to inflict a heavy punishment for compliance with the requirements of the arbitrary code which it had set up. Men like these—superior in attainments and certainly not inferior in moral character to the majority of the exclusionists—could hardly be expected to submit quietly to the domineering conduct which characterised the latter. In addition to persons of the class referred to above, what was popularly known as “the emancipist party” contained many young men, natives of the country, of considerable ability and attainments. It also included many colonists of humble but reputable origin, who, disliking the domineering conduct of the exclusionists, chose to make common cause with the emancipists against them. It will be easily seen from what is here stated, that at this time (1825) the term “emancipist party” did not to apply exclusively to persons of convict origin, whose sentences had expired or who had received pardons. The unsuitableness of the term, and the disgrace which attached to its origin, at length drove it almost completely out of use.

Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration lasted somewhat less than four years. It was towards the latter part of 1825 that he received intimation that his successor had been appointed, and early in December he sailed for England, having on the 1st of that month formally transferred the reins of Govern-

ment to the hands of Colonel Stewart, of the 3rd regiment or Buffs. Governor Brisbane's character has been portrayed in preceding pages, in relating the incidents of his administration, and therefore need not be further alluded to here. In spite of some drawbacks to progress, the population, trade, productions, and substantial prosperity of the colony rapidly increased during his administration. The revenue raised in the country, which was but £36,231 in 1821, reached £71,682 in 1825. The expenditure, however, more than kept pace with the increase, and in the latter year reached £82,000. This was derived from import duties on spirits, wines, and tobacco, a small *ad valorem* duty on merchandise not of British manufacture, excise duties on colonial distilled spirits, a heavy impost on coal and timber whether for home consumption or for exportation; also on oils, skins, and several other articles, and licenses to publicans, hawkers, and others. As there was no Custom House, the duties being collected by a functionary called the Naval Officer, it is impossible to ascertain the value of the exports. Some idea of the importance of the rising trade of the colony may, however, be gained from the fact that in the year ending January 1824, sixteen ships, of a total burthen of 5500 tons, cleared out from Sydney and Hobart Town for Great Britain, with cargoes of produce valued at £100,000. What the total value of the imports of the year was is not recorded, but in the following year (1825) they reached £300,000. The population in 1825 was 33,675. The number of sheep 237,622, and the horned cattle 134,519; the land in cultivation 45,514 acres, and the wool exported 411,600 lbs. —the quantity having been nearly trebled in three years. The most lucrative and flourishing branches of commerce were, however, at this period, what were called the island trade and the whale and seal fishery. In whaling alone the merchants of Sydney had, in 1825, nearly thirty ships engaged, while many others were employed in collecting sandal-wood, pearl-shells, biche-de-mer, and other island produce.

The principal officers of the Government at this time were Frederick Goulburn, Colonial Secretary; Francis Forbes, Chief Justice; Saxe Bannister, Attorney-General; John Stephen, Solicitor-General, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and subsequently a Judge of the Supreme Court; Mackaness was Sheriff; and Carter, Master in Equity. The

only barristers in private practice were W. C. Wentworth and R. Wardell, LL.D. There were thirty-four Justices of the Peace, the only stipendiary one being D. Wentworth, Esq., Police Magistrate of Sydney.

In ecclesiastical matters, the Church of England in the colony was nominally subject to the See of Calcutta, of which the celebrated Dr. Reginald Heber was bishop; but his was, of course, a very shadowy jurisdiction. In Australia the Venerable J. Hobbes Scott was head of the Church, with the title of Archdeacon. This gentleman's case is a curious instance of how appointments to high offices in the Church were conferred in those days. Mr. Scott had been a wine merchant, and, failing in that, afterwards came out as clerk to Mr. Commissioner Bigge when that gentleman was sent to inquire into the condition of the colony under Macquarie's administration. For Mr. Scott's services in this humble position—having got himself ordained on his return to England—he was rewarded, through the influence of his patron, by being elevated to the position of Archdeacon of Australasia, with a salary of £2000 a year. The result showed how unqualified Mr. Scott was for the position into which fortune had so suddenly and strangely elevated him. The other clergymen of the Church of England were nine in number, viz: the Rev. S. Marsden, chaplain; with assistant chaplains stationed at the following places: Sydney, the Rev. W. Cowper and the Rev. R. Hill; Parramatta, Rev. T. Hassall; Liverpool, Rev. R. Cartwright; Windsor, Rev. J. Cross; Castlereagh, Rev. J. Fulton; Campbelltown, Rev. T. Reddall; Newcastle, Rev. G. A. Middleton. In the Roman Catholic Church, there were the Rev. Fathers Connally and Therry. The only minister of the Presbyterian Church was the Rev. Dr. Lang. Of Wesleyan Methodist ministers there were five—viz: Rev. G. Erskine, Rev. B. Carvosso, Rev. W. Walker, Rev. W. Horton, and Rev. W. Lawry.

In the establishment of educational and training institutions, the Government had by no means been neglectful. In addition to two orphan schools or asylums, there were public schools, supported either wholly or in part from government funds, at Sydney, Parramatta, Windsor, Richmond, Liverpool, Wilberforce, Pitt Town, Castlereagh, Newcastle, Kissing Point, Hunter's Hill, and Campbelltown. There was also an institution for the children of aboriginal natives—established first at Parramatta and afterwards removed to Blacktown;

but either from the neglect of those who had charge of it, or the disinclination or incapacity of the unfortunate aboriginals themselves, it does not appear to have been productive of any very beneficial results.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR DARLING'S ADMINISTRATION. PASTORAL EXCITEMENT, AND ITS RESULTS. TYRANNICAL POLICY—ATTACKS ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. POLITICAL AND PARTY MOVEMENTS. PROGRESS OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE gentleman appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Brisbane as governor of New South Wales, was Lieutenant-General Ralph Darling, a clever but narrow-minded officer who had been long employed at the Horse Guards, and who was so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of military routine that he was a most unsuitable person to preside over a civil administration. He arrived in Sydney on the 18th December, 1825, and relieved Colonel Stewart from his temporary duties on the following day. Colonel Stewart had administered the Government for about three weeks only. Sir Thomas Brisbane's latest acts had made him so popular with the lower classes, and they regretted his departure so much, that they were not inclined to receive his successor very heartily, and consequently he was allowed to land without a single cheer or any other manifestation of popular welcome. There were other causes, however, for the coolness with which General Darling was received. His character had preceded him. It had become known in the colony that he was a mere official formalist, a man of system and routine, a strict and severe disciplinarian, who had obtained his rank in the army and had been selected for his post as Governor rather for his acquaintance with the details of office, and his ability with the pen, than for his achievements with the sword. There are, perhaps, few things which command popular admiration and applause to such an extent as military talent, and there are few amongst the populace who look with much favour upon mere office men, scholars, or clerics, who may happen to occupy positions of command.

These facts and considerations fully account for the coolness and suspicion with which the new Governor was regarded. The popular party, however, with Mr. Wentworth at their head, anxious not to drive him into the ranks of their opponents, determined soon after his arrival to offer the propitiation of a complimentary address. A public meeting was forthwith called, at which Mr. Wentworth, in moving the proposed address, made a very long and effective speech. This speech was intended to warn and to guide the new ruler—to place before his view the course he ought to steer and the rocks he ought to avoid. The question of the disposal of the public lands was also a very prominent topic of this monitory address. It was averred, and probably with truth, that a spirit of dissatisfaction had grown up in the native youth of the country, in consequence of the favouritism displayed during a great part of Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration by those who had usurped the right of dealing with the waste lands. Upon the official class, and their friends the immigrant capitalists, it was said that grants of vast tracts of fertile soil had been conferred, while the natives of the colony and the humbler part of the community were almost denied a home. It was necessary for the peace and prosperity of the colony that, in the distribution of lands, the native youth should be placed upon an equality with the more favoured immigrant class. The speaker then went on to advocate the extension to the colonists of all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and contended that unless these were conceded it was vain to hope that justice would be done or discontent eradicated. Darling, in his reply to the address, confined himself to safe generalities. The exclusionists being by no means backward in their attempts to draw the new Governor into their ranks, he quickly found himself in the presence of two powerful parties, almost equally balanced in influence, although the disparity in their numbers was of course very great.

General Darling, upon assuming office, found the various departments of the Government in great confusion. Sir Thomas Brisbane's want of business habits was notorious, and this was no doubt the principal reason for his early recal. He had for some time before his departure been at variance with Mr. Goulburn, the late Colonial Secretary, and under these circumstances affairs had drifted into a condition of extreme disorder. Mr. Goulburn's place, upon his retirement from

office, had been filled by Mr. Alexander Macleay, a gentleman of some ability, of great experience in official business, and of considerable celebrity as a naturalist and a man of science. It was resolved by the new Governor and the new Secretary to re-model and re-organise all the departments of the public service, and to thoroughly purge them of the emancipist and convict element which had been introduced by Governor Macquarie, and allowed, to a considerable extent, to continue under Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration. The carrying out of this measure was regarded by the emancipist party as a conclusive proof that Governor Darling was their enemy; that he had leagued himself with the exclusives, and that they had no favours to expect at his hands. There can be no doubt that most of the changes introduced by Governor Darling and Mr. Macleay into the public service were beneficial, and many of them urgently required; but it is impossible to deny that the exclusion of persons of the emancipist class from public employments was a harsh, and, considering the extent to which it was carried, an uncalled for measure. It is true that the system, or rather want of system, which before prevailed was lax in the extreme; and in consequence of the want of sufficient checks it is highly probable that many cases of embezzlement and plunder occurred which were never detected, and for which, if they had been, the delinquents could not be brought to justice. Darling was one of those men who never do things by halves, and the system he introduced went to the opposite extreme. Under its operation, order and regularity were introduced, it is true, but the complicated system of checks and counterchecks, and the multiplication of requisitions and forms, was carried to such an excess as to become a nuisance of a very formidable character, and to cause the remedy to be almost as bad as the disease. It frequently happened, under these elaborate and minute red-tape regulations, that the loss of time and the clerical labour required to carry out the necessary forms and checks attendant upon a requisition for a trifling article or service needed by the Government were ten times more than the value of the thing itself. A convict quarryman or stonemason, if he wanted a chisel or a borer sharpened or a new handle supplied for a pickaxe, had to procure the prescribed forms, get them duly signed by the proper officers, and countersigned, checked, and inspected, with as much regularity, precision, and ela-

borate attention to routine as if the worth of the service or the value of the thing required had been hundreds of pounds instead of a few farthings or pence at most. The loss of time by the workmen in carrying out this cumbersome system was enormous, and most of them, detecting instinctively the weak parts of the plan and the facilities thereby held out for laziness, did not fail to multiply their requisitions and to urge their demands for fresh tools or appliances on every opportunity, and on the most frivolous pretences, in order to be enabled to pass their time in the comparative idleness of dancing attendance on the clerks or officers while the required forms were being prepared and inspected.

It is almost impossible now to give an idea of the absurd extent to which this system of complicated checks and regulations was carried. Yet it was not so much owing to this, as to what his friends called his anti-convict policy, that Sir Ralph Darling grew more unpopular every day with one party while by the other he was looked upon as the kindest of patrons and the most generous of men. His antagonistic position in reference to a large class of the population, and the dislike in which he was generally held by the great majority of the colonists, drove him to regard those who composed the narrow circle of the exclusives with peculiar favour. To compensate for the dislike of the many he endeavoured to secure the personal regards of the few, and he did not hesitate to reward their attachment by lucrative appointments, lavish grants of land, and all the other coveted favours that a governor had the power to bestow. The partiality thus indulged in served to exasperate the feelings of the majority the more, because many of the fortunate recipients were unworthy in character and low in public esteem. They were for the most part designing people, who by artful and selfish conduct had ingratiated themselves into favour; and those by whom the Governor was generally surrounded and whose advice he sought were contemptible from their imbecility and notorious for their absurd pretensions. It is not to be wondered at, that under such a condition of things a social war more bitter than had prevailed at any previous time should have ensued. The Governor and his policy were assailed in very strong terms by Mr. Wentworth and Dr. Wardell in the columns of the Australian newspaper, while, in the Sydney Gazette, the official journal, they were praised and defended in a way which was as nauseating and fulsome as it was feeble and impotent.

One of the first official acts of Governor Darling was the appointment of a new Legislative Council. The Governor himself was, of course, the president. The official members were Colonel Stewart (Lieutenant-Governor), Chief Justice Forbes, Archdeacon Scott, and Mr. Secretary Macleay; non-official—Messrs. John Macarthur, Robert Campbell, sen., and Charles Throsby. The Executive Council were Colonel Stewart, Chief Justice Forbes, Archdeacon Scott, and the Colonial Secretary.

The fineness of the seasons and the extraordinary success which had attended pastoral pursuits for a few preceding years; the consequent influx of numbers of persons of capital who desired to embark in grazing, and the brilliant expectations excited by the extensive operations of the Australian Agricultural Company, occasioned at this period so remarkable a rise in the price of live stock that many of the old settlers, who possessed large flocks and herds, suddenly found themselves very wealthy men. The example of the fortunes they had so easily accumulated, or rather which had been thrust upon them, served to stimulate other colonists, as well as new arrivals, and the consequence was that a perfect mania for the possession of sheep and cattle was the result. Dr. Lang, an eye-witness and a close observer of the excitement which followed, says: "Those only who witnessed the infatuation of multitudes in England on the formation of joint-stock companies in 1825, or the railway companies of a later period, will be able to form any idea of the state of things that immediately ensued in New South Wales; for no sooner had the Australian Agricultural Company been duly announced and its operations commenced in right earnest, than the sheep and cattle mania instantly seized all ranks and classes of its inhabitants. This mania evinced itself in impelling whomsoever it seized to the cattle market; and as my own residence in Sydney at that period was in the immediate vicinity of that busy scene, I had frequent opportunities of observing the congregated patients, and abundant reason to wonder how the matter would end: for barristers and attorneys; military officers of every rank, and civilians of every department; clergymen and medical men; merchants, settlers, and dealers in general, were there seen promiscuously mingled together, outbidding each other in the most determined manner, either

in their own persons or by proxies of certified agricultural character, for the purchase of every scabbed sheep, or scarecrow horse, or buffalo cow, that was offered for sale. It was universally allowed that the calculations of the projectors of the Agricultural Company could not possibly be inaccurate. Their statements and reasonings were supported by arithmetical arguments, and it was made as clear as the daylight to the comprehension of stupidity itself, that the owner of a certain number of sheep or cattle in New South Wales must, in a certain number of years, infallibly make an independent fortune. It was consequently determined on all hands and by all sorts of persons that the Agricultural Company should not be the only reaper of this golden harvest. The professional men and the Sydney merchants, who had become extensive sheep and cattle owners, generally employed hired overseers to manage their flocks in the interior; but there were individuals, even among these classes, who thought the matter too good to be entrusted to a deputy, and accordingly followed their purchases to the interior themselves. . . . The soldier unbuttoned his military belt to become a keeper of sheep; and the priest. . . forsook his altar to become a herdsman of cattle. In all cases in which the purchaser had money to pay for his sheep and cattle, money was paid; but where money was not forthcoming, as was generally the case, credit was allowed, if the individual was supposed to be a person of substance; and security was often tendered and accepted on the purchaser's land. One gentleman, who had a large herd of inferior cattle, got them disposed of in this way, to respectable free settlers, at the rate of ten guineas a-head, with security on the purchasers' land for two years, and ten per cent. interest besides on the whole amount of the purchase, till its ultimate payment. . . . If advice was given in company, it was by all means to get good stock, for there was nothing like it. If a difference of opinion arose, it was either whether Saxon or Merino, or fine or coarse woolled sheep, were the most profitable, or whether it was advantageous to attend exclusively to the wool, or to combine with all due attention to that matter of universally acknowledged interest a proper regard for the carcase. In short, the whole community seemed for a considerable period to have only one idea; and this exclusive and universally predominant idea was, that of rapidly acquiring an independent fortune by the rearing of sheep and cattle."

Following this extravagant spirit of speculation in sheep and cattle came extravagance in other ways. Large quantities of goods, far beyond the legitimate requirements of the colonists, and including an undue proportion of articles of luxury and extravagance, were imported. Houses, furniture, equipages, dress, all increased in cost and in display. The profits of stock-keeping were to pay for all. The bucolic spirit of the antipodes was not one of rough simplicity and rural economy, but of costly ostentation and gaudy show. A crash of course followed. The season 1826 proved to be the last of a favourable series. A drought of three years' duration ensued, and the eyes of those who had suffered from the sheep and cattle mania were opened. Almost all the owners of live stock were under heavy liabilities. Bills had to be met and engagements redeemed in the face of rapidly falling markets. The folly of the extravagant prices, and the profuse rate of expenditure which had been indulged in, was seen, yet few had the honesty and moral courage to retrace their steps until it was too late. It was easy to commence the indulgence of expensive habits, but difficult, if not impossible, to economise in the face of rival neighbours and watchful creditors. To cut down expenses, to dismiss servants, and to do away with horses and carriages, was to confess the near approach of pecuniary embarrassment, and thus to precipitate the dreaded crisis. Few have hardihood enough to retrench while bills are becoming due which they are not prepared to meet. Most people think it bad policy to do so, and very few consider that common honesty demands it.

The financial crash which followed the exciting sheep and cattle speculations of 1826 was of the most disastrous character. As everybody had bought at high prices almost at the same time, and a large majority of the purchasers had given long-dated bills in payment, when these bills began to fall due everybody wanted to sell almost simultaneously in order to meet their engagements. Week after week and month after month, as cattle were forced upon the market, prices continued to fall, until the value of a beast was measured by shillings instead of pounds. Distress and ruin fell upon scores of respectable persons who had been accounted wealthy but a few months before. In face of the prevailing drought, and the sudden and startling fall in value, nobody would buy except at prices which would hardly cover the cost of sending to market. The financial difficulty thus arising was aggra-

vated by large sums of money having to be sent out of the country for breadstuffs, for those who expected to make their fortunes by sheep and cattle thought agriculture almost beneath their notice, so that in the exciting chase of pastoral riches very little wheat or maize had been planted, and much of what was planted had been destroyed by the drought. In order to lessen their expenses, strong pressure was brought to bear upon the Governor by the official and exclusive class to induce him to relax the regulations fixing the rations which they were compelled to provide for their assigned servants. Darling at last granted the request, the scale was reduced, and this circumstance was eagerly taken hold of by his opponents to bring him into still greater odium with the populace. The reduction was not an unreasonable one considering the scarcity and high price of bread—wheat was thirty shillings a bushel; but people suffering from privation are not very reasonable and are easily excited, and the discontented seldom fail to place their privations at the door of their rulers. The opposition press was loud in its denunciations of the Governor and his advisers, while the official journal, the Sydney Gazette, by its indiscreet advocacy and sycophantish twaddle helped to render them ridiculous.

Previous to the period of the financial crash above spoken of a case had occurred, known as that of Sudds and Thompson—which, although exceedingly grave in some of its aspects, was made to assume, under the influence of party prejudice and personal rancour, so much of a political character that the real significance of the facts themselves was, to a great extent, overlooked or absorbed in other considerations. Sudds and Thompson were soldiers of the 57th regiment, who, thinking the lot of convicts preferable to their own, committed a felony, by stealing a piece of cloth from a shop in George-street, for the express purpose of getting themselves convicted, hoping thus to escape from the irksomeness of military service. It is asserted that the wealth and luxury in which many persons who had been convicts were living, was too strong a temptation to these men, who believed that after being convicted and suffering a short sentence they should emerge into a condition where advantages would be within their reach which would enable them to acquire the means of similar enjoyment. The motive which led to the commission of the crime was disclosed on their trial, and it was asserted that other soldiers had committed offences for the same

purposes, and that there was wide-spread discontent among the military at the inferior position, as regards liberty and comfort, which they enjoyed in comparison with ticket-of-leave men and emancipists.

The men were convicted by the civil power, and sentenced to seven years transportation to one of the northern settlements. This of course was just what they wanted and expected. But Governor Darling, fearing the consequences, it is said, of such an example, and determined to prevent the spread of such dangerous notions among the soldiers, determined to take the men out of the custody of the civil power and punish them in a manner which he thought calculated to deter others from committing offences of a similar kind. In pursuance of a General Order which he issued as Commander of the Forces, the two men were taken from the custody of the jailor, brought to the Barrack-square in Sydney, and in the presence of the assembled military it was announced that their sentence had been changed to seven years hard labour in irons on the roads, and that at the expiration of that period of punishment they were to be returned to their regiment; they were then stripped of their uniform, and having been dressed in prison clothes, iron collars with long projecting spikes were rivetted round their necks and fetters and chains on their legs. They were then marched off to gaol, with the band playing the Rogue's March. The tragical results which followed will best be told in the words of the survivor of these misguided and unfortunate men, as given at his examination, on the 23rd April, 1827, on board the Phoenix hulk. Sudds is stated to have been previously a remarkably well conducted man, but Thompson's character was not so good, and it is believed that it was owing to his evil advice that Sudds engaged in the scheme.

EXAMINATION OF PATRICK THOMPSON.

"We were taken to the parade ground, and the regimentals taken off us, and a suit of yellow cloth put on each of us, and a General Order read to us by Brigade Major Gillman, by the order of his Excellency General Darling. After the Order was read to us, a set of irons was put on each of us. The irons consisted of a collar, which went round each of our necks, and chains were fastened to the collar on each side of the shoulder, and reached from thence to the basil, which was placed about three inches from each ankle. There was a piece of iron which projected from the collar before and behind, about eight inches at each place. The projecting irons would not allow me to stretch myself at full length on my back. I could sleep on my back by contracting my legs. I could not lie at full length on either side without contracting my legs. I could not stand upright with the irons on. The basil of the irons would not slip up my legs, and the chains were too short to

allow me to stand upright. I was never measured for the irons; and Sudds' collar was too small for his neck, and the basils for his legs, which were swollen. I never heard him say he had the dropsy in the West Indies. Sudds was turned out of the hospital the morning of the punishment, and taken to the barracks about an hour afterwards. Sudds was taken from the hospital to the Sessions on the 6th November; he appeared to be very ill, inasmuch that the man who was handcuffed with him was obliged to sit down on the grass in the court-yard in order to enable him to lie down. He continued in that way till after his trial.

"After the yellow clothes and the irons were put on us in manner before mentioned, we were drummed out of the regiment, the *Rogue's March* being played after us by two or three drummers and fifers. We were not drummed out in the usual way, which is, to put a rope about the neck, cut off the facings, and place a piece of paper on the back, with a description of the offence which the party may have committed. Instead of this, we had the inshacon and the yellow clothing. On our return to the same ward in the jail, Sudds sat down with his back to the wall, saying, that he was very ill, and wished to go to the hospital again, but he did not go to the hospital till next morning. The basils of his irons cut his legs during the time we were coming from the barracks to the gaol; it was owing to the sharpness of the basil and the weight of it that we were cut. The night of the day of punishment, Sudds was so ill that we were obliged to get a candle about eight o'clock from Wilson the under-jailer, in order to keep up a light during the night. I gave him some tea which I had purchased. About ten o'clock he was very ill; I requested a fellow-prisoner to get up and look at him, thinking he was dying. The fellow-prisoner, whose name I do not know, did look at him, and said he was not dying, but he did not think he would live long. I then asked Sudds if he had any friends to whom he would wish to write. He said he had a wife and child in Gloucestershire, and begged that if he did not get better by the next night, I would read some pious book to him, adding, 'that they had put him in them irons until they had killed him.'"

The report of the medical officer of the gaol upon the case of Sudds, was as follows:—

"On the 24th November, he was admitted into the gaol hospital; on admission, the irons in which he was confined were removed (immediately), and medicines administered. He refused sustenance of every kind, except a little tea; and in talking to him of his disgrace, he declared he never would work in irons, and wished himself out of the world. Finding him in a state of delirium on the 28th instant, he was removed to the General Hospital, where he gradually became worse, and expired the following morning.

"After a minute dissection of the body, no apparent disease was found to exist to account for his immediate death.

"JAMES M'INTYRE."

The Governor and his friends endeavoured to account for the death of Sudds, by stating that he had previously suffered from dropsy, and that he had been neglected by the medical officer; but they were able to produce no evidence in support of their allegations. The man appears to have been of feeble constitution, with a highly sensitive organisation, and his death was in all probability more owing to extreme mental

anguish than to actual bodily suffering, although the punishment of wearing irons nearly fifteen pounds in weight—the principal instrument of torture being a ring or collar round the neck with long spikes which prevented the body from reclining or assuming any attitude of ease—could not have been a light one. The death of the unfortunate soldier, however, was a result which neither Darling nor his advisers desired or anticipated. It was the consequence of a lamentable error of judgment on the part of a narrow-minded man, who was not naturally of a cruel disposition, but who, having been trained in an arbitrary military school, had acquired despotic habits and imbibed a contempt for legal rights and constitutional forms and privileges, which rendered him wholly unfit for the position in which he was placed.

As might have been expected, the death of Sudds was seized upon by the Governor's opponents, not merely as a ground for renewed and more stinging attacks upon his conduct and character, but as a means of making party and political capital for themselves. The effect of this course was that many who in their hearts most strongly condemned the cruel conduct and mistaken policy which led to the death of Sudds, were driven by party influences and class interests to side with the Governor's friends and apologists. The official journal, the *Sydney Gazette*, with its usual subserviency and stupidity, not only defended Darling's illegal and absurd acts, and eulogised his character, but indulged in coarse vituperation and unprovoked abuse of all who were believed to entertain opposite opinions. The independent journals, the *Australian* and *Monitor*, were by this means goaded into violent attacks upon the Governor and his personal friends, and the case of Sudds and Thompson afforded abundant materials to light up the fires of class animosity for years. A sense of the gravity of the offence of which the Governor had undoubtedly been guilty, was thus obscured by party prejudice until it was almost lost in the violence of unreasoning clamour.

The bitterness of feeling engendered against Governor Darling, in consequence of the tyrannical proceedings which resulted in the death of Sudds, was never in the slightest degree allayed during the remainder of his administration. Mr. Wentworth, then "the chief leader of the colonial liberals," drew up a formal impeachment against his Excellency, which it is said he caused to be delivered by an attorney at Government House; and threatened never to lose

sight of so great a criminal until he had brought him to justice. In pursuance of this object, repeated attempts were made to bring the matter before the House of Commons; and shortly after General Darling's return to England, in the early part of 1832, Mr. Maurice O'Connell made renewed efforts to procure the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the circumstances. These efforts were unsuccessful for a long time, but at length, in 1835, the committee was granted. When the investigation commenced, however, it was found that Mr. O'Connell was prepared with no sufficient evidence to support his charges, and Darling was consequently declared to be honourably acquitted. He was almost immediately afterwards knighted, and was looked upon in England, where the real facts of the case were almost unknown, as the victim of spiteful accusations and grossly exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded, charges.

In estimating the degree of blame to be attached to Governor Darling for his conduct in the case of Sudds and Thompson, it is necessary to take into consideration all the circumstances by which he was surrounded and influenced. His friends and apologists allege that there was at that time a strong feeling prevalent among the soldiers that they could better their condition by becoming convicts, because they saw around them numbers of well-to-do and even wealthy people, who had but lately emerged from that condition; and knew that many whose sentences were unexpired were practically free, and were earning wages and in the enjoyment of luxuries compared to which the condition, the pay, and the food of a soldier meant slavery, poverty, and privation; that they had at all times before their eyes what may be called the prizes of convictism—examples of the lucky or the clever few, who had emerged from suffering and degradation into a condition of comparative respectability and wealth, while the opposite side of the picture of prison or convict life was almost hidden from notice. If the soldiers really entertained these pernicious and dangerous notions to the extent which the friends of the Governor alleged, he would undoubtedly have been justified in taking measures of a very stringent kind to prevent the consequences which might naturally have been expected to ensue. Such a state of feeling on the part of the military must have presented one of those extreme cases which would justify a Governor in setting the common forms of law at defiance, and acting according to the best of his own judgment for the welfare of the community. But it is unfortunate

for Darling and his apologists that not the slightest proof has ever been adduced of the truth of their allegations respecting the soldiers; and all that is known concerning the sentiments of the military on such matters leads to the belief that the case of Sudds and Thompson was a rare and exceptional one. That Darling believed in the prevalence of an unhealthy and perhaps dangerous feeling among the soldiers is probable. It is inconceivable that he should have taken the extraordinary course which led to the death of Sudds, unless such was the case. That he was mistaken there can be little doubt, and under such circumstances the best excuse that can be offered for him is the old and very poor one of good intentions.

Like most little-minded men, Governor Darling was extremely sensitive to the strictures of the Press, and he writhed under the castigation which had been provoked by the absurd eulogiums on himself and the inexcusable violence towards his opponents indulged in by the official journal respecting the case of Sudds and Thompson. Forgetting that he or his creatures had been the aggressors in this war of words, as soon as he found himself attacked in return he determined, in accordance with his usual high-handed proceedings, to put down the Press, or to shackle it in such a manner as to prevent all freedom of discussion. This design could not, of course, be achieved without the concurrence of the Legislative Council. But he anticipated no difficulty in that direction, for all the members of the Council who were not officials were his own nominees,—and nominated legislators have generally been the willing tools of power. Governor Darling's plan was to pass two acts,—one of them rendering the publication of newspapers illegal without a license; which license should in no case continue in force for more than a year, and might be withdrawn at any time at the pleasure of the Government; by the second act it was intended to impose a heavy stamp duty on each copy of a newspaper published. It was fortunate at this time that the colony possessed a man whose position, talents, and courage, enabled him to prevent the accomplishment of Darling's tyrannical designs. This was Mr. Forbes, the Chief Justice, without whose signature, certifying that its provisions were in accordance with the law of England, no act of the colonial legislature could be valid.

Mr. Forbes, foreseeing from Darling's conduct that the arbitrary proceedings of the Government would sooner or

later call for decided action on his part, had at an early period withdrawn as much as possible from all participation in the measures of the administration, and he took little pains to conceal his opinion of their character and tendency. Knowing, probably, the impediments which the Chief Justice would be likely to interpose to his plans for trammeling the Press, and determined to bear down all opposition, Darling took care, in applying to him for the necessary sanction to his measures, to arm himself with authority from Downing-street. But the Judge, who was not to be frightened into the performance of an illegal act, declined to comply with the Governor's wishes. The contest which thereupon took place between the executive and judicial branches of the Government was a long and bitter one, and as its issue was of the greatest importance to the liberty and happiness of the colonists, the facts deserve a much wider publicity than they have yet received. In addition to matters of considerable political interest, they show the admirable conduct and character of a Judge to whom, more than to any other man, Australians are indebted for the introduction and preservation of two of the most boasted institutions of their fatherland—trial by jury and the liberty of the press.

Darling commenced his attempts to influence the Chief Justice in a very cautious and artful way. His first communication did not contain any direct proposal from himself that the press should be fettered, but enclosed a despatch from the Colonial Office, in which it was suggested that a law should be enacted by the local government "that no newspaper be published without a license to be applied for to the Governor; that such license should in no case continue in force for more than one year, and that it should be made resumable before the expiration of the year, if an order to that effect be issued by the Governor with the advice of his Executive Council." Further, "that each number of each successive newspaper ought also to be subjected to a stamp duty," and that the proceeds of such duty should be devoted to "defraying the charges of printing public acts, proclamations, and orders." Chief Justice Forbes intimated in a very guarded manner, in reply to this scheme, that the proposal to grant to the press a license resumable at pleasure contained a principle repugnant to the law of England; and suggested that it would be better to suspend any legislative action on the subject. General Darling thereupon rejoined: "The intemperate tone of the papers has increased to an alarming,

if not dangerous, degree. I shall therefore be obliged to you to give the subject further consideration, and let me know how far you feel yourself at liberty to sanction the measures directed by Lord Bathurst." The threat implied in the last sentence was unheeded by the Chief Justice, who said in reply, "I shall be quite ready to certify any ordinance *so far as I am authorised by law.*" Darling would not thus be foiled, but, upon receipt of this cautious reply, transmitted to the Chief Justice drafts of two bills, which he took care to assure him were "in conformity with the instructions contained in Earl Bathurst's despatch," and which he desired him to certify "with as little delay as possible." The Chief Justice again said that he could not certify to the legality of an act "which made licenses resumable at his Excellency's pleasure;" and again begged that legislation might be postponed in order that the question might be referred to the English law officers; because, he said, "I am anxious to avoid setting my hand solemnly to a certificate that a measure recommended by so high an authority as the Secretary of State is repugnant to the law of England."

Darling, upon the receipt of this answer, assumed a more dictatorial attitude. "The safety of the colony," he rejoined, "is endangered by the present licentiousness of the press, and it would be inconsistent with my duty to await the result of a reference to his Majesty's Government. . . . It therefore only remains for me again to transmit to you the bills in order to their being certified. . . . His Majesty's Government having directed these measures, which you as Chief Justice are required to sanction." The domineering Governor then goes on to scold the Chief Justice for his conduct in refusing to affix his signature to the bills, and assures him that Judge Pedder, in Van Diemen's Land, had sanctioned a much more stringent measure against the press. He requests the stubborn judge, if he still persists in his refusal, to give his reasons at length, in order that he, "who considered the proposed measures essential to the tranquility if not to the safety of the colony," might be able to justify himself to the Secretary of State for not having complied with his instructions. The Chief Justice replied in a manner and with reasons that were unanswerable. The laws of England, he said, had been found amply sufficient to restrict the licentiousness of the press; and until local acts, framed in accordance with Imperial statutes, had been tried and found insufficient, no departure from English precedent could

be justified. "The laws of England," such were his words, "have been declared sufficient to restrain the licentiousness of the Press by the most eminent judges in England: they have proved themselves sufficient on the most alarming occasions, and until their effect be fully tried here it is impossible to assume with anything approaching to conviction that they would not be found equally efficacious in this colony, where the jury are military officers appointed by your Excellency, and not likely to be influenced by erroneous notions of the liberty of the Press. Your Excellency is perfectly aware that up to this moment there has not been a solitary instance of prosecution for libel by the Attorney-General, although the safety of the colony is said to be endangered by the licentiousness of the Press." He concluded by flatly refusing to certify that the proposed licensing bill was in accordance with the law of England.

Failing to get his proposed Licensing Act certified, Darling fell back upon the stamp duty. To carry out his wishes a bill was prepared in which the amount of duty was left blank, and in that state it was transmitted to the Chief Justice for his signature. He certified that the principle of a stamp on newspapers was not repugnant to the law of England, and as no amount of duty was named in the draft or skeleton bill, he naturally concluded that so soon as that point had been decided he would be called upon for a formal certificate as required by law. The wily Governor, however, having got his signature to the skeleton of the bill, did not wait for his sanction of the amount of duty, but called the Council together, and, in the absence of the Chief Justice, filled in the blank with fourpence. The Chief Justice, upon hearing what had been done, said that he had been entrapped into an appearance of compliance with the Governor's wishes, and, to set himself right, wrote at once to Darling denying that he had certified to the bill as passed, and positively refusing to certify to such an imposition as a tax of fourpence upon every copy of a newspaper published. A long correspondence ensued, pending the result of which the duty of fourpence on each paper was levied by the Government, but Darling, finding his position wholly untenable, at last gave way, and the tax was abandoned.

The Chief Justice, having thus been forced into a position of antagonism to the executive branch of the Government, wrote to Lord Bathurst, entering fully into the whole subject of the contest about gagging the Press, and giving his reasons

for refusing to comply with the Governor's wishes. The despatch received from Downing Street, in answer to the Chief Justice's letter, seemed to indicate that the remarkable instructions which directed Darling to propose the enactment of press licensing and stamp duty acts must have been written in consequence of misrepresentations or exaggerations as to the state of the colony having been sent home ; which misrepresentations had been corrected by the Chief Justice's letter, for the reply informed Governor Darling that "the law officers of the Crown have expressed their opinion that in refusing to grant his certificate to the act for licensing newspapers Mr. Forbes correctly executed his duty ; and that the reasons assigned by him for that decision were valid and sufficient. And further, that they thought the Judge had done his duty correctly in acting upon the opinion he had formed in reference to the fourpenny stamp duty."

The Sydney Gazette, Darling's official journal, upon the result of the Chief Justice's appeal to England being made known, exceeded its previous efforts in fulsome laudation and misplaced eulogy of its patron. It actually had the effrontery to claim the gratitude of the community for Darling "as the generous preserver of the liberty of the Press." The following extracts afford striking examples of the depth of abasement to which journalism, under the control of almost irresponsible power, could descend:—"How such a monstrous proposition as that of putting down the Press, as it is emphatically termed, could have presented itself to any mind, under the present enlightened, liberal, and assiduous administration of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Darling, is a problem which may be solved by the public, but which, as far as our comprehension extends, must ever continue shrouded in mystery. . . We speak what we hear drop from the lips of almost every colonist, and in proportion as the scales drop from the eyes of the people, just in proportion will they be astonished how they could for a moment have been deceived with reference to the public measures of a ruler whose views with regard to the real welfare of the colony were gradually developing themselves, of the substantial excellence of which every tongue, and even those who were wont to condemn, is loud in praise."—Sydney Gazette, February 28, 1828. The next publication of the Gazette capped the foregoing specimen of mendacious flattery, by an article of which the following is a specimen:—"We have hopes, and strong hopes too, in the magnanimity and

liberality of our ruler; and we are inclined to surmise that he who has borne so much will develop an additional valuable trait in his character which will eternise the name of Darling as the glorious preserver of the liberty of the press."

It is difficult for the present generation of colonists, who have never experienced the evils connected with a slavish press, and who know only the blessings of unlicensed printing, to understand the passionate earnestness evinced by a large class of the community in the contest with Governor Darling; much less to estimate at its full worth the truly admirable conduct of the Chief Justice in connexion with this matter. It must be recollected that the colonists were at this time without trial by jury, without a legislative assembly, almost without a single popular right except the liberty of the press, which, although it had been but recently conferred, they had already learned to regard as, next to the Supreme Court, their most effectual protection against absolute power. It was fortunate for the people of New South Wales, that the Chief Justice was not only a sound constitutional lawyer, but a man whose courage was equal to his capacity. It is due to Sir Francis Forbes to give in his own words his account of the painful position in which he was placed, during Darling's attacks upon the press, by refusing to comply with the Governor's reiterated requests or rather commands. In a letter to Sir Wilmot Horton, he said:—"You have no doubt read all my correspondence with the Governor with care—let me beg of you to throw back upon it a passing glance. I had been deputed by Parliament to discharge a sacred duty. It was to see that the laws of the empire were not encroached upon. I was called upon by the Governor to perform this duty. I did so to the best of my judgment and ability. I refused to certify General Darling's bills because I thought them repugnant to law—because I felt I should compromise my oath and my honor if I sanctioned them. His Excellency's function was at an end and I had performed mine,—what legal right could the Governor claim to press me further, or to endeavour to alarm me into compliance? Does the correspondence which passed between us in April and May last [1827] present the calm, the temperate, the courteous application of one high officer to another, calling upon him to perform a deliberate act upon his own judgment and responsibility?—or is it like the mandate of a superior to an inferior, intimating his duty and warning him of the peril of disobedience? . . . I have patiently borne many things

which under other circumstances I should have felt it due to my office to resent. I have sacrificed much, and I am prepared to sacrifice more upon the altar of peace; but there is a point beyond which I must not go;—at all hazards I must preserve the judgment seat free from the appearance of an improper influence; and in doing this I shall afford the Governor a far more effectual support than by suffering myself to be involved in the spirit of party which at present divides the Government and the people. I hope too that the time is not distant when the Governor will have learned from experience how to estimate the value of an independent tribunal, and be convinced that what he deems support would have been considered as subserviency, and what he deems opposition is only that high-toned inflexible justice which is at once the best protection of the public and the safest guard of the Government. I have not allowed any feeling, however, to interfere with that respect which is due to the Governor, nor to prevent my giving him all the best advice I can in council; but I feel that I have no business there. What would Lord Chief Justice Abbott do at the Horse Guards? How long would his lordship be there before he would be accused of mutiny and sedition?"

General Darling, having thus failed to carry into effect his arbitrary measures for the purpose of restraining the liberty of the press, had no other means left but to retire altogether from the contest he had so unwisely provoked, or to direct the existing law to be put in force. He chose the latter, and prosecution soon waxed fast and furious. The publishers of both the offending papers were prosecuted both civilly and criminally. Mr. E. S. Hall, the editor of the Monitor, was, within a short time, convicted of no less than seven offences against the libel law, was fined many hundreds of pounds, and received an aggregate sentence of upwards of three years' imprisonment. The publisher of the Australian, Mr. E. S. Hayes, was convicted of libel upon the Governor in accusing him of having substituted his own will for the law in the case of Sudds, and sentenced to a fine of £100 and six months' imprisonment, and others were dealt with in a similar manner. These cases, it should be remembered, were tried by military juries nominated by the Governor. To escape the stamp duty, during the short period that it was illegally levied, Mr. Hall was driven to publish his paper in the shape of a weekly magazine; and it is a fact in the highest degree disgraceful

to Darling and his advisers that they did not hesitate to persecute as well as to prosecute that gentleman in the most vindictive manner. In many cases the civil servants of the Government were compelled by General Darling's imperative commands to prosecute the unfortunate editor on grounds of a most trivial character; and the Governor himself absolutely stooped to the impropriety and meanness of frequently worrying the Attorney-General and other legal gentlemen engaged in these prosecutions because they did not proceed as fast and exact their penalties as rigorously as he desired. The number of prosecutions for libel during the years 1828 and 29, was very great, and indeed the court was occupied during the principal part of its sittings in little else. Some of the newspaper attacks upon the Governor and his friends were no doubt of a very unscrupulous character, and many of them wholly unjustifiable; while, upon the other hand, some of the prosecutions were based upon most trifling and trumpery grounds; a specimen of the latter, in a case in which Mr. Hall was convicted, will serve to give an idea of the whole. Archdeacon Scott, one of the strongest advisers of the Governor's tyrannical proceedings, was alluded to in the Monitor as "not a man of peace." Upon the publication of this comparatively harmless expression an information was filed against Mr. Hall by order of the Governor. The case was tried by a military jury, in the composition of which the Governor took unusual pains to include certain officers and to exclude others. Mr. Hall was of course convicted, and was fined and compelled to enter into heavy recognisances.

Archdeacon Scott entered into the persecution directed against Mr. Hall with more bitterness than even the Governor himself; and some of the circumstances under which he displayed his animosity were of a very unseemly nature. Mr. Hall, who had for several years occupied a pew in St. James's Church, found on attending divine service with his family one Sunday morning, that the door of the pew had been fastened, by order of the Archdeacon, and that he was denied admittance. Indignant at this monstrous proceeding, Mr. Hall did not hesitate to climb over the side of the pew, wrench off the fastening, and admit his family. Before the following Sunday, however, the Archdeacon took effectual steps to exclude Mr. Hall, by having the pew decked over, so that to enter it was impossible. The scandalous conduct of the Archdeacon enlisted public feeling very strongly against him, and Mr. Hall, who was not the man to put up

quietly with such treatment, was by no means wanting in virulence and bitterness towards his sacerdotal enemy. Governor Darling's animosity too, was shown in acts of a most petty and undignified character. Mr. Hall was engaged in grazing as well as in publishing a newspaper, and was entitled, according to government regulations, to a certain quantity of leasehold land on which to depasture his stock. Upon making the usual application for his lease, soon after the publication of some articles reflecting upon the administration, he was flatly refused, upon the express ground of his connexion with a newspaper which published articles inimical to the Governor and his friends. He was also deprived of his assigned servants for the same reason, and the proprietor of the government paper was interdicted from allowing his men, after their day's work in the Gazette Office was done, to assist in printing the Monitor.

The prosecutions directed against the editors of the Monitor and the Australian, although they resulted in the imprisonment of both, did not stop the publication of their papers or greatly subdue their tone towards the Government. They were certainly rendered more cautious in the use of expressions which the law could take hold of, but their attacks, if less violent, were not less stinging or effective. Mr. Hall remained in gaol for many months; but was liberated upon the accession of King William IV., an occasion which Governor Darling—departing from his usual course of conduct—gracefully took advantage of to show a degree of magnanimity for the possession of which few had given him credit. The Chief Justice, although he had successfully opposed the adoption of illegal and oppressive measures against the press, had no sympathy with the abuse of that liberty which he so much admired and upheld; and in charges for libel tried before him, where liberty had degenerated into license, as was undoubtedly the case in several of the articles in the Monitor and the Australian on which prosecutions were founded, the sentences were by no means remarkable for their leniency. Mr. Forbes had a very difficult part to play in checking the abuse of almost irresponsible power on the one hand, and in vindicating the law and restraining the licentiousness of the Press on the other. For the manner in which this upright judge and truly constitutional lawyer performed his high duties, at a period of great social and political excitement, his memory deserves

to be held by the colonists of New South Wales in grateful remembrance.

The contest between Governor Darling and the colonists about restricting the liberty of the Press had not terminated when there arose a source of social and political agitation of a still more wide-spread character, although the contest, being of a less personal nature, did not perhaps involve quite so much bitterness of tone and temper. This new political movement was commenced for the double purpose of obtaining trial by jury and an elective legislature. The injustice of the largely increased taxation imposed by General Darling, by which the colonists contended that they were made to pay heavily towards the coercion and management of the British criminal class landed upon their shores, was the principal ground upon which those who headed the agitation urged their claims for an elective legislature. It is clear that the system of taxation enforced was highly impolitic and objectionable, and that its effect on the industrial energies of the colonists was most repressive. Whether, however, its amount could be fairly considered excessive, or whether it was applied to purposes which ought in fairness to have been defrayed from imperial funds, may be questioned, when the profuse grants of land, the vast Commissariat expenditure, and the enormous value of the labour by which the transportation system was accompanied, are taken into consideration; but as the agitation for an elective legislature was fruitless for many years, it would be somewhat anticipating the order of events to discuss the subject here. The endeavour to secure the right of trial by jury was, however, more quickly successful, and with this part of the subject it is now proposed to deal.

The Imperial Act 9th George IV., cap. 83,—“An Act to provide for the Administration of Justice in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, and for the more effectual Government thereof, and for other purposes relating thereto”—frequently called the Constitution Act—a measure passed after much agitation in New South Wales and lengthy parliamentary discussions in England—had given power to the Governors and Legislatures of New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, to extend, or rather to introduce, trial by jury into those colonies. The first local act, in compliance with this concession, was 10 Geo. IV., No. 8, which came into operation on the 9th October, 1829. Its provisions,

however, were such that it only served to increase a social and political contest which was before sufficiently bitter. It conferred a discretionary power upon the Judges of the Supreme Court, enabling them to order a trial by a jury of twelve civilians in any civil case in which either of the parties to the suit should claim to have it so tried. This, although at first sight it might seem but a small concession, was in reality a very important one; and the mode in which it could be successfully wielded against the previously almost irresponsible power of the Government and the overwhelming influence possessed by government officials, under the magisterial assessors and military jury system, was soon tested. The case of the persecution, by Archdeacon Scott, of Mr. Hall, the editor of the *Monitor* newspaper, in the matter of his pew in St. James's Church, has been before mentioned. From two magisterial assessors, any more than from a military jury chosen by the Governor, Mr. Hall well knew that he could not hope for a verdict; but as soon as the new jury act was passed, he commenced an action for damages against his clerical oppressor. It was the first civil action ever tried in Australia before a jury of twelve citizens, and the result, as might have been anticipated from the facts previously stated, was a verdict for the plaintiff with damages.

The new act, however, although satisfactory enough in some respects, was very unsatisfactory in others to a large section of the colonists, as it was framed, or rather interpreted, by those to whom was entrusted the duty of bringing it into operation, so as to exclude from the jury box all persons of the emancipist class. The measure was consequently regarded by numbers of reputable and wealthy colonists as placing them in a worse position than they before occupied. The clause which was interpreted as disqualifying from sitting on juries all persons transported to the colony, but whose sentences had expired, made use of words to the following effect: "And be it further enacted and declared that no man shall be qualified to serve on such jury who hath been or shall be attainted of crime, unless he shall have received for such crime a pardon." It was contended, and the construction was acted upon by the magistrates, to whom was entrusted the duty of revising the jury lists, that the only persons amongst the class transported to the colony who were eligible to serve as jurors was that small fraction who had received the royal pardon under the great seal; and that all those—that is the great bulk of the emancipists—whose

sentences had expired by effluxion of time, were excluded, because it could not be said that they had been "pardoned." This construction was upheld by the Attorney-General, and was for a time regarded by the Government and the exclusives as beyond dispute. Even the emancipists themselves, although regarding the act as glaringly unjust, as it placed property in dispute between them and persons of the exclusive class almost at the disposal of the latter, had little to urge against the conclusion arrived at with respect to its wording. It at length oozed out, however, that the opinion of the highest legal authority in the colony, Chief Justice Forbes, who had prepared the bill, although he was not the author of the disqualifying clause, was adverse to that of the Attorney-General, and in favour of the claims of the emancipists to sit on juries. Upon learning this the emancipists urged their claims for a wider interpretation of the act with confidence and energy. To set the matter at rest, the Governor addressed a letter to the two judges (Forbes and Stephen) asking for their judicial opinion. The Chief Justice's reply to his Excellency's letter placed it beyond doubt that persons whose sentences had expired were, if not otherwise disqualified, entitled to have their names upon the jury roll. He said, "I think the view taken by the Council is too narrow, and that persons who have served their terms of transportation are eligible as jurors." He pointed out that by the imperial act known as the Transportation Act, 4 Geo. I., all persons who had served their terms were expressly restored to all their rights; and that the act from which the clause in the local act was copied (Peel's Jury Act) was merely declaratory, and while entitling certain persons—that is, those who had received the King's pardon before the full term of their sentences had expired—to sit as jurors, did by no means take away that right from those who had before enjoyed it.

Judge Forbes's opinion, as might have been expected, was by no means convincing to those who were determined not to be convinced. The result was, that although the names of many emancipists were placed upon the jury list, and they were sometimes summoned to perform the duties of jurors, their opponents did not relax their efforts to exclude them whenever possible. It is satisfactory however to those who admire the talents and respect the memory of Chief Justice Forbes, to know that his opinion has never been questioned by any judge who has since occupied the bench in this

country. The subject continued to be agitated for several years afterwards, and it was not, in fact, finally settled until August, 1833, when all the then judges,—viz., Forbes, Dowling, and Burton, embodied in a formal document, which took the shape of a letter to the Colonial Secretary, an authoritative decision on the question. This letter of the three judges went more elaborately into the matter than Mr. Forbes in his previous letter to the Governor had thought necessary. They decided that, according to the law of England, transportable offences, with the exception of perjury, “create no disqualification, but only incapacitate the offender so long as he is deprived of his liberty.” Persons convicted of perjury, however, could, they said, be only restored to their rights as jurors by an act of parliament.

The importance attached to this question at that time can only be estimated now by a consideration of the peculiar circumstances which then prevailed. A very large class of wealthy and influential colonists—some transported many years before for political offences; many in early life for what would now be thought very trivial delinquencies; and others under circumstances not generally considered to involve personal degradation—all these and hundreds of others who had long repented of their crimes and had become good members of society, found themselves degraded, and their property liable to be placed in jeopardy before a tribunal composed of a small class of persons who, to say the least, were their political and social opponents, and in many instances their personal enemies. It should be recollected too, that the claims of the emancipists to act as jurors did not extend to persons who had been convicted of crime in the colony;—or in other words, they recognised the justice and policy of excluding from the jury box all who, after landing in Australia, had committed offences against the law;—they contended that a stringent clause of the Jury Act, which conferred upon the bench of magistrates the power of erasing from the list of jurors the names of all persons considered by them to be “of bad fame, or dishonest life or conduct, or of immoral character or repute,” was amply sufficient to preserve the purity of trial by jury, by excluding undesirable persons of whatever class.

It is needless to enter into the particulars of all the efforts made to extend the right to sit as jurors to the emancipists. They were only successful after a contest of several years' duration. The local act, 2 William IV., No. 3, which came

into operation on 3rd February, 1832, expressly conferred upon persons who had been transported, and whose sentences had expired, the right to serve as jurors in civil actions; provided such persons were otherwise qualified. Another local statute, 4 William IV., No. 12, which came into operation on 28th August, 1833, enacted that criminal cases—if the accused so desired—might be tried by common juries of twelve, with the same right of challenge as in England. Although military juries continued in existence for some time after the passing of the last mentioned act, and many cases of prisoners who did not claim to be tried by a common civil jury were tried by them, the contest between the emancipists and the exclusives respecting the right of the former to be placed upon the jury roll was thereby practically terminated.

Some of the circumstances which took place in connexion with the introduction of trial by jury are deserving of notice. In 1827, the editor of the Australian newspaper was prosecuted for a libel on Governor Darling by publishing an anonymous letter accusing his Excellency of pursuing a policy tending to retard the progress of the colony, and expressing an opinion that his departure would be a benefit. The libel, if it was a libel, was a very mild one, but the prominent position of the defendant as one of the only two barristers in private practice in the colony, and the bitterness of feeling then prevalent, created an unusual amount of interest in the result. At that period, even in civil actions, a civil jury could only be empaneled in cases where both parties consented. The Governor of course would not consent, but insisted upon the exercise of his undoubted legal right to have the case tried by a military jury nominated by himself. The unseemliness of such a course—to say nothing of its scandalous injustice—does not appear to have caused his Excellency any uneasiness; but, as the sequel will show, the officers chosen to try the case were not quite so thick-skinned. Before the jury was empaneled it was contended by the defendant that being military officers they were more under the control of the actual prosecutor than any servant was of his employer, because the Governor, as commander of the garrison, had a direct control over every one of them. The defendant also claimed the right to challenge the array, because the Governor in nominating the jurors had usurped a duty which at common law belonged to the sheriff; and because the prosecutor was about to try his own case by his own nominees. Lengthy

arguments ensued in support of the defendant's view of the case; but the law, however unjust, was clearly on the Governor's side, and the trial was directed to proceed. The evidence having been gone through, the jury retired, but were unable to agree, and remained locked up until midnight, when, the day of trial being Saturday, they were permitted to separate until Monday. Upon assembling again to consider their verdict, it was found that there was not the slightest chance of an agreement, and they were at length discharged. It is evident that in this case the position of the Governor was so glaringly unjust as to shock the sense of propriety of some of the jury, and that the length to which he carried the powers which the law had given him defeated the purpose for which they were exercised.

The first batch of special jurors summoned in which emancipists were included, contained several persons who were generally known to be of disreputable character, and others who were grossly ignorant; and it was suspected and believed at the time that these persons had been improperly and purposely included in the special jury list by the influence of those who were averse to the extension of the right to act as jurors to the emancipists, in order to bring disgrace upon the new system and those who supported it. The excuse offered in accounting for the presence of objectionable persons among the special jurors was, that the sheriff and under-sheriff were comparative strangers in the colony, and, being unacquainted with the emancipist class, had made mistakes in summoning some whose character and standing rendered their presence in the jury box undesirable. It is highly probable that the ignorance of the officers was taken advantage of by some designing persons of the exclusive party, to palm upon them the names of men notoriously unfit to perform the duties of special jurors. In one instance, when two persons of considerable wealth, but of objectionable character, had been empaneled on a jury, a fellow jurymen, on his name being called, addressed the Bench and protested against being obliged to sit with them. The judge replied in a manner calculated to stop any further remark at the time, but not so as to settle the question respecting the propriety of the objectionable persons being allowed to act as jurors. The jurymen who made the objection was Mr. Robert Campbell, then a very young man, afterwards one of the most prominent opponents of the continuance of transportation, and ultimately Colonial Treasurer. Some of the emancipists—many of whom

were absurdly sensitive on such matters, thought Mr. Campbell's objection was aimed at their whole class, and took the matter up as warmly as if they had received a personal insult. The reputable part of the community of all parties was, however, in Campbell's favour, and his readiness to rescue the administration of the law from disgrace, and his explanation of his conduct and motives, met with general approval. It is evident, although the bench of magistrates was clothed with express powers to purge the jury list of the names of all persons of bad repute, that the duty was very improperly and carelessly performed, and that, consequently, disreputable characters were frequently summoned to serve on juries—men not merely disqualified by their profligate and dishonest lives, but who did not even possess the required property qualification—a freehold of thirty pounds a year, or a personal estate of the value of three hundred pounds.

A scandalous proceeding on the part of some military jurors, which took place in April, 1830, assisted very materially in putting an end to the old military jury system. A jury of officers had been sitting for the trial of criminal cases in the Supreme Court, and when the business was concluded, the court proceeded to try civil causes. A special jury having been called, the jurymen found, on entering the box, that the desks before them were covered with inscriptions of a character most offensive to the judge and to civil juries. The writers of these scandalous scrawls expressed their detestation at having to sit in a place which had been "polluted by the canaille of Botany Bay," and at having to listen to "the blunders of a superannuated old whig." The last expression had reference probably to the well-known political leanings of the Chief Justice, whose efforts to introduce trial by jury in its most extended form, and whose sympathy with those who advocated a more liberal form of government for the colony, were well known. In the local politics of the time, and more especially in the phraseology of the persons who used it, the term whig implied the lowest radical leveller. The matter was brought under the notice of the judge then on the bench, who happened to be Mr. Dowling. His honor censured the conduct of the writers of the scandalous inscriptions in very strong terms, and intimated that, in his opinion, the Attorney-General ought to institute proceedings against them for a misdemeanour. Baxter, the Attorney-General, a man intemperate in habits and weak in mind, took no other

step in the matter than to suggest that a complaint should be addressed to the Governor as commander of the forces. It does not appear that anything was done, but the circumstance created so great a ferment in a community perhaps too easily excited on such a subject, that it aroused a feeling which never afterwards slumbered until military juries were altogether abolished.

It is a somewhat singular fact in connexion with the working of the military jury system, that the most notorious criminals, and persons well known as being of depraved and disreputable character, almost always preferred to be tried by military juries. They knew that they had a good chance of escape from officers whose social position and barrack life rendered them almost necessarily ignorant of a prisoner's antecedents, and incapable, from want of local knowledge and the absence of personal experience, of estimating accurately the true character of the evidence adduced. In fact, in their case the principal recommendation of a jury as an efficient tribunal was wanting—they were not the peers or equals of the prisoner, and, lacking the special qualification implied in that circumstance, were to a great extent groping in the dark, and just as likely to acquit a guilty man as an innocent one. The lesson to be derived from the long contests about juries is a very valuable one. It is in recording the results of the experience of predecessors, and bringing prominently into notice the teachings of the past, that history enables later generations to estimate rightly the nature and value of the institutions under which they live, and the reasons which led to their original creation or subsequent modification.

The contests relating to the jury system and the liberty of the press—the most permanent causes of class conflicts during Darling's administration—were, however, scarcely more important in a historical point of view than others which have attracted far less notice. One of the most disastrous results of the mania for speculating in sheep and cattle was the check which the revulsion in financial matters gave to the influx of free immigrants. No exact account of the numbers that arrived in the latter part of Sir Thomas Brisbane's time and the earlier years of Governor Darling appears to have been kept. The influx, however, is known to have been very considerable—including many capitalists and their families and servants. In 1827 and 1828 came the financial reverses above alluded to, and with them so great a falling off in the numbers of

immigrants that in 1828 and 1829, the free male adults who arrived did not exceed 250 in each year. In 1830 the number fell to 166. The total number, including men, women, and children, during the four years ending with 1831, was under 2000. The year 1830 proved to be the period of the greatest depression, as there was a slight increase (185) in the next year. The reaction was, however, so rapid and the increase so great, that in 1832 the number of immigrants considerably exceeded the total number of the four preceding years; and in the following year (1833) the increase was still greater. Now, unfortunately for the moral and social welfare of the colony, it happened that when the free immigrants were fewest, the number of convicts sent out was the largest; and if the same disproportion which prevailed in 1828, '29, '30, and '31, had been continued for a few years longer it is hardly possible that the results could have been otherwise than disastrous in the highest degree. The average number of convicts transported during the four years just mentioned was fully 3000, of whom quite five-sixths were men; and it must be remembered, that the principal part of this mass of raw material for engendering vice and crime was poured into a colony the number of whose free population did not exceed 30,000. Fortunately this torrent of criminals was after a few years put a stop to, and its place supplied by an overwhelming influx of free people, yet it is almost impossible to look back now, even at the distance of forty years, to the circumstances and prospects of the colonists at that period without a shudder. That the British Government was guilty of a crime against humanity in carrying the transportation system to such an extent at that period as to threaten to pervert the sources of future nations, and almost to jeopardise the existence of society in her Australian possessions, can hardly be doubted. The measures taken by the colonists to prevent the evils by which they were threatened were highly creditable to them, and will come under notice in due course. But, unfortunately, before the remedies were applied much evil was produced; and it is impossible to search the records of the years just alluded to and a few subsequent ones without encountering frequent proofs that the moral tone of the colonial community had then degenerated to a point below that of any other period of its history.

The first public meeting called expressly to petition for trial by jury and representative institutions took place on the thirty-ninth anniversary of the foundation of the colony—

January 26th, 1827. The meeting, which was convened and presided over by Mackaness, the Sheriff, was held in the court-house, and was very numerously attended by all classes. The petition was drawn up and its adoption moved by Wentworth in a violent but able speech. Sir John Jamison was the seconder; and to Mr. Blaxland, then about to visit England, was entrusted the duty of conveying it to Sir James Macintosh for presentation to the House of Commons, and to the late Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, with a request that he would procure its presentation through some noble friend to the House of Lords. The meeting was followed by a banquet, at which a large number of influential colonists sat down. The exclusives contented themselves with a passive resistance to this movement, evidently regarding it as one having little or no chance of success, and therefore as not requiring any demonstrative opposition. The principal result which followed was the suspension of Mackaness from his office as Sheriff, for having called and presided at the meeting. His case was referred home, and resulted in his dismissal, and the temporary appointment of Mr. William Carter as his successor.

More than three years elapsed before a second meeting, with the same object in view, was convened. It was generally believed by the more timid of the local reformers that the violence of expression indulged in by Mr. Wentworth at the first meeting had proved injurious to the cause; and on the second occasion it was very justly argued that the best proof of the fitness of the colonists for the exercise of the rights they coveted would be found in their orderly conduct and constitutional language when assembled to claim them. On the understanding that objectionable and exciting topics would be avoided, Macquoid, the new Sheriff, consented to preside. Wentworth and Sir John Jamison were again the principal speakers. The adoption of the petition was moved by the latter and supported by the former, who, notwithstanding the prevalence of the opinion which ascribed the failure of the first petition to his indiscreet language, did not hesitate to make use of very bold expressions on the second occasion. The principal ground of his attack on the local government doubtless afforded a just cause of complaint. It arose out of the uncontrolled disbursement of the public funds; for, up to this period, although the Legislative Council had been in existence for nearly six years, no budget had ever been submitted to it, and no appropriation act ever passed. The petition was entrusted to Sir James Macintosh for presenta-

tion to the Commons, and to the Marquis of Sligo for the Lords. Wentworth's well-aimed attacks upon the local administration soon produced results, for, at the next session of the Council, the singular omission of which that body had been so long guilty was corrected, and an appropriation act brought in and passed. The total amount of expenditure thereby sanctioned was £113,952 10s. 7d. Previous to the date of the last-mentioned agitation for legislative reform—viz., in July, 1829—and in accordance with the terms of the Act 9th George IV., an addition of several unofficial members to the Council was made. The new appointments were Colonel Lindesay, Mr. A. Berry, Mr. Richard Jones, Mr. J. Blaxland, Captain King, and Mr. E. C. Close. An act for instituting courts of requests was one of the first measures passed by the enlarged Legislative Council; and an act for further extending trial by jury another.

The last two or three years of Darling's administration were remarkable as well for the number of old and prominent colonists that disappeared from the scene as the arrival of new ones. Amongst the former was Captain Piper, who, under the name of the Port Officer, filled for many years the position of Collector of Customs. He was dismissed from office in consequence of having been found to be a defaulter to a large amount. His successor was Mr. J. F. Campbell, the first who was designated Collector of Customs. Mr. Darcy Wentworth died about the same time, after a colonial career of more than thirty years, during which he filled several important appointments. Mr. Oxley, who had filled the office of Surveyor-General for many years, died in May, 1828; and towards the close of the following year his successor, Major T. L. Mitchell, arrived. Mr. C. Throsby, a member of the Legislative Assembly, and an old and enterprising settler, committed suicide, shortly after Mr. Oxley's death, in consequence of having become security to a large amount for another old and prominent colonist, Mr. Garnham Blaxcell, who had absconded. The circumstances that involved these gentlemen had their origin in the excessive pastoral speculations before referred to. Mr. Baxter, for some time Attorney-General, and Mr. W. Foster, subsequently Solicitor-General, both arrived together in 1827. Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Dowling, Judge of the Supreme Court, arrived in February, 1828; Mr. Macquoid, who for a considerable period filled the office of Sheriff, shortly afterwards; and Mr. E.

Deas Thomson towards the close of the same year. Archdeacon Scott quitted the colony in 1828, and his successor, Dr. William Grant Broughton (afterwards Bishop of Sydney), arrived in 1829. About the same time Mr. Roger Therry, afterwards Attorney-General and subsequently Judge of the Supreme Court, arrived with the appointment of Commissioner of the Court of Requests; and Mr. John Edye Manning, as Registrar of the Supreme Court. Mr. Raymond, the first Postmaster-General of the colony, received his appointment about the same period; Mr. Balcomb, the first Colonial Treasurer, died in March, 1829; and Mr. C. D. Riddell, his successor, arrived in 1830, from Ceylon. Mr. J. T. Campbell, for many years secretary to the Governor, and a member of the Legislative Council, died in January, 1830. In November of the same year, Captain Logan, commandant at Moreton Bay, was murdered there by the blacks. His remains were brought to Sydney and buried at Garden Island, in the same tomb with Judge Bent, a friend of his early youth. Another colonial notability, generally known as King Bongaree, died, and was buried at Garden Island about the same time. He was a most intelligent aboriginal native, and had rendered great assistance to Flinders and other navigators in their intercourse with his people.*

During the years 1827, '28, and '29 occurred one of the

* See page 835. Flinders speaks of Bongaree's services in the highest terms, and calls him "a worthy and brave fellow." Many years after his voyages with Flinders, Bongaree, who belonged to the Kamilory or Cammeroy tribe, was placed by the Sydney Government in charge of a little settlement of his people which was formed on the north shore of Port Jackson, near George's Head, where a tract of land was set apart for their use, and attempts were made to induce them to accustom themselves to fixed abodes, and to learn to till the ground. The result, of course, was a failure. The soil of the locality allotted to them was so barren that if they had been ever so well disposed to settled habits and agricultural industry they could have produced nothing; but had the soil been ever so fertile it is hardly probable that the result would have been different. Settled habits and steady industry are things too foreign to the nature of wandering savages to be acquired at once, or even in a single generation. The estimation in which Bongaree was held not only by his own tribe but by the aborigines generally, and the position in which he had been placed by the Government, raised his self-importance to such a degree that he at last assumed the airs of aboriginal royalty, and for several years made it a practice to board vessels entering the harbour and to demand contributions in acknowledgment of his rights. Dressed in an old cocked hat and a dilapidated military coat, his majesty generally managed to extort a shilling and a glass or two of rum from good-natured skippers. His wife, Queen Gooseberry, was a well-known character in Sydney streets twenty years after her husband's death. She was one of the last, if not the very last, of the Port Jackson aborigines.

severest droughts which has ever visited the colony. Many of the lagoons and waterholes before believed to be permanent were dried up. This was particularly the case with Lake George, which in 1827 presented the appearance of an inland sea, being then seventeen miles long and from five to seven miles wide. In 1828 its waters began to diminish, and continued to evaporate steadily and gradually for several years, until they entirely disappeared. This drought was followed, in April, 1830, by heavy floods, in which several lives were lost and a large amount of property destroyed at the Hawkesbury and the Hunter.

Discussions in the Imperial Parliament on the affairs of Australia took place on several occasions during Governor Darling's time. In 1828 Mr. Huskisson brought in a bill for the better Government of the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. His first proposal included a proposition for a small increase to the number of members of the Legislative Councils of the two colonies by election under a restricted suffrage. Sir James Macintosh, thinking the measure did not go far enough, moved an amendment on the motion for going into committee having for its object the granting to the local legislatures power to establish trial by jury, and to the people power to elect one-third of the members of the Councils. All free inhabitants who had resided in the colonies for three years were to possess the franchise. Mr. Huskisson opposed the amendment, and contended that trial by jury and representative institutions ought to be introduced far more gradually than would be the case if Sir James Macintosh's amendment was adopted. In face of this opposition, Sir James Macintosh, after an able speech in favour of his proposals, in which he contended that trial by jury and a representative legislature were the birthrights of Englishmen, withdrew his amendment; and Mr. Huskisson, finding that even his much more restrictive plan for conferring upon the colonists the power of electing a few members, was not received with much favour, withdrew that portion of his scheme. The part of the bill granting trial by jury was also so far modified as to confine its operation to civil causes in which one of the parties demanded a jury. The act as ultimately passed (9th George IV. cap. 83,) has been previously noticed.

The affairs of the colony again attracted much attention in the Imperial Parliament in the following year. Governor Darling's conduct was then made the subject of some severe

animadversions by Mr. Stewart. Sir George Murray defended him with spirit, but consented to the production of the papers asked for by his accusers. The charges had reference principally to the case of the two soldiers, Sudds and Thompson. In consequence of some promises made by the government, Mr. Jephson on the same day withdrew a motion of which he had given notice, affirming the desirability of introducing the English jury system into the colony. About the same time Mr. Joseph Hume first took up the subject of the administration of the affairs of New South Wales in connexion with their financial aspect. He pointed out that practically Governor Darling had unlimited powers of drawing upon Imperial funds. In the course of his investigations into colonial income and expenditure Mr. Hume came to conclusions very unfavourable to Governor Darling on matters altogether apart from finance. He said he had come to the conclusion that it was impossible that General Darling could be allowed to continue in New South Wales. On this occasion Darling's defenders were Sir W. Ridley and Sir George Murray. The latter, in particular, justified his conduct with respect to military juries, as being the only legal course that was then open to him; but assured the house that instructions had been sent out and the law altered, so that in all cases where the Government or persons connected with the Government were concerned, juries would be differently constituted.

Fortunately class animosity and political differences,—although they excite a great degree of public attention,—do not very seriously interfere with the practical affairs of life; and during the time that they rage most violently things generally progress much the same as usual. It was during Darling's stormy administration that a very important undertaking—that of bringing to Sydney a supply of water from the Botany swamps—was commenced. Up to this period the inhabitants of Sydney were entirely dependent upon the small water course, now entirely obliterated by the progress of buildings, but then known as the Tanks Stream, which ran about midway between George and Pitt streets. To Mr. James Busby, mineral surveyor, was entrusted, in 1827, the task of ascertaining the best means of procuring a supply of water for the rapidly increasing town. He recommended, as the cheapest and most available plan, that the swamps between Sydney and Botany should be tapped by a tunnel; and his proposal having been assented to, he was commis-

sioned to carry out the undertaking. The work was completed, chiefly by prison labour, in a reasonably short time. The supply of water proved to be of the best quality and sufficient in quantity for the requirements of the city for many years. About the same period, that is in 1827, the first regular system of contracts for conveying the mails throughout the interior was brought into operation; and thenceforward mails were regularly despatched twice a week to the principal towns of the interior. A census taken in 1828 gave the population of the colony as 36,598; horned cattle, 262,868; sheep, 536,391; land in cultivation, 71,523 acres; value of wool exported, £40,851; whale oil ditto, £26,431. The local revenue is returned for the same year as £96,713, and the expenditure as £97,952. In 1829 the first step towards carrying the administration of the criminal law into the interior of the country was made by holding a circuit court at Campbelltown. A laudable attempt was made on the occasion to give the judge's entry into that place as much dignity and importance as possible. His honor's carriage was escorted by troopers with drawn swords and accompanied by a large cavalcade of magistrates and settlers. It was thought at the time that the affair was a very successful imitation of the entry of a judge on circuit into a county or assize town in England; and no little importance was attached to the good effects likely to be produced by the awe-inspiring formalities upon the crowds who flocked to witness them. It was discovered, however, after a single trial, that the population was then too small and scattered, and the colony not sufficiently advanced, to justify the institution of circuit courts, and the practice was for a time abandoned. In June, 1829, the question of the division of the bar, which had before been mooted, was brought prominently before the Supreme Court. The attorneys opposed the proposed change, while the barristers strongly advocated it. In September following the Chief Justice announced the decision of the bench in its favour, subject to the pleasure of the Crown. It is hardly possible to conceive that there could have existed any good grounds for a division of the bar in so young a community, where the members of both branches of the profession in private practice must have been less than a dozen; but the barristers, weak as they were in number, were strong in ability and influence, and their views and interests prevailed over those of the more numerous but less powerful attorneys.

The choice of Campbelltown as the place at which to hold

the first assizes—as related above—was more owing to the fact that a very large number of wealthy families had estates in the surrounding districts, and that many daring acts of bushranging had taken place there, than to the importance of the township itself. The discovery, not long after the first settlement of the colony, of the rich lands of the Cowpastures, Camden, the valleys of Bunbury Curran, Mulgoa, and other tracts of fertile soil, made that district a favourite one with the more influential colonists, and it was there that many of them, having secured extensive grants of land, had settled with their families and formed their homesteads. Their residences were in many instances places of far more than ordinary pretensions; some of them indeed were mansions almost rivalling “the stately homes of England” in cost, extent, and appearance. Many non-resident colonists also possessed estates there on which they had numerous tenants and labourers. Some few of these estates still remain the property of the families or descendants of the original grantees, but most of them, in the sharp reverses of colonial life, have long since passed into the hands of strangers, and having been cut up and subdivided into lots, have been sold and resold under the hammer of the auctioneer, until their identity is almost lost. They were named in some instances after the ancient seats of noble or wealthy families in the old country; in others they bore the name of a commander or a ship under whom or in which the original grantee or some progenitor had served; some told of battles in which the owner or his ancestors had taken part, and some of far-off native villages or hamlets. A few retained the beautifully expressive and sonorous aboriginal names; but hardly in a single instance did the old colonists outrage good taste and render themselves and the country ridiculous by conferring such stupid appellations as have lately prevailed in colonial nomenclature—a practice introduced or sanctioned by the Government—whereby the vulgar and unmeaning surnames of pretentious nobodies are conferred upon localities in lieu of the appropriate aboriginal terms by which they had previously been known. These early colonists indeed, to their honour be it spoken, in bestowing names upon their estates appear to have acted under the elevating ideas that they were not only the founders of families, but were helping to create “a new Britannia in another world;” and hence their nomenclature was almost always racy of the great country from which they had come, and with whose glories they wished to identify themselves and their poster-

It is true that their hopes of becoming the founders of wealthy families were in few cases fully realised ; but their ambition was not an ignoble one, and it would have been well for some of their descendants of the present generation if they had inherited more of the sentiments of their fathers. A few of the names of the families settled or possessing estates within the distance of twenty or thirty miles of Campbelltown, and whose members doubtless formed part of the numerous cavalcade which welcomed to that place the first judge and barristers that ever went on circuit in Australia, will tend to illustrate the preceding remarks. There were the Macarthurs, Macleays, and Cowpers, of Camden, Camden Park, and Wivenhoe ; the Oxleys, Coghills, Harringtons, and Hawdon's of Kirkham, Elderslie, and Malton ; the Howes of Glenlee and Eskdale ; the Rileys of Ousedale and Raby ; Brooks of Denham Court, Throsby of Glenfield and Smeaton ; Broughton of Lachlan Vale, Cordeaux of Leppington, Wylde of Cecil Park, Wills of Varroville, Hassall of Macquarie Grove, Jamison of Cowdeknaws, Molle of Netherby, Blaxland of Ludenham ; the Coxes and Shadforth of Winborne, Fernhill, and Clarendon ; the Campbells of Harrington Park and Shancamore ; the Antills of Picton, the Savages of Claremont, the Wentworths of Elmshall Park and Vermont ; the Humes of Hillsborough, Brookdale, and Hume Wood ; Brown of Oakham, Lowe of Birling, Jones of Fleurs ; Judge Bent's estate was called Wolverton, Judge Field's was Hinchinbrook—all these, and many more with similar old country or suggestive names, were within an easy distance of the place fixed upon as the assize town, where no doubt their possessors fondly hoped that during a long series of years they—the landed gentry of that part of the colony—would assemble at the assize ball, in imitation of the old country usage, by which annual gatherings of fair women and brave men are made to give éclat to the visits of the ministers of justice, social observances are invoked in aid of order, and local influence is exercised to uphold the dignity of the judicial office. The houses of many of the more wealthy resident settlers in the district referred to were designed, and some of them actually built, on a scale which, with reference to the remoteness of the colony and the circumstances by which they were surrounded, may be fitly described as magnificent ; but there were other estates, with high-sounding names, where nothing better in the shape of buildings than aggregations of bark huts were to be found. The hopes of many had been

disappointed and their plans prostrated by the financial disasters previously referred to. Castles in the air had suddenly faded, and the day dreams of intending founders of families had been rudely interrupted by the entry of the sheriff's officer. The fluctuating circumstances by which colonial existence is surrounded, have always proved fatal sooner or later to the designs of those who have endeavoured to found a territorial aristocracy. But although this result is undoubtedly upon the whole favourable to the progress and prosperity of new communities, it is often accompanied by circumstances which even the most ardent republican or democrat cannot but regard with regret. An ever-shifting population, with no ties to bind it to the soil, where there are few spots consecrated by the associations and memories of home, can never become a nation. The privileged or fortunate few who in the infancy of Australian colonisation obtained large tracts of freehold land, aimed at the founding of homes around which their descendants for many generations might be expected to cluster, and where, amidst tenants, retainers, and dependents, would grow up a condition of things bearing a close resemblance to that in which the landed aristocracy of England is placed. Although it was doubtless fortunate for the many that the hopes of the few were disappointed, it is impossible to repress a feeling of regret that designs and aspirations partaking of so much that was noble and elevating should have been so completely frustrated. The pride of race—the consciousness of high social standing—the sentiment of family antiquity—however absurd when carried to excess, are capable of exercising, if kept under proper control, a very restraining and refining influence upon individual character. This influence is almost or altogether absent where the population is constantly fluctuating, where there are few permanently settled families, and where, to use an expressive colloquialism, "Jack is as good as his master." The Campbelltown of to-day bears few indications that forty years since it attained to the dignity of an assize town; the seats of many of the once numerous gentry of the district, long ago deserted by their original owners, have in most instances fallen into decay; and the farms—reduced to modest proportions—are occupied by tenants or peasant proprietors. It is curious, in connection with this subject, to notice the change in the relative values of land which the decadence of certain localities, the rise of others, and the consequent migrations of population, have brought about. At the period just spoken

of—the year 1829—the Government price of land in the townships of Campbelltown and Narellan was £20 an acre, while in Goulburn and Bathurst it was but £2, in Newcastle £5, and in Maitland £7. The state of things indicated by these prices has been long since reversed; and in the latter cases the sum that would once pay for several acres of land will now hardly suffice to purchase a single rod.

Party and personal squabbles occupied so large a share of public attention during Darling's administration that to chronicle the whole of them would be tiresome, and would answer no good end. Yet no accounts of the events of that period in which these party quarrels did not form a prominent feature would give a correct idea of the state of things which then existed. One or two others, in addition to those already related, will comprise all that it is necessary to say on the subject here. There was in Sydney an association called the Turf Club—of which the Governor was president—an institution which, as its name implies, had been originally formed for the encouragement of horseracing, but from which, in the then state of society, it was found impossible to exclude politics. Mr. Wentworth and Dr. Wardell were prominent members. At a dinner of this club in November, 1827, these gentlemen—and Mr. Wentworth in particular, who presided—made speeches in which some animadversions of a very pointed kind were directed against the Governor; and the band, when his Excellency's health was proposed, played a tune which was rightly understood by those present to convey a desire that his departure from the colony might not be much longer delayed. A violent quarrel among the members was the result, and the angry feelings aroused were heightened by a report of the proceedings having been published, as if those who gave the insult were determined that the Governor should not escape a full knowledge of what had transpired. Darling, who was not the man to submit quietly to that sort of conduct, sent by his aide-de-camp a letter to the secretary of the club, stating that after what had occurred he considered it derogatory to his position as head of the Government to continue his connexion with the club. Several members, mostly military or civil officers, took Darling's part, and some of them called a meeting, and adopted resolutions calculated to explain away the most offensive portions of the proceedings, hoping thus to prevent the breaking up of the club, which they foresaw would be the result unless the Governor could be induced to alter his

determination. Darling replied, in answer to their address, that he knew there were many respectable persons among the members, and that he did not for a moment imagine that they had been parties to the conduct of which he complained,—but with respect to Dr. Wardell and Mr. Wentworth he continued to think that it would be derogatory to his character and position to continue a member of a society to which they belonged. Another meeting was thereupon called, at which a resolution was proposed by the Governor's friends for dissolving the club. This proposal was resisted by the supporters of the offending members, who in their turn proposed and passed an amendment approving of the speeches and conduct of Mr. Wentworth and Dr. Wardell, and declining to offer his Excellency any further apology or explanation. Copies of the offensive resolutions were transmitted to the Governor, who, on the following day, issued a general order in which he termed those who had taken part in the proceedings factious individuals, and superseded from their offices two gentlemen (the crown solicitor and a clerk in the Supreme Court) who supported them. Mackaness, the sheriff, another of the "factious individuals," was already under suspension for having some time before presided at a political public meeting, and he was now merely censured. It was further intimated that government officials who remained members of the club after what had taken place would be deemed antagonistic to the administration. Many of these gentlemen, knowing what they might expect if they disregarded the admonition thus conveyed, at once dissolved their connexion with the Turf Club, and the result was that it was soon broken up. The circumstances, although hardly of sufficient importance in themselves to be worthy of much notice, are valuable as affording an insight into the workings of political and party feelings at that time.

A circumstance which showed more strongly than even the previously narrated case the bitterness of party spirit which pervaded the community, took place in the latter part of 1829. When leaving St. James's church, one Sunday morning, a man assailed the Governor with very violent language and gestures. The offender was a person of respectable appearance, and upon being taken into custody was found to be armed with a carving knife and two pistols. It turned out that his name was Shelly, that he had not been long in the colony, and that the grievance of which he complained related to a grant of land, to which he considered himself entitled by the

regulations, but which the Governor had refused to let him have. He had, he said, made repeated applications and representations without avail, and having no influential friends, and despairing of success unless he could manage to attract public notice, and thus enlist sympathy in his behalf, he had determined to insult and annoy the Governor, in order to achieve his end. Any man who at that time openly declared himself the enemy of Darling, was sure to meet with the support and sympathy of a certain class of the population; and more particularly was this the case if he had a grievance about land, because it was generally believed that Darling, while conferring lavish grants upon his friends and supporters, had taken every means in his power of thwarting the legitimate and reasonable claims of his opponents. Darling, no doubt, was one of those who do not believe in the policy of conciliating their enemies, but, on the contrary, are rather inclined to strain the law against them. The numerous class of persons who regarded with jealousy his favouritism to their political and social opponents, took up Shelly's cause with avidity, and the quarrel raged fiercely for several months. The opposition journals contended that Shelly was an ill-used man, who had been driven to the verge of insanity by disappointment and the denial of his rights. It was clear, however, when the case came to be investigated, that Shelly had very little to complain of, and that those who advocated his cause did so because they hated the Governor rather than from any regard for right. It is not quite certain whether Shelly was a weak-minded and irritable man with a real or imagined grievance, or whether he was the willing tool of more designing persons; and his case is of very little consequence except as showing the peculiar condition of a community in which so small a cause could arouse feelings of the bitterest animosity.

A case which excited much interest in the colony, and which was in some respects a very exceptional one, inasmuch as no party or political feelings or prejudices were enlisted in it, occurred in 1827. An aboriginal native, who, it is said, had murdered the servant of a settler, was apprehended and brought before Lieutenant Lowe, of the 40th regiment, who was in command of a small detachment of soldiers stationed at Wallis's Plains—the name then given to the flats on which West Maitland now stands. It does not appear that any form of trial of the blackfellow was gone through, or that any steps were taken by Lieutenant Lowe to ascertain the truth of

the charge against him. It was proved, however, that the officer ordered four of the soldiers under his command to shoot the prisoner there and then. The men, nothing loth, promptly did as they were told. The matter soon came to the knowledge of the authorities, from whom indeed, considering the open nature of the transaction, it could not well be concealed. Criminal proceedings were instituted against Lieutenant Lowe, who was soon afterwards placed upon his trial for murder. He retained Dr. Wardell for his defence, and that gentleman, when the case came to be heard, went into very elaborate arguments on the abstract principles of the law of nations to prove that a British subject could not be tried for an offence against an aboriginal native. He also argued on technical grounds that the Court had no jurisdiction to try a prisoner for an offence alleged to have been committed at Wallis's Plains. The Chief Justice, in a masterly address, overruled Dr. Wardell's objections, and the trial proceeded. This was during the era of military juries, and at a time when, in the outlying settlements, fatal conflicts between the aborigines and the settlers were frequent. Under such circumstances it would have been exceedingly remarkable if a jury of officers had returned a verdict of guilty of murder against a brother officer for shooting a blackfellow. The result was, of course, an acquittal. A charge of a somewhat similar kind against a settler, tried at the same sittings of the court, resulted in a verdict of justifiable homicide. In the case of an aboriginal native known as Black Tommy, who was tried at the following sittings of the court for killing a white man, the Crown Prosecutor had no difficulty in securing a verdict of guilty, and the man was hanged a day or two afterwards. It was clear that in the state of society and the administration of justice then prevailing, the law afforded little or no protection to the aborigines; while, on the other hand, it exacted from these unfortunate people the extreme penalty whenever they were found guilty of capital offences.

A very daring act of piracy was perpetrated in 1827 by some prisoners, under the leadership of a man named Walton, a convict of notoriously bad character. These men were being conveyed to Norfolk Island, and the vessel had nearly arrived at her destination, when the prisoners, by an artful scheme, managed to overpower the crew, and getting possession of the arms compelled the captain to steer for New Zealand, where they hoped to be able to procure sufficient supplies to enable them to reach South America. For t

purpose they put into the Bay of Islands, where it fortunately happened that two Sydney whalers were lying. The masters of these vessels, although the pirates told a plausible story, quickly discovered the true state of affairs, and having enlisted the assistance of the natives, a combined attack of sailors and Maories was soon made upon them. The pirates quickly surrendered, and were taken to Sydney, and the ringleaders hanged. At Norfolk Island, about the same time, a somewhat serious insurrection of the prisoners took place. It began by upwards of fifty men, at a preconcerted signal, suddenly rushing on their guards and disarming them. Two or three soldiers were killed in the affray, but the desperadoes managed to obtain their object in procuring arms. They then took possession of three boats, loaded them with provisions and ammunition, and made for Phillip Island, about seven or eight miles distant. They could not be pursued for some time, because they had partially destroyed the only boat left behind. The disabled boat was, however, on the following day patched up with some difficulty, so as to carry a few soldiers, who, under Captain Donaldson and Lieutenant Donnellan, proceeded in pursuit. On attempting to land at Phillip Island, a smart encounter took place, in which three of the insurgents were killed, several wounded, and eleven taken prisoners and their boats and provisions captured. The little force not being sufficiently numerous to guard the prisoners and to follow up the insurgents at the time, returned to Norfolk Island with their captured men, boats, and provisions; and a day or two afterwards returned and captured ten others. The remainder of the desperadoes, now reduced to about twenty-five in number, held out for some time longer, but at length, on the capture of their ringleader, and being pressed by hunger, gave themselves up. The only lives lost on the part of the military were the soldiers killed in the first rush. These occurrences afford a sample of the history of Norfolk Island during the many years that it remained a receptacle for the offscourings of England's criminals.

Serious outbreaks among the prison population were not, however, confined to Norfolk Island. The convict system at that time permitted men to be assigned in large numbers to wealthy settlers, who often employed them on remote farms or stations, where they were deprived of the benefits of religious teaching and were often left without efficient control. The association of many desperate characters together in large establishments afforded easy opportunities for concocting

schemes of plunder or resistance to authority. In 1830, daring gangs of bushrangers infested the Bathurst district, and several desperate contests between them and the police and volunteer armed settlers took place, generally without much loss on either side, although the latter, notwithstanding they displayed great courage, rather got the worst of it. In one skirmish, two or three of the police and several horses were killed, and the victory was decidedly on the side of the bushrangers. In another fight a few days afterwards, near the Lachlan river, with a party of troopers, Lieutenant Macalister, the commander, and several of his men were wounded; but the arrival on the scene of conflict on the following morning of a party of men of the 39th regiment, under Captain Walpole, so much intimidated the bushrangers that they agreed to surrender. They were taken to Bathurst, tried, and ten of their number executed.

While these and similar occurrences were transpiring in the Western district, another notorious gang was committing depredations nearer Sydney, under the leadership of a youth named Donohue, who had arrived in the colony but a short time before, and who had commenced his colonial career of crime almost immediately after his landing. He had been captured, tried, and condemned to death, a short time after he first took to the bush, but effected his escape in a very daring manner, when being taken from the dock after receiving sentence. This circumstance, added to his youthful appearance and his desperate courage, made him quite a hero in the eyes of the prison population. The robberies and depredations of his gang were carried on within a few miles of Sydney, and almost every day brought some fresh account of his exploits. His companions were about a dozen in number, most of them as daring as himself, and many of them much more bloodthirsty and reckless. After several encounters with the police, in which lives were lost on both sides, Donohue, in August 1830, was shot through the head by a trooper, at Raby, a few miles from Liverpool. Macnamara, another of the ringleaders of the gang, had previously met his death in a similar manner, while others had been captured and hanged. The last of the party, two men named Walmsly and Webber, were captured in January, 1831, and the latter executed soon afterwards.

Two educational institutions of a superior character were founded in Sydney near the close of Darling's administration, viz., the Sydney College in 1830, and the Australian College

in 1831. Both were the offspring of private enterprise, assisted by public contributions. Persons of the emancipist class were largely concerned in establishing the Sydney College, and on that account it was regarded with some degree of jealousy, not only by the extreme exclusives, but by the general public. The property of the institution was vested in shareholders; the capital was £10,000; and in the board of management it was endeavoured to combine all sections of the community; but however praiseworthy the design, the result can scarcely be said to have been successful. Judge Forbes, who took great interest in the institution, was its first president. He had always been anxious to heal class differences and the dissensions of local parties, and probably few things were more calculated to break down the barriers which separated the different sections of the community than the institution of a great public seminary for the education of youth, where the sons of persons of all classes met on terms of equality. A mistake very common in Australian communities was made in this instance. Instead of calling it a grammar school, the more pretentious name of college was adopted; a designation which, in the eyes of people lately from home and with the associations of the old country still clinging to them, seemed ridiculous, for the institution itself differed in its internal management in no respect from an ordinary school. After an existence of upwards of twenty years, during which large numbers of native youths received a very useful education within its walls, the institution buildings passed into the hands of the Government, and after being enlarged were temporarily used for the purposes of the University, and afterwards as the Sydney Grammar School. The other scholastic institution, called the Australian College, was, although to a certain extent a public institution, more sectional in its character than the Sydney College, inasmuch as it was partly designed to train young men for the Presbyterian ministry. It owed its existence almost entirely to the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Lang, and although the names of gentlemen of various religious persuasions were placed upon its "council," the control they exercised was merely nominal, the actual direction being in the hands of its principal founder. Many persons occupying prominent positions in the colony at the present time were educated at the Australian College, and the institution, although long since discontinued, did good service in the cause of education for several years.

Dr. Lang having been refused assistance by Governor Darling in establishing the Australian College, paid a visit to Great Britain in order to solicit the support of the home authorities. His mission was successful, and he returned in October, 1831, in the ship *Stirling Castle*, with a staff including five Presbyterian clergymen. Dr. Lang also brought out with him about sixty Scotch mechanics, mostly connected with the building trades, and many of them accompanied by their wives and families. This was a most valuable addition to the population,—the men being persons of good character and many of them of more than average ability.

Two or three months before the arrival of the *Stirling Castle* with the Scotch mechanics, a vessel arrived from Ireland, bringing fifty young women, who had been trained in an orphan school in the city of Cork. They were well conducted girls, and proved, first as domestic servants, and afterwards as wives and mothers, a most valuable addition to the lower class of the population, whose numbers had before been too largely recruited from undesirable sources.

The introduction of steam navigation into Australia took place in 1831. The first vessel built for a steamer in the colony was a little craft called the *Surprise*, which was launched on 31st March in that year. Before she was ready for use another vessel, called the *Sophia Jane*, of 154 tons register, was brought out from England by Lieutenant Biddulph, R.N., by whom she was at first commanded. She arrived in the colony on the 16th May, 1831. In the month of October following, another colonial built steamer, named the *William the Fourth*, 59 tons register, was launched at the William River. Her builders were Messrs. Marshall and Lowe. From this time new vessels were added to the colonial steam marine in quick succession; and soon afterwards the first colonial steam company was formed under the name of the Australian Steam Conveyance Company.

A complete change in the mode of disposing of the public lands took place in the latter part of 1831, under authority of orders from the colonial office dated 20th January of that year. From the time of the foundation of the colony, in 1788, to the year 1810, lands had been granted without payment on conditions of residence, cultivation, and improvement, subject to a quit-rent of 6d. for every thirty acres in the case of emancipists, and of 2s. for every one hundred acres in the case of free settlers, after the first ten years. In 1810 Governor Macquarie somewhat modified the original regulations. T

quit-rent was then fixed at 2s. per 100 acres in all cases, with the condition of non-alienation in less than five years, during which period at least one-twentieth part of the grant was to be brought under cultivation. Town allotments were subject to special conditions, one of which was a quit-rent of 30s. per acre in certain localities. In 1822 Governor Brisbane issued fresh regulations, in which the condition of cultivation was omitted, but the grantee was compelled to employ and support a convict servant for each 100 acres. This condition was soon afterwards modified, and in some cases the original cultivation terms were recurred to. In some grants issued in 1823 a quit-rent of nearly 2d. per acre, (15s. per 100 acres,) was imposed. In 1824 the clause compelling the grantee to receive a proportionate number of convicts was re-inserted in the regulations; and the quit-rent fixed at five per cent. on the annual value of the land. In 1826, owing to the great influx of capitalist settlers, and the consequent largely increased demand for assigned servants, the Government found that it had not a sufficiency of prisoners to comply with the conditions it had itself imposed. The convict clause was thereupon again withdrawn, and those who could obtain no convict servants were allowed an abatement of one-half the amount of their quit-rent. In 1828 a board was established for the management and disposal of the public lands; and in 1831 the system of free grants to private persons was finally put a stop to by orders from the Home Government, by which in future no lands were to be disposed of except by public auction at an upset price of not less than five shillings an acre.

The introduction of the system of selling land in place of granting it under conditions did away with a fruitful source of jobbery, and put an end to frequently recurring complaints, squabbles, and quarrels, between the settlers and the Government. The conditions imposed as to residence and cultivation had seldom been complied with; and the quit-rents were, in many cases, found to be difficult or impossible of collection. The fees which had to be paid on filing applications on receipt of deeds, and, in fact, on almost every occasion when business of any kind had to be done in connection with public lands, were numerous and heavy. There were fees to the governor, fees to his secretary, fees to the auditor, and fees to the registrar, varying in amount from five guineas to half-a-crown. These were fixed by regulation, but in addition to what may be termed the legitimate fees

there were others of uncertain amount for which there was no proper authority, and which had to be submitted to, although in reality they were little better than part of a system of what was called "tip." Under the old system, indeed, although public lands were nominally conferred as free grants, the grants were in reality clogged with so many conditions, and their acquisition attended by so much expense, favouritism, and uncertainty, that the change to a system of open, honest competition, was a great gain to the community. There was, however, one very objectionable feature in the new system—the lots in which land could be purchased were, unless under particular circumstances, not less than a square mile in extent. Lands not sold were open to occupation at a yearly rental of 20s. per square mile; but during the tenancy they were still open for sale; and, if sold, the tenant had to give up possession after a month's notice. Nothing so preposterous as fixity of tenure to the mere consumer of the natural herbage had then been thought of. The intending freehold purchaser could select land anywhere, within the proclaimed limits of the colony, whether surveyed or not. The Government order under which these regulations came into force bore date 1st August, 1831.

The prevailing commercial depression, and the great increase of stock in proportion to population, had brought the price of cattle to so low a figure in 1830 that the necessity of finding a market for the surplus began to be seriously discussed. With this view a meeting of stockholders was held in Sydney on the 3rd June of that year, when various projects were discussed. The proposals which found most favour were those which advocated the shipping of salt beef to England and the West Indies, and of horses to the East Indies. The great difficulty which met the first proposal was the unsuitableness of colonial-manufactured salt for the purpose of curing provisions for long voyages; although it was found to answer very well in cases where the article cured went into consumption very soon after being salted. The cost of imported salt would, it was thought, be too great to allow of its use on a large scale. Some beef was cured and shipped, but the experiment does not appear to have been a very successful one, as it was not repeated. The project of exporting horses to India was however commenced, and the result was so encouraging that the foundation of a trade was laid which was prosecuted for many years, and which at

various subsequent periods of pastoral depression afforded a valuable outlet for surplus stock.

Darling's administration, although remarkable for its complicated system of checks and counterchecks in mere clerical matters and questions of detail, was probably more corrupt in a wholesale way than any other before or since. Darling himself was free from the imputation of the slightest complicity, but some of those who occupied very prominent positions in the Government, and who enjoyed his confidence, were by no means above suspicion. In the matter of conferring grants of land and convict servants, it will readily be conceded that the social and political contests and enmities of the time which drove the Governor to rely upon the few by whom he was surrounded, excused, if they did not justify, a certain degree of favouritism. It was natural, too, for men with no very scrupulous notions to take advantage of such opportunities for their own aggrandisement. But this is not what is now referred to. There is reason for believing that very corrupt practices prevailed in the acceptance of tenders for the supply of the public service. The following case will show one of the methods by which these frauds were managed. A was a large grazier as well as an influential government officer: B was a contractor for supplying beef to the prisoners in the gaols and road gangs; he had perhaps in former years been A's assigned servant, so that the two understood each other. A's position enabled him to accept B's tender, or to procure its acceptance, at a price far above the market rate, with the implied condition that the cattle required by B to fulfil his contracts were to be purchased from A, or any friends he might indicate, at prices corresponding to the rate of the accepted tender. The quality of the articles supplied under these circumstances, was generally as inferior as the prices were extravagant. The contractor, knowing the strong influence at his back, seldom heeded the grumbling of the unfortunate consumers of his supplies. Many statements made by captured bushrangers and others when being tried, or before execution, proved that their reason for absconding or committing crimes were generally connected with the insufficient quantity or the inferior quality of the food supplied to the gangs to which they had belonged. In 1830 these complaints became so loud and so frequent that an investigation was ordered, and the charges were proved to be well-founded. The remedy adopted was a

periodical examination of provisions by properly authorised persons, and the exclusion of certain contractors from future engagements. That the fraudulent system was wide-spread and of long continuance could not be doubted, although neither the extent to which it was actually carried nor the exact share taken in it by persons occupying high positions could be ascertained.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF EXPLORATION—STURT'S DISCOVERIES OF THE DARLING AND THE MURRAY. VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—ITS CONDITION AND PROGRESS. CLOSE OF GOVERNOR DARLING'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE story of Australian exploration has been brought down, in previous chapters of this history, to Messrs. Hovell and Hume's remarkable journey in 1824. The period of Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration was by no means remarkable for public efforts to ascertain the character and features of the interior of the great land on whose fringe the colonists were placed; the successful journey of the gentlemen just referred to was originated and mainly carried out by private enterprise. During the next two or three years Mr. Allan Cunningham, the botanist, who had accompanied Oxley in his expeditions, contributed to extend the knowledge of the interior by the energy and zeal with which he followed up his professional journeys. In 1825 and 1826, in pursuing his botanical researches towards the north, he reached the Arbuthnot range or Warrambungle mountains, and discovered the celebrated gap through them into Liverpool Plains, which he named Pandora's Pass. In the following year, having taken his departure from Moreton Bay, he discovered the Gwydir and other considerable streams forming the upper waters of the Darling; and brought to Sydney, in addition to much valuable botanical information, many interesting particulars respecting the northern interior. The next additions to Australian geographical knowledge were, however, due to public expeditions despatched for the express purpose of interior discovery.

As the drought of 1812 and the following year had driven the colonists to seek new pastures for their flocks beyond the mountain chain which had before bounded their possessions,

so the yet more severe drought which commenced in 1826 compelled the owners of the then more numerous and rapidly increasing herds to look for better watered country towards the great interior from which Oxley had been driven back by apparently interminable swamps. There had been heavy rains a short time before Oxley's journey was undertaken; and it was now thought that the drought afforded an opportunity which might not again soon occur for crossing the great marshy regions which formed the known limits of the colony towards the north-west and the south-west, and that thus some knowledge might be gained respecting the mysterious country which lay beyond. With the double purpose, therefore, of finding better watered pastures, and of elucidating an interesting geographical problem, it was resolved in 1828, to send an expedition to take up the task of exploration on the swamps of the Macquarie, from whence Oxley had been compelled to retreat ten years before.

The leader chosen by Governor Darling for this expedition was Captain Charles Sturt, an officer of the 39th regiment, then stationed in Sydney. This gentleman was eminently qualified for the task to which he was appointed. His enthusiasm in the cause of discovery was unbounded, and his imagination had been excited to the highest pitch by what he had seen of the country in the voluntary and often solitary journeys he had made into various parts of the known interior. Mr. Hamilton Hume, whose singularly daring and successful journey to Port Phillip, in conjunction with Mr. Hovell, has already been narrated, was selected to accompany Captain Sturt on this expedition. The other members of the party were, Mr. M'Leod, an army surgeon, two soldiers of the 39th regiment, and eight prisoners of the Crown. The animals were thirteen horses, and two draught and eight pack bullocks. The expedition left Sydney on the 10th September, 1828, when the face of the earth had become so parched by drought that all minor vegetation had ceased, and the settlers had begun to drive their flocks and herds to distant tracts for pasture and water, because they were not to be obtained in the settled districts. In this condition of things the progress of the party was necessarily slow, and it was not until the 26th December that they reached the locality of the great marshes from which Oxley had been compelled to retreat. Here the scene was of the most gloomy description—dreary expanses of reeds or interminable polygonum scrubs met the gaze in every direction. A boat had been constructed and brought

from the settled districts, and was now launched in the small and sluggish stream which took the place of the watery expanse seen by previous explorers. Captain Sturt attempted to navigate the river, or rather ditch, in this boat, while Mr. Hume made a journey on horseback towards the north. The channel of what seemed the main stream was soon lost in innumerable smaller channels, which at length disappeared amongst the reeds, and no signs of a lake or of any considerable body of water could be discovered.

The captain and his party soon returned to the camp, where they found Mr. Hume, who had been prevented by the marshy nature of the country from exploring it to any considerable distance, for it was found that although there was not sufficient water for the purpose of navigation, there was enough to render the country so swampy and boggy that travelling on horseback in any direction was difficult, and in most cases impossible. After proceeding with difficulty for some time in a northerly direction, the party again divided, and Captain Sturt at length emerged upon scrubby and sandy plains, over which he rode for two hundred miles. Mr. Hume after crossing various creeks and a fine chain of ponds again joined the main party; and they proceeded north over great plains covered with shells and claws of crawfish—evidences that the country had been recently under water. The explorers, who were much persecuted by mosquitoes and a terribly irritating fly called the kangaroo fly, were frequently in great want of water, and altogether the position of the party was exceedingly depressing. Their spirits were, however, cheered on the 4th February, 1829, by the discovery of a fine river, about 240 feet wide, deep, and covered with wild fowl. Much to their astonishment, however, its water was found to be salt. This naturally led them to believe they were approaching an inland sea. They named this singular river the Darling. In tracing its course downwards they came upon camps of the native, who set fire to the reeds and bush to drive the intruders back. Lower down they found that the Darling received a considerable tributary from the eastward. This they took for a continuation of the Macquarie after its escape from the marshes, and named it New Year's Creek. Their supposition that it was the Macquarie was, however, a mistake. It proved to be the stream afterwards called the Bogan—the name by which it was known to the natives. They traced it up for fifty or sixty miles; and then proceeded to the north-east towards the Castlereagh. That

which ten years before had been a fine river was now found to be merely a dry channel, overgrown in many places with reeds and brambles. They followed this channel for about a hundred miles, when, on the 29th March, they again struck the Darling, which was just as salt as where they had previously discovered it lower down. This was the extent of their journey; and the expedition started on its return to the settled districts early in April.

Captain Sturt gives a vivid picture of the desolation caused by the drought, and the state of starvation in which he found the unfortunate aborigines. He says:—"So long had the drought continued, that the vegetable kingdom was almost annihilated, and minor vegetation had disappeared. In the creeks, weeds had grown and withered, and grown again; and young saplings were now rising in their beds, nourished by the moisture that still remained; but the largest forest trees were drooping, and many were dead. The emus, with outstretched necks, gasping for breath, searched the channels of the rivers for water in vain; and the native dog, so thin that it could hardly walk, seemed to implore some merciful hand to despatch it. How the natives subsisted it was difficult to say, but there was no doubt of the scarcity of food amongst them."

Captain Sturt's discovery of the Darling conclusively proved the mistaken nature of the opinions held by Oxley and others that the Castlereagh, the Macquarie, and other north-western rivers were tributaries of the Brisbane, and found their outlet in Moreton Bay. But, although this theory was found to be untenable, the question of the Darling's actual course and outlet still remained unsolved. Whether it fed an interior sea, whether it crossed the continent to the north-western coast, or whether, after forming a junction with the streams discovered by Hume and Hovell, it reached the ocean in Spencer's Gulf or elsewhere on the southern coast, remained almost as uncertain as ever. Captain Hovell, in the prosecution of his maritime pursuits, had many years before visited Kangaroo Island, on the coast of South Australia. While there he learned from some men, who had been engaged in seal catching on the islands and the main, that inside Encounter Bay there existed an extensive lake into which flowed a great river. In his overland journey to Port Phillip, Mr. Hovell came to the conclusion, from the direction of the rivers and the character of the country, that in all probability the united streams fell into the lake whose

existence he learned from the sealers, and ultimately joined the ocean in Encounter Bay. This theory attracted little or no attention at first; but it was, a few years afterwards, ascertained to be correct.

A few months after the return of Captain Sturt from the expedition in which he discovered the Darling, as above narrated, it was determined that he should follow up the task which he had so successfully commenced by endeavouring to penetrate the interior to the south-west, by means of the Murrumbidgee or the other considerable streams discovered by Messrs. Hovell and Hume, flowing apparently towards the centre of the continent, and which, it was considered probable, would be found to unite with the newly found northern river. This second expedition started from Sydney on the 3rd November, 1829, and proved one of the most interesting in its incidents and important in its results ever undertaken.

Several of the men who were with Captain Sturt on his first expedition accompanied him on this occasion; but the place of Mr. Hume, his former second in command, was now supplied by Mr. George Macleay, son of Mr. Alexander Macleay, the then Colonial Secretary. The party reached an outstation on the borders of Lake George on the 18th November, and from thence continued their route to the Murrumbidgee by way of Yass Plains and the Tumut. They found the river abounding in fish, and the scenery on its banks of the most beautiful description. As they advanced the general course of the river proved to be N.W. by W., and the country gradually assumed many of the characteristics of that found on the banks of the more northern streams. Few natives were seen, not more than fifty in a distance of 180 miles. They recognised some distant hills to the north as those under which Oxley had encamped in his journey down the Lachlan, many years before. As they continued their course down the river, the country gradually became more dismal and uninviting, with cypress scrubs, low sandy ridges, and reedy swamps. The ground, from its loose and soft character, was exceedingly difficult to travel over, and the toil soon exhausted their cattle. In longitude 144 degrees, they were surrounded by enormous and almost impenetrable swamps covered by reeds. From the direction and distance they had travelled, they then considered that the junction of the Lachlan with the Murrumbidgee could not be far distant.

They had brought a whale boat and a smaller boat in frame from Sydney, and it was now determined to put them together and launch them. When this was done, Captain Sturt, with Mr. Macleay and six men, embarked. The rest of the party were ordered back with the drays and cattle to Goulburn Plains, there to await their return. They proceeded down the river in the whale boat, towing the skiff, and about fifteen miles from the place where they had embarked, came upon the junction of the Lachlan. On the following day their skiff was sunk by striking a snag. It contained, in addition to a large portion of the provisions, an apparatus for distilling fresh water from salt. The still and part of the provisions were recovered by diving with much difficulty but most of the provisions were damaged and much of them spoilt. In addition to this disaster they were robbed by natives of many useful articles of equipment, while engaged in recovering the boat and stores. Soon after proceeding on the voyage they found the stream decrease in width, while it increased in depth and velocity, and became so thickly overshadowed by trees, and so much impeded by fallen timber, that they were in momentary apprehension of danger. At the period, however, when their gloomy forebodings had reached the greatest height they were suddenly surprised and delighted, by their boat shooting out into a deep, broad, noble river, 350 feet in width. They had discovered the Mississippi of Australia—the great river which, having its sources among the snow-clad summits of the Australian Alps, carries its waters in a steady and constant volume to the far off Pacific. They named it the Murray, after Sir George Murray, the then minister for the colonies. It is singular that the native name of this river was afterwards found to be very similar to that given to it by Captain Sturt. It was called by the aborigines the Murrewa, or the Millewa, —the sounds of *r* and *l* being interchangeable, and used almost indifferently by many of the aboriginal tribes. The voyagers at once comprehended that the several rivers discovered by Hume and Hovell had united to form this magnificent stream.

The discovery of the Murray raised the spirits and the hopes of the little party to the highest pitch. As they proceeded they found that the united streams ranged from 450 to 600 feet in width, with few impediments to obstruct the course of the current. The country on its banks was splendidly grassed, and shaded in many places by gum trees of a large size. The natives were numerous, and if not

altogether hostile, were exceedingly troublesome. They were bold and expert thieves, often swimming off in shoals to the boat and impeding the action of the oars. Captain Sturt's account of a narrow escape from a deadly conflict with these people is one of the most exciting parts of his narrative. He says :—

“As we sailed down the stream we observed a vast number of natives under the trees, and on a nearer approach we not only heard their war-song, if it might be so called, but remarked that they were painted and armed, as they generally are prior to their engaging in a deadly conflict. Notwithstanding these outward signs of hostility, fancying that our four friends were with them, I continued to steer directly in for the bank on which they were collected; I found, however, when it was almost too late to turn into the succeeding reach to our left, that an attempt to land would only be attended with loss of life. The natives seemed determined to resist it. We approached so near that they held their spears quivering in their grasp ready to hurl. They were painted in various ways. Some who had marked their ribs, and thighs, and faces, with a white pigment, looked like skeletons: others were daubed with red and yellow ochre, and their bodies shone with the grease with which they had besmeared themselves. A dead silence prevailed amongst the front ranks, but those in the back-ground, as well as the women, who carried supplies of darts, and who appeared to have had a bucket of whitewash capsized over their heads, were extremely clamorous. As I did not wish a conflict with these people, I lowered my sail, and putting the helm to starboard, we passed quietly down the stream in midchannel. Disappointed in their anticipations, the natives ran along the bank of the river, endeavouring to secure an aim at us; but unable to throw with certainty, in consequence of the onward motion of the boat, they flung themselves into the most extravagant attitudes, and worked themselves into a frenzy by loud and vehement shouting.

“It was with considerable apprehension that I observed the river to be shoaling fast, more especially as a huge sand-bank, a little below us, and on the same side on which the natives had gathered, projected nearly a third of the way across the channel. To this sand-bank they ran with tumultuous uproar, and covered it over in a dense mass. Some of the chiefs advanced into the water, to be nearer their victims, and turned from time to time to direct their followers. With every

pacific disposition, and an extreme reluctance to take away life, I foresaw that it would be impossible any longer to avoid an engagement, yet with such fearful numbers against us I was doubtful of the result. The spectacle we had witnessed had been one of the most appalling kind, and sufficient to shake the firmness of most men; but at that trying moment, my little band preserved their usual coolness, and if anything could be gleaned from their countenances, it was that they had determined on an obstinate resistance. I now explained to them that their only chance of escape depended, or would depend, on their firmness. I desired that after the first volley had been fired, Macleay and three of the men would attend to the defence of the boat with bayonets only, while I, Hopkinson, and Harris, would keep up the fire, as being more used to it. I ordered, however, that no shot was to be fired until after I had discharged both my barrels. I then delivered their arms to the men, which had, as yet, been kept in the place appropriated for them, and at the same time, some rounds of loose cartridge. The men assured me they would follow my instructions, and thus prepared, having already lowered the sail, we drifted onwards with the current. As we neared the sandbank I stood up, and made signs to the natives to desist, but without success. I took up my gun, therefore, and cocking it, had already brought it down to a level. A few seconds more would have closed the life of the nearest of the savages. The distance was too trifling for me to doubt the fatal effects of the discharge, for I was determined to take deadly aim, in the hope that the fall of one man might save the lives of many. But at the very moment when my hand was on the trigger, and my eye was along the barrel, my purpose was checked by Macleay, who called to me that another party of blacks had made their appearance upon the left bank of the river. Turning, I observed four men at the top of their speed. The foremost of them, as soon as he got ahead of the boat, threw himself from a considerable height into the water. He struggled across the channel to the sandbank, and in an incredibly short space of time, stood in front of the savage, against whom my aim had been directed. Seizing him by the throat, he pushed him backwards, and forcing all who were in the water upon the bank, he trod its margin with a vehemence and an agitation that were exceedingly striking. At one moment pointing to the boat, at another shaking his clenched hand in the faces of the most forward, and stamping with passion on the sand: his voice,

that at first was distinct and clear, was lost in hoarse murmurs. Two of the four natives remained on the left bank of the river, but the third followed his leader—who proved to be the remarkable savage I had previously noticed—to the scene of action. The reader will imagine my feelings on this occasion: it is impossible to describe them. We were so wholly lost in interest in the scene that was passing, that the boat was allowed to drift at pleasure. For my own part, I was overwhelmed with astonishment, and in truth, stunned and confused; so singular, so unexpected, and so strikingly providential had been our escape."

At this moment the arrival of another party of savages, on the right bank of the river, allowed Captain Sturt to create a diversion by pulling over to that side, and advancing in confidence towards the new comers. The sudden change in the posture of affairs succeeded in arresting the attention of the savages; and when the leader and Mr. Macleay landed and accosted the strangers they were received in a friendly manner. The hostile crowd on the opposite shore, seeing this, abandoned their threatening aspect, and swimming across the stream, the wanderers were soon surrounded by a peaceable and inquisitive crowd. There could not have been less than six hundred blacks present; and thus, says Captain Sturt, "in less than a quarter of an hour from the moment when it appeared that all human intervention was at an end, and we were on the point of commencing a bloody fray, which, independently of its own disastrous consequences, would have blasted the success of the expedition, we were peacefully surrounded by the hundreds who had so lately threatened us with destruction; nor was it until we had returned to the boat, and had surveyed the multitude from the sloping bank above us, that we became fully aware of the extent of our danger, and of the almost miraculous intervention of Providence in our favour."

Near the spot just described the explorers found themselves at the mouth of a new river coming from the north. It was three hundred feet wide, and upwards of twelve feet deep. They had calculated that if the Darling continued its course it would join the Murray somewhere hereabouts, and their expectations were not disappointed. Its banks were sloping and grassy, overhung by magnificent trees; and the appearance of the river and the country was such that the men exclaimed that they had got into an English river. Its waters were sweet but turbid, and of a greenish

tinge. The discovery of the junction of the Murray and the Darling—the finest rivers of Australia—was marked by the hoisting of the Union Jack, accompanied by three British cheers. They attempted to sail up the Darling, but did not proceed far on account of the strength of the current and the crowds of natives by which their boats were surrounded, and from whom they were in constant danger. Having put about, and both wind and current being in their favour, they shot down the stream at such a rate as left the wondering aborigines far behind. They now destroyed their skiff, as it tended only to impede their course, and left the junction of the rivers on the 24th January, passing through a low country of marshes and lagoons, but thickly inhabited by troublesome and inquisitive people suffering from a loathsome disease. They passed a stream falling into the Murray from the north, which they named the Rufus, from Mr. Macleay's red hair.

As they proceeded down the river its course became rapid, and the banks in places very high; further on the country assumed a barren and inhospitable character, and the stream became extremely tortuous. In longitude 139 degrees 40 minutes, latitude 34 degrees, the river suddenly altered its course to the southward, and its banks afforded views of fine expanses of country, with mountains to the N.W., which they took to be the direction of Spencer's Gulf. In latitude 35 degrees 15 minutes they entered an extensive lake, with alluvial flats on each side, and beyond them on the right several beautiful valleys branching off. The ranges of hills appeared to be about forty miles off, terminating at the north by what they rightly took to be the Mount Lofty of Flinders. The right bank of the river, forming a beautiful promontory, stretched into the lake, and beyond this promontory the water continued to the base of the ranges, and formed an extensive bay.

It was on the thirty-third day of their voyage down the rivers that they reached the lake. The next morning they attempted to sail down the channel to the sea, but were so frequently intercepted by windings and shoals that after having almost exhausted themselves in repeated efforts to drag the boat over them, Captain Sturt, with Mr. Macleay and Mr. Frazer, left the rest of the party and made their way over the swamps and sand hummocks until they found themselves on what they recognised as the shores of Encounter Bay.

They had thus achieved the great object of their expedition,

and solved the interesting and important geographical question of the drainage of a large portion of the Australian continent. But in this exciting moment of triumphant success, the question of how they were to return forced itself upon their minds with painful distinctness. Before they left Sydney arrangements had been made for sending a small vessel to the Gulf of St. Vincent, as that place was looked upon as the most likely termination of their voyage if they were successful in reaching the ocean. But now there appeared no means of getting their boat to the open sea, for even if they succeeded in finding a channel through the endless shoals by which they were surrounded, the tremendous line of breakers which presented itself outside warned them that any attempt to cross would be fatal. They were far too much exhausted to think of reaching by land the succour waiting for them in St. Vincent's Gulf; and after fully considering the matter it was determined that their only chance of return lay by the way in which they had come. Their provisions were almost spent, and the prospect of half-a-dozen worn out and almost starving men having to pull a heavy boat nearly a thousand miles, against a strong current, and surrounded by dangers of a most formidable character, was a most disheartening one. But, having determined to make the attempt, no time was lost in putting it into execution. The leaders resolved to take their turn at the oars with the men, and to share all their labours and hardships.

It was at noon on the 14th January, 1830, that they commenced a task which proved to be one of the most desperate ever undertaken. Never in the annals of discovery and exploration were dogged resolution and endurance put to a severer test. In coming down the stream the current had often assisted them in getting clear from their aboriginal enemies; but in ascending it their course was so slow that they could not free themselves from their sable tormentors, but by the most desperate exertions. They had to pull sometimes for ten or eleven hours without a moment's rest, until in fact exhausted nature gave way, and the men fainted, became delirious, or fell asleep at their oars. There were fortunately many exceptions to the hostility of the blacks. They met with some who assisted them where the current was most rapid, by pulling the boat with a rope. They were, however, compelled to fire on the blacks on more than one occasion, but Captain Sturt's humanity was such that this

course was only resorted to under the most extreme circumstances.

When they reached the Murrumbidgee they were almost starving, yet their privations and labours were not nearly at an end. "For seventeen days," says Captain Sturt, "we pulled against the stream with determined perseverance, but human efforts under privations such as ours, tended to weaken themselves. . . . Our journeys were short, and the head we made against the stream but trifling. The men had lost the proper and muscular jerk with which they once made the waters foam and the oars bend. Their whole bodies swung with an awkward and laboured motion. Their arms appeared to be nerveless and their faces became haggard, their persons emaciated, their spirits wholly sunk; nature was so completely overcome that, from mere exhaustion, they frequently fell asleep during their painful and almost ceaseless exertions. . . . I became captious, and found fault where there was no occasion, and lost the equilibrium of my temper, in contemplating the condition of my companions. No murmur, however, escaped them, nor did any complaint reach me that was intended to indicate that they had done all they could do. I frequently heard them in their tent, when they thought I had dropped asleep, complaining of severe pains, and of great exhaustion. 'I must tell the captain tomorrow,' some of them would say, 'that I can pull no more.' Tomorrow came, and they pulled on, as if reluctant to yield to circumstances. Macnamee at length lost his senses. We first observed this from his incoherent conversation, but eventually from his manner. He related the most extraordinary tales, and fidgetted about eternally while in the boat."

When they could pull no more, two of the men, after a little rest, set forward by land to endeavour to reach the depot where the provisions had been stored in the outward journey. "It was nearly ninety miles direct by land; but the men joyfully undertook the journey. Our last modicum of food was divided with them, and away they went." A week passed at the camp: they at length divided amongst them their last ounce of flour, and were about to set forward in the last desperation of despair, when a loud shout announced the return of the two faithful men, Mulholland and Hopkinson. They had come back with Robert Harris and a supply of provisions. All danger and anxiety were at an end; but the two men were in a terrible condition after their heroic exer-

tions. Their knees and ankles were dreadfully swollen, and their limbs so painful, that as soon as they arrived in the camp, they sank under their efforts, but they met their companions with smiling countenances, and expressed their satisfaction at having arrived so seasonably for their relief.

The rest of the journey was performed by easy stages, the party arriving in Sydney on the 25th May, after an absence of nearly seven months. Most of the men quickly rallied from their exhausted condition, but Captain Sturt suffered for a long period, and at last became quite blind; and although his sight was at length restored, his health had received a shock, the effects of which were perceptible as long as he lived.

The account of Van Diemen's Land has already been brought down to the year 1821. Shortly after that period the separation of the insular colony from its continental parent was first mooted. Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, however, set his face against the proposal, because, as he said, it was premature, and would tend to increase the expenses of Government, without any corresponding advantage. Sorell was personally exceedingly popular. His manners were familiar, and he was easily accessible to the humblest petitioner; and when the news of his intended recall reached the colony, in October, 1823, it was received with loud expressions of regret. So strong indeed was the manifestation of feeling that a public meeting was held, and a petition adopted to the King deprecating his removal, "inasmuch (said the petitioners) as no successor, whom it may be the pleasure of his Majesty to appoint, can possibly be expected to bestow so much general and individual attention to our wants and wishes." The petition was, of course, ineffectual; but a substantial token of esteem was presented to Sorell by the colonists in the shape of a testimonial valued at £750; and when about to depart he was entertained at a banquet. On reaching England he received a pension, which he lived to enjoy for many years, dying in 1848, in his seventy-fourth year.

Sorell's successor in the government of Van Diemen's Land was George Arthur, Esq., a gentleman who had previously held a position of command, partly of a military and partly of a civil character, in Honduras, where he had distinguished himself by his energy and inflexibility of character, but he was better known in English political circles for his advocac-

of the cause of the negroes. It was to a great extent owing to his representations and assurances, acquired from personal insight into the workings of West India slavery, that Wilberforce and his coadjutors were able to lay bare to the British public the enormities of one of the most atrocious systems of human bondage that ever disgraced the world. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur arrived in Van Diemen's Land in May, 1824, and was welcomed by an address agreed to at the meeting convened to pay respect to his departing predecessor. Arthur's character afforded a striking contrast to that of Sorell. The latter was by no means straitlaced in his morals, while the former, considering the character of the community over which he was called to rule, carried his strictness to an extreme. The one was familiar in manner and easy of access, while the other was haughty and dictatorial. The one acted as if he felt himself to be a member of the community over whose affairs he presided; the other appeared to look upon the colonists generally as criminals whom he had been sent to control. He regarded all their claims to constitutional rights as absurd. Liberty of the press and trial by jury found in him an uncompromising opponent. His opposition to these measures—unlike that of Darling, his kindred spirit in New South Wales—was successful. Arthur's views were supported by a pliant Chief Justice, J. L. Pedder, Esq., who had arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1824, about the time that Sir Francis Forbes had reached Sydney. Owing to the difference in the character and views of these judges, a striking variation arose in the manner in which justice was administered in the two Australian communities. Judge Pedder had brought with him from England a charter for establishing a Supreme Court in Van Diemen's Land, which was indeed identical with that granted to the elder colony. When information respecting Chief Justice Forbes's construction of the charter in favour of trial by jury reached Hobart Town the matter was brought before the Supreme Court there by the Attorney-General, Mr. Alfred Stephen, who contended that the Act ought to be administered in the form most favourable to the subject. Judge Pedder, however, acting probably under the influence of the Lieutenant-Governor, ignored the ruling of Judge Forbes, and decided in favour of retaining the military jury. In respect to the liberty of the press, which subsequently agitated the public mind in both colonies, Judge Pedder's conduct was equally opposed to popular rights; and was afterwards

adduced by Governor Darling in New South Wales as an argument against the course pursued by Chief Justice Forbes. A comparison of the results in the two cases will tend to show the debt of gratitude which the people of this colony owe to that eminent judge. Darling and Arthur were equally the enemies of popular institutions. But while one colony was blessed with an upright and able administrator of the law, the other had the misfortune of having its Supreme Court presided over by a pliant time-server, who did not hesitate to give effect to the will of an arbitrary ruler.

The reasons urged by the colonists for the separation of Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales were so strong, that notwithstanding Sorell's opposition, they were acceded to by the Home authorities soon after his departure, and when, in the latter part of 1825, General Darling was appointed to the Government of New South Wales, he was commissioned to call at Hobart Town on his voyage out, to formally proclaim the independence of the island from the control of the elder colony. Executive and Legislative Councils were appointed, and the machinery and powers of the Government made to correspond with those of New South Wales. The Executive Council consisted of Dudley Montague Percival, Colonial Secretary; John Lewis Pedder, Chief Justice; A. W. H. Humphrey, and Jocelyn Thomas. The members of the Legislative Council were the Colonial Secretary, the Chief Justice, and Messrs. Abbott, Hamilton, Humphrey, and Curr.

Sorell's accommodating character had caused his rule to sit lightly upon the prison population, and that class, ever ready to take advantage of the want of strictness and vigilance in their rulers, had fallen into habits of vice and dissipation to an extent in all probability seldom before witnessed. It was not that great crimes were more frequent than at other periods, for that consequence has never attended a laxity of penal discipline in the Australian colonies—rather the reverse;—but the habits of the people became looser and their conduct more vicious every day. The extremities of the executive power were paralysed by the weakness of the head. The police service had gradually grown irregular and inefficient, until theft, intemperance, and other minor offences were allowed to go almost unchecked. In such a condition of things the arrival of a ruler of firm and determined character was a fortunate circumstance for the colony. Arthur's arbitrary conduct in respect to matters of constitutional ri-

may be incapable of defence; but many will be inclined to overlook his shortcomings in that respect, because of his vigorous and successful efforts in the repression of crime, and the influence of his example as a model of virtuous conduct in private life. At the time of his arrival roving bands of bushrangers pillaged the country, and their depredations, together with those of the aboriginal natives, kept the settlers in the outlying districts in a constant state of alarm. Arthur made successful endeavours to enlist and combine the well-disposed part of the population in upholding law and order, and the unsparing way in which he disposed of captured delinquents tended to strike terror into those who remained at large. The records of Tasmanian bushranging in those days afford a painful picture of the dark side of human nature; but their details, although sufficiently attractive to have enlisted the pens of many local writers, are not of such an important character as to demand a place in a general history of Australia.

Not so, however, Arthur's proceedings with reference to the aboriginal natives, for those proceedings may be said to have been the commencement of a conflict which ended in the destruction of a race. The aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, if the statements of early navigators are to be credited—and they are singularly accordant—were, before their intercourse with the settlers and convicts, the most gentle and inoffensive of savages. Twenty years of contact, however, with the offscourings of the most degraded class of England's criminals, made the original possessors of the country little better than beasts of prey. The seeds of treachery and cruelty planted by their white oppressors quickly bore fruit; and the blackman's hand was at length raised against every man as every man's hand was against him. At the time of Colonel Arthur's advent it might be said with truth that the two races seldom met but to shed each others blood. Various schemes were propounded—some for conciliating and others for subduing the blacks. The natural bent of Arthur's mind was to the more arbitrary and despotic course; and at length, in 1830, he resolved to try one of the most extraordinary plans to effect his purpose that was ever conceived. This notable scheme was nothing less than to drive the whole aboriginal race into a narrow corner of the island, and there to confine them by guarding the only approach to the place. Tasman's Peninsula was selected as the most appropriate spot for this purpose. Situated on the

south-eastern coast, and joined to the mainland by only a narrow neck, it was thought if the natives could be cooped up there, that conflicts between them and the settlers would be impossible. East-bay Neck, the narrow strip which joined the peninsula to the main, was to be carefully guarded, so that no aboriginal should ever again set foot on the rest of the island.

To carry out this singular scheme all the able-bodied settlers were called out, and in conjunction with the military were ordered to form a cordon across the island, and thus to drive the blacks like so many sheep before them. Arthur himself and his suite took part in the enterprise. The soldiers were three hundred in number, and the settlers above three thousand. Every man in the colony possessed of the slightest experience of the bush, knew that the plan was as impracticable in execution as it was silly in conception. Impassable gullies and precipices, and almost impenetrable woods, afforded the blacks innumerable places of shelter, from which, if they had chosen to remain, the whole British army could not have dislodged them; and even if they wished to fly, and their numbers had been ten times as great as they were, all might have escaped by slipping past in the night in the shade of trees, bushes, and rocks. Knowing as they did every cavern and corner, every gully—every defile in the mountains and every hiding place in the plains—it was as impossible to hem them in as if they had been so many birds.

Rules and regulations for the guidance of the men-hunters prescribed the distance that each was to keep from the other in the line of march. Large fires were to be lighted at night, watchwords were to be given every ten minutes, and the sentinels were to pass them along, with their number and "all's well." When, however, the line reached the neck of Tasman's Peninsula, after weeks of toil and privation, it became known that not a single blackfellow was before them, and that only two miserable creatures had been captured by the way. Those who knew the habits of the blacks were, of course, quite prepared for this result. They knew how easily the cunning savages could have slipped through, if so minded, in full day—much more under cover of night. It was calculated that the expenses and loss occasioned by this absurd expedition amounted to £70,000, and that consequently the two wretched natives taken prisoners cost the colony £35,000 a-piece. Other methods of a more

humane character were afterwards successfully adopted, but to relate them here would be anticipating the course of events. The history of the Tasmanian aborigines affords one of the most melancholy chapters in the annals of colonisation, and cannot be read without arousing feelings of a most painful kind.

The population of Van Diemen's Land at the time of its separation from New South Wales (1825) exceeded 12,000 in number. The local revenue was mainly raised by customs duties, which at that period amounted to about £2 per head of the population. The principal article of export was wheat, of which, in 1823, 55,522 bushels were exported, mostly to Sydney. The other exports were oil, whalebone, and skins, with small quantities of potatoes and barley. Owing to the insular position of Van Diemen's Land, the climate is more equal and temperate than that of the Australian continent, and to this circumstance more than to any superiority of soil the fact is probably due that agriculture there has generally been regarded as a more reliable and successful pursuit than in the other Australian colonies. The climate is not unlike that of the south of England, and this perhaps has had its influence on the social habits of the population, which have generally struck visitors as being more in accordance with those of the mother country than is the case with their continental neighbours.

To a young, struggling, and energetic community like that of Van Diemen's Land, pervaded as it was to a great extent by persons of a most vicious and disorderly tendency, the rule of a benevolent despot like Colonel Arthur brought many benefits. His want of sympathy with popular liberty was, in the circumstances of the colony at that period, a matter of comparatively little moment. It was of much greater importance to the welfare of the virtuous and well-disposed part of the population that crime should be repressed, and the vicious and dishonest effectually controlled and punished, than that, under the name of liberty, vice and disorder should be permitted to run riot. Arthur's proceedings, however arbitrary, were prompted by a desire to promote the welfare of the country he was sent to govern. Under his rule the resources of the colony were rapidly developed, many extensive and durable public works executed, order preserved, and vice discountenanced. He acted as he thought best for the benefit of all, and could hardly comprehend the motives of those who presumed to tender their advice or to oppose

his will. He thought it his duty to rule and theirs to obey, and, considering the almost unlimited power he possessed, it is not surprising that he sometimes carried its exercise to extremes. But upon the whole he was a well-meaning and upright autocrat, and misused his power less than most men would have done in similar circumstances.

The incidents of Tasmanian domestic history—the two communities being almost identical in origin—bear, up to a certain period, a general resemblance to those of the elder colony. A considerable divergence however commenced between the circumstances of the two colonies at the period when in New South Wales pastoral pursuits acquired an ascendancy over agriculture. This took place between 1825 and 1830, and from thenceforth the fortunes and the characteristics of the people of the two settlements gradually assumed different aspects. These differences were afterwards still further widened by other events, but to enter into details here would involve an unnecessary recital of subsequent occurrences.

Towards the latter part of 1831, General Darling, having completed the term of six years usually allotted to colonial Governors, received notice of his recall. The event was hailed in the colony with feelings of the most opposite kind. The wealthy exclusives, regarding him as their patron and champion, looked upon his departure as a public calamity; while the general population, and more particularly the emancipists, hated him as their most bitter enemy. His friends exerted themselves to the utmost to get up addresses expressive of the warmest sentiments of regard and esteem, while many of his opponents seemed to grow more bitter and violent as the day of his departure approached. There were, however, honorable exceptions to this rule. The Legislative Council voted a flattering address to his Excellency, and at the head of the list of names, forgetting former animosities, appeared that of the Chief Justice. The Executive Council and the civil officers also voted complimentary addresses, but these were almost matters of course, and signified very little. An address of the "clergy, magistrates, landholders, and merchants," bore about seventy signatures, and contained a well-merited eulogium on the character and conduct of Mrs. Darling, a most estimable lady, and one who had taken an active part in the promotion of every good and charitable work, and more particularly in

connexion with institutions which she was mainly instrumental in establishing for the instruction and care of female children.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Wentworth, Darling's most bitter opponent, was guilty of conduct on this occasion which proved that that he possessed one of the worst features in the character of the retiring governor—want of magnanimity. On the day named for Darling's departure, Mr. Wentworth gave his friends and admirers an entertainment at his seat at Vacluse. The affair assumed the aspect of a revel; for although the number of those who were specially invited to the house was not large, it was generally known that by roasting a bullock and an ample supply of drink, provision would be made in the grounds for all who wished to join in rejoicing at Darling's recall. The attendance, of course, under such circumstances, was far more numerous than select, and the proceedings which followed the feasting are represented as anything but creditable. It is probable, however, that party and personal animosity has greatly exaggerated what really took place, and that too much significance has been attached to the actions and expressions of a few excitable people, who had shared rather too freely in the hospitality of the owner of Vacluse.

It was announced by the Governor's opponents, that Sydney was to be illuminated on the following night, but this was the mere empty boasting of partisans, as, with one or two trifling exceptions, nothing of the kind was attempted. Darling embarked quietly on the morning of the 22nd October, escorted by a considerable number of his friends, but there was no display of any kind whatever, either of a friendly or an unfriendly character. It was evident, either that the general public took little interest in the quarrels between him and his opponents, or that there was sufficient good feeling in the community to prevent any offensive display towards a departing representative of the Crown, who, whatever his faults as a ruler, possessed many estimable qualities as a man. Darling did not proceed direct to England, but desiring to visit the East, embarked in the ship *Hooghly* for Canton. It is gratifying to know that in after years, even his most bitter opponent, Mr. Wentworth, not only regretted the length to which in the excitement of party struggles he had carried his animosity, but cherished feelings of respect for the personal character of the old

general, and declared his wish when in England to be reconciled to him.

Darling, although exceedingly narrowminded, was undoubtedly a conscientious and honorable man. His military training, close adherence to routine, and strict attention to the details of business, had served to contract rather than to expand a mind acute without being large, and rigid without being strong. The close of his period of rule may be regarded as the close of an era in the history of Australian colonisation. The social and political contest between the exclusives and the emancipists, which had commenced nearly thirty years before, and of which the deposition of Governor Bligh, in 1808, was the first and most striking incident, had, during Darling's time, reached its greatest intensity. From that period it rapidly waned. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants, the presence of a considerable native-born population, and intermarriages among families of different origin, had all contributed to produce a large neutral party, which gradually overshadowed and absorbed the less numerous partisans of the contending factions. Instead of being mere exclusives or emancipists, the people became first colonists and then Australians. The pretensions of a mere handful of exclusives, however imposing and successful with a few soldiers and convicts, became ridiculous in the presence of a population of upwards of fifty thousand souls, a considerable number of whom were natives of the soil, and a yet larger proportion persons of reputable origin and conduct. The consequent decline in the influence and pretensions of the exclusives, were followed, as a matter of course, by the fading away of that bitterness of tone and feeling which they had engendered on the part of the emancipists; and the result was the gradual welding of the population into a more homogeneous state.

The population of the colony at the close of Darling's administration (1831,) was 51,155; the export of wool, 1,401,284 lbs.; of oil, £95,969 in value; the total exports were £324,168; and the imports, £490,152. The ordinary revenues of the year was £103,228. Of the expenditure there are no reliable records.

... feelings of respect for the personal character of the old

